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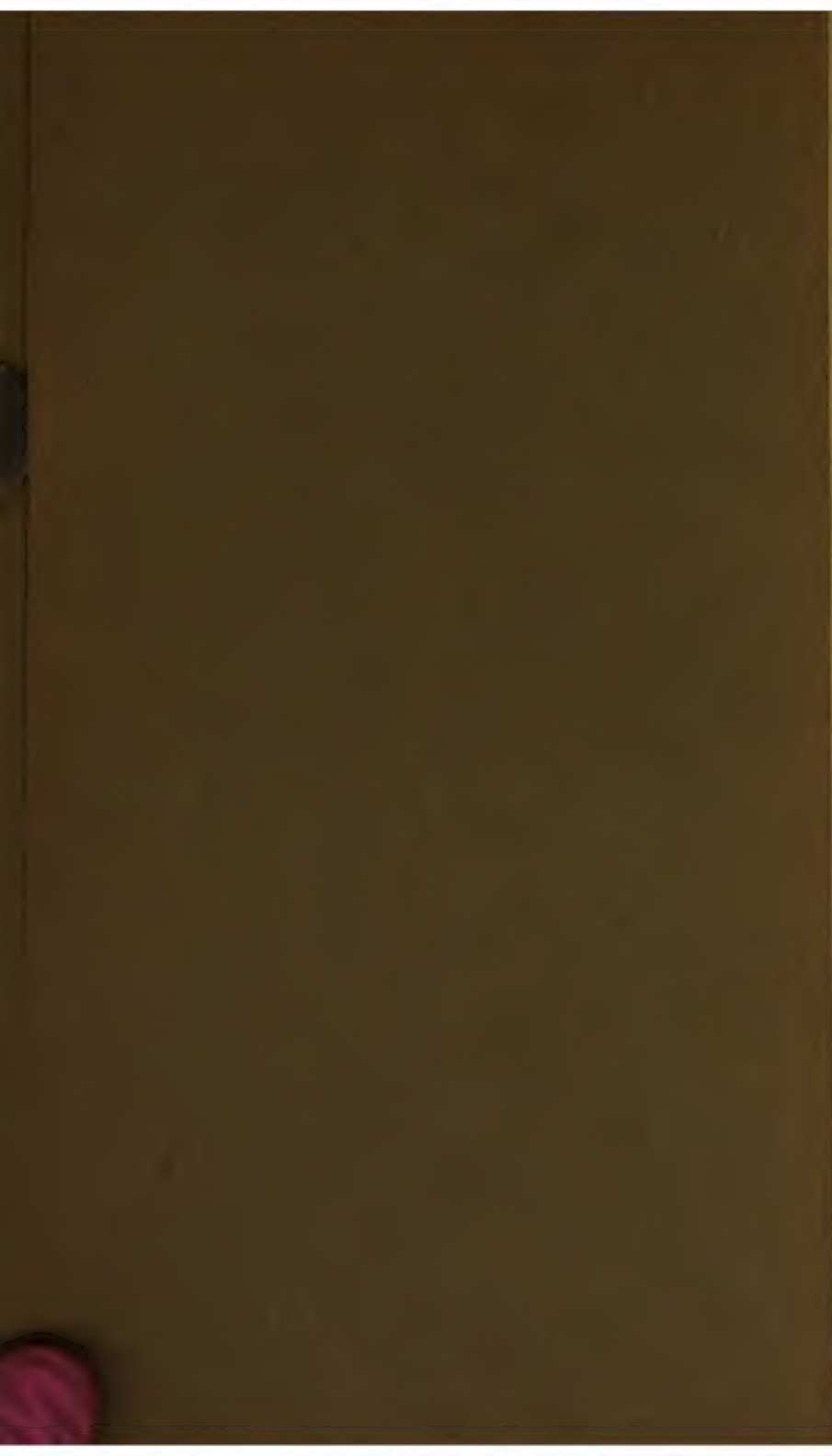
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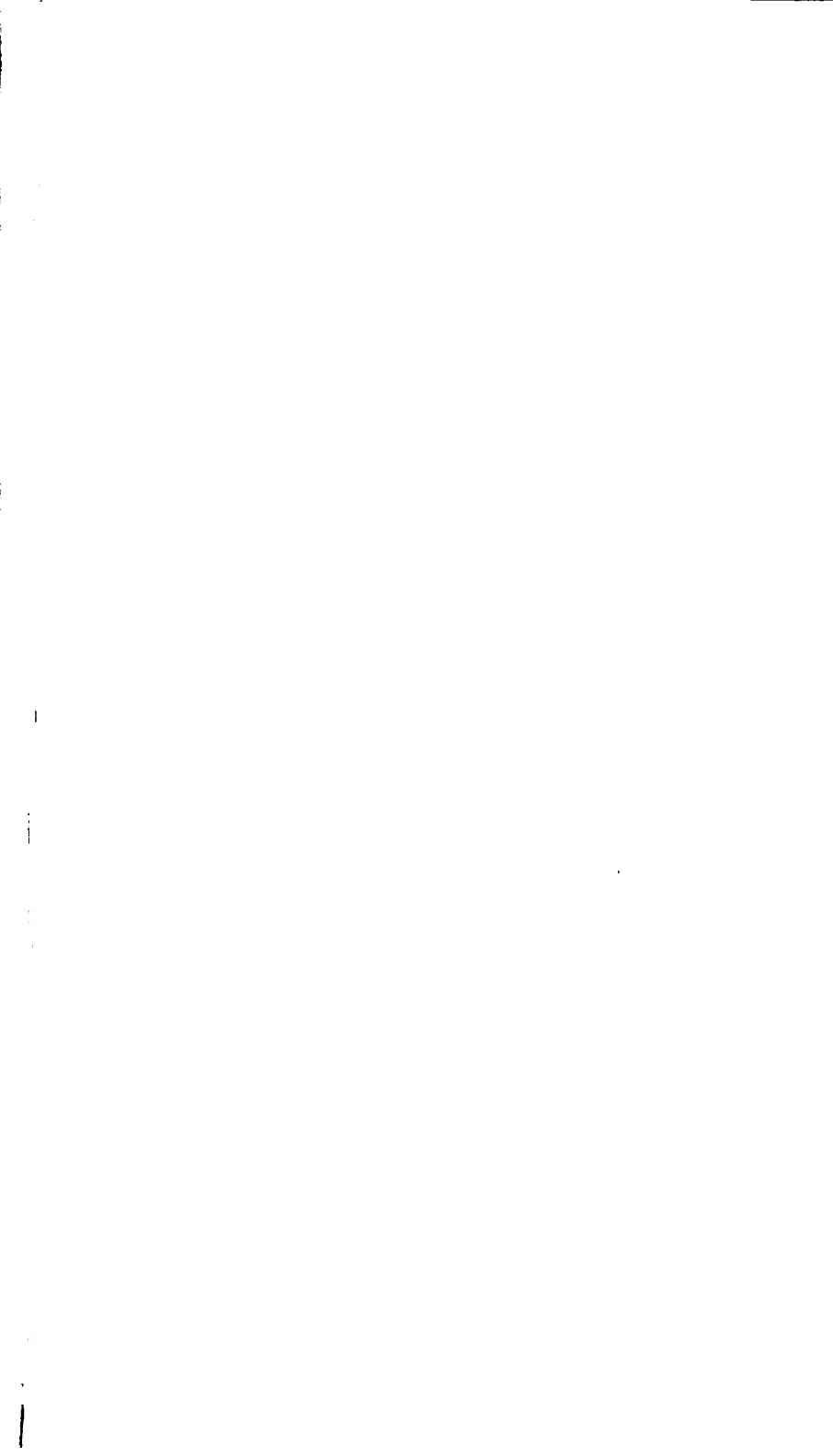


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THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF
E N G L A N D.

PART THE SECOND.

REIGNS OF EDWARD VI., MARY, AND ELIZABETH.



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MODERN HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XX.

HISTORY OF MARY OF SCOTLAND, FROM HER ARRIVAL
THERE, TO HER MARRIAGE WITH LORD DARNLEY.

ON the morning of the 19th August 1561, the two galleys, with the queen and her three maternal uncles, and D'Anville, the son of the connetable, arrived thro a thick and damp mist at the port of Leith. Their cannon announced her approach, and the joyous people crowded to hail their welcomed sovereign.¹ In the evening she reached Holyrood House: and as much delight and rejoicing as the national manners could be expected to exhibit in their usual peculiarity, evinced that her subjects were pleased that their native queen had returned to the throne of her ancestors and her countrymen.²

CHAP.
XX.

¹ 'Happy was he or she that first must have the presence of the queen. The Protestants were not the slowest.' Kuox Hist. p. 306. This author dates her arrival on 19th July; but Brantome, Leslie, Spottiswood, and Calderwood, on 20th; and Buchanan on 21st. So much can men vary on the circumstances of events. Castelnau says she arrived on the eighth day of her voyage, and Leslie on the sixth; another singular variation. Keith, 181.

² 'Fires of joy were set forth that night; and a company of most honest men, with instruments of music and musicians, gave their salu-

BOOK
II.

But a rude attempt was made to interfere with the private exercise of her religion, by those who, claiming liberty of it for themselves, ought to have allowed it to her.³ The good sense of lord James secured her from the impending insult,⁴ and the oppressing passions of the violent were assuaged by wise and just advise.⁵ Mary claimed the natural right of every intelligent being;⁶ but she spoke among a people who were fully as intolerant as the church which

tations at her chamber window. The melody, as she alleged, liked her well, and she willed the same to be continued some nights after with great diligence. The lords repaired to her with great diligence; and so nothing was understood but mirth and quietness.' Knox, 306. John Knox wrote as he felt; but what Mary's real impressions at this time were, we learn from Brantome, who was with her: 'When she landed, she had to go on horseback, and her ladies and lords on the miserable hackneys of the country, harnessed like themselves. At such an equipage she began to weep, and to say that 'these were not the poms, the parade, the magnificence, nor the superb housings of France, which she had so long enjoyed; but she must have patience.' And what was worse, in the evening, at the abbey of Edinburgh, when she wished to lay down, there came 5 or 600 raggamuffins of the city, saluting her with some wretched fiddles and little rebecks, which abound in this country, and began singing psalms, as badly and discordantly as could be. Heh! what music! and what a repose for her night!' Brantome *Disc. sur la Reine d'Ecosse*.

³ 'When preparations began to be made for the idol of the mass to be said in the chapel, the lord Lyndsay, with the gentlemen of Fyfe and others, plainly cried in the yard, 'The idolatrous priests should die the death.' One that carried in the candle was evil afraid; there durst no papist whisper.' Knox, 306.

⁴ 'But the lord James took upon him to keep the chapel door. His best excuse was, that he would stop all Scottish men to enter into the mass. But it was sufficiently known that the door was kept that none should have entry to trouble the priest.' Knox, *ib*.

⁵ 'The council assembled; and politic heads were sent unto the gentlemen, with these persuasions: 'Why will you chase our sovereign from us? She will incontinently return to her galleys; and what then shall all the realm say of us? May we not suffer her a little while? I doubt not but she will leave it. Her uncles will depart; and then we shall rule all at our own pleasure.' With these and the like persuasions was the fervency of the brethren quenched.' Knox, p. 307.

⁶ Knox says, her fair words were even still crying, 'Conscience, conscience! It is a sore thing to constrain the conscience.' p. 309. A sacred and immortal truth, which would be a great promoter of human happiness, if every one that uttered it would but sincerely feel it, and act correspondently with the impression.

they had left, but to which she still adhered :⁷ and Knox preaching a violent sermon against idolatry, the queen chose to have a conference with him, in which she expressed her own opinions undisguised.⁸ But if she trusted to her own powers of natural eloquence, she found that they only roused his zeal of elocution to a very unceremonious and overpowering lecture ;⁹ which excited her to disclose that her secret resolution was to uphold the papal system ;¹⁰ an unfortunate determination ! as it could only produce an evil state of things between her and her subjects, and no less disquiet and danger

⁷ It is astonishing to us now to read, that the earl of Arran could then declare in a public proclamation, that idolators were 'to die the death : ' that to say mass was to commit idolatry, and that this was more abominable than to commit murder ; and also to read the marginal note, that this was 'a stout and *godly* protestation.' Knox, p. 308.

⁸ She blamed his book against the regiment of women. She said she had and would cause the most learned in Europe to write against it. She accused him, 'That he had raised a part of her subjects against her mother and herself. You think I have no just authority. You have taught the people to receive another religion than their princes can allow ; and how can that doctrine be of God, seeing that he commands subjects to obey their princes.' When Knox quoted the instance of Daniel and his fellows, she answered, 'Yet none of these men raised their sword against their princes. They resisted not by the sword. Think you that subjects, having power, may resist their princes?' Knox, 310-313. He adds his copious answers. Lord James was with her.

⁹ Knox thus describes the finale to his reply : 'At these words the queen stood, as it were, amazed, more than a quarter of an hour ; her countenance altered ; so that the lord James began to entreat her, and to demand 'What hath offended you, Madam?' At length she said, 'Well, then, I perceive that my subjects shall only obey you and not me, and will do what they list, and not what I command ; and so I must be subject to them, and not they to me.' Knox, 313.

¹⁰ Lord James disclaiming all disloyalty, she replied, 'Yes ; but ye are not of the church that I will nourish. I will defend the church of Rome ; for I think it is the true church.' She persisted in her opinion, till she was called to dinner, with this remark, 'You are over hard for me ; but if they were here whom I have heard, they would answer you.' Knox, 314, 315. His judgment of her from this conversation was, that she had 'a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart, against what he deemed the truth.' *ib.* 315.

to Elizabeth and the great majority of the English nation.¹¹

One of her French uncles, the duc D'Aumale, returning to France, the two others, the marquis D'Elbeuf and the grand prior, accompanied her in a progress or tour thro some of the chief towns in the southern part of her kingdom. She began it on horseback, with a train of ladies, in the autumn.¹² At Stirling she was in danger from a fire;¹³ and her personal right of free worship was both unfairly and

¹¹ Elizabeth immediately as Mary sailed from France, wrote to her a statement of her own wishes and intentions as to their future relations with each other, to meet her as she arrived in Scotland; and therefore on 16 August 1561, while the Scottish queen was yet on the seas, penned the letter declaring that she did not mean to intercept her, and explaining what she wished her to do for their mutual friendship. She again requested her to ratify the treaty. 'We require no benefit of you, but that you will perform your promise, whereunto you are bound by your seal and your hand; for the refusal whereof we see no reason alleged can serve. Neither covet we any thing, but that which is in your power as queen of Scotland, which your late husband's ambassador and you concluded; which your own nobility and people were made privy to; which indeed made peace and quietness betwixt us—yea, without which no perfect amity can continue between us. We assure you that we be fully resolved upon this being fully performed, to unite in a sure band of amity, and to live in neighborhood with you as quietly, friendly, yea, as assuredly in the knot of friendship, as we be in the knot of nature and blood. Where it seemeth that report had been made to you that we had sent our admiral to the seas with our navy to impeach your passage, *both your servants do well know how false that is*: knowing for a truth that *we have not any more than two or three small barks upon the seas to apprehend certain pirates*; being thereto intreated and almost compelled by the earnest complaint of the king of Spain's ambassador, of certain Scotsmen ahunting our seas, as pirates.' Lett. in Robert. app. 195, 6.

¹² She set out from Holyrood House on 11 Sept. 1561, to Linlithgow Palace, and on 13th reached Stirling. Treasurer's account in Chalmers, 1. p. 83. These contain charges for saddles and bridles for 'twelve of the queen's ladies,' and for black riding cloaks to 'fifteen of the queen's ladies.' ib. p. 82.

¹³ 'The queen lying in her bed, having a candle burning by her, being asleep, the curtains and tester took fire, and so was like to have smothered her as she lay.' Randolph's letter, Keith, 190. An idle prophecy that a queen should be burnt at Stirling, was applied by the Scots on this occasion. ib.

disloyally invaded by two of her accompanying nobles.¹⁴ As she rode thro Perth, one of her frequent and almost habitual illnesses came upon her, and she was carried from her horse to her lodgings. The town presented her its complimenting feeling, with a heart of gold filled with gold; but the accompanying pageants did not please her,¹⁵ probably from their religious allusions. St. Andrew's, and Falkland, where her father died, were the limits of her journey;¹⁶ and she returned to Edinburgh, to be affronted by zeal without discretion,¹⁷ and by an assumption of authority and insulting dictation, which at that critical juncture did no credit to the Scotch reformers, and could only raise the worst spirit of resentment and dislike in the bosoms of those, who needed no stimulus to hate the Protestant innovations.¹⁸ The

¹⁴ 'Her grace's devout chaplains would, by the good device of Arthur Erskine, have sung a high mass. The earl of Argyle and the lord James so disturbed the queen, that some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears.' Rand. letter, ib.

¹⁵ Rand. lett. Keith, 190.

¹⁶ Rand. lett. ib.

¹⁷ The pageants at Edinburgh, as described by Knox, imply what displeased her at Stirling: 'Preparations were made for her entry into the town, in farces, masking, and other prodigalities. Fain would our fools have counterfeited France. Whatsoever might set forth her glory; that, she heard and gladly beheld. The keys were delivered to her by a pretty boy, descending as it were from a cloud. The verses of her own praise she heard and smiled at. But when the Bible was presented, and the praise thereof declared, she began to frown.' Knox, 316. She could only feel this presentation to be what it was meant to be, a public rebuke for being of the religion in which she had been educated, and chose to retain.

¹⁸ Keith gives it as dated 2d October 1561, charging 'All monks, friars, priests, nuns, adulterers, fornicators, and all such filthy persons, to remove from the town in twenty-four hours, under the pain of carting, burning on the cheek, and banishment forever.' p. 192. Knox, who ascribes it to the provost and bailiffs, availing themselves of an ancient custom of proclaiming these statutes after their annual election at Michaelmas, describes it as ordaining, that 'no mass-monger, no obstinate papist that corrupted the people, such as priest, friars, and others of that sort, should be found in the town, &c.' p. 316. A prohibition, which in fact expelled at once the queen herself, and the great French nobility, and all her friends and retinue who were

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chief lords resisted the strongly urged desire of the ministers to deprive the queen of her private mass;¹⁹ lord James was made the governor of the borders on the Scottish side, and concurred with lord Grey in the English districts, to compel their depredating occupiers to be quiet.²⁰ To him and to Maitland the queen committed her confidential administration.²¹ She again tried her ready eloquence on Knox in a personal interview,²² but could make no suasive impression on this animated and unaccommodating preacher.²³

Catholics. Among these were two princes of the house of Guise, who were opposing the Huguenots in France, on the public ground, among others, of these turbulent practices.

¹⁹ Knox describes the debate in which he opposed her having 'her religion free in her own chapel.' p. 317. Randolph, on 24th October, wrote to Cecil, of Knox: 'I commend better the success of his doings and preachings, than the *manner* thereof;' but adds this intimation of his great influence, 'His severity keepeth us in marvelous order.' Keith, 196.

²⁰ Knox, 317. Lord Bothwell assisted him in this. *ib.* His judicial severities caused the chiefs of all the border clans to agree 'to stay theft in time to come.' Rand. Keith, p. 206.

²¹ Randolph thus describes them: 'The lord James dealeth, according to his nature, rudely, homely and bluntly. Secretary Maitland, more delicately and finely, yet nothing swerveth from the other in mind and effect. She [the queen] is patient to hear, and beareth much.' Lett. Keith, 196. On 30th January 1562, James was created earl of Murray, and a week afterwards earl of Mar, and the next day married the daughter of the earl marshal. Knox, 327. Privy Seal Reg. 3 Chalm. 367, 378.

²² His sermon on the ignorance and vanity of princes, being reported to her, she sent for him to her bedchamber, and before her ladies and court 'made a long oration,' which he does not detail; but to his long answer she said, 'Your words are sharp enough, as you have spoken them, but yet they were told me in another manner. I know that my uncles and you are not of one religion; and, therefore, I cannot blame you to have no good opinion of them; but if you hear any thing of myself that mislikes you, come to myself and tell me, and I will hear you.' His reply was not very courteous. 'You will not always be at your book,' was her last remark, 'and so turned her back.' Knox, p. 336.

²³ He says of himself, 'The said John departed with a reasonable merry countenance; whereat some papists were offended, saying, 'He is not afraid.' He answered, 'Why should the pleasant face of a lady afray me? I have looked in the face of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure.' p. 336.

Mary continued to decline a ratification of the Edinburgh treaty; and one of her motives was, that if by that she relinquished her immediate claim to the English crown, it did not ensure to her the succession in case Elizabeth should die without issue; and therefore both she and her advisers pressed to have a present recognition of this inheritance.³⁴ It was, however, too dangerous to Elizabeth and to the Protestant religion, that a Catholic successor, with present pretensions, should be so prematurely and explicitly appointed, especially while that person meant to establish popery by force in her own country, and was under the influence of papal agency. But the more the English cabinet receded from such a positive and committing enactment, fresh with the recollection of her namesake's violences to establish popery by force, the more eagerly Mary urged it to Elizabeth, with that fluency and copiousness of expression to which the English ambassador at Paris had remarked she was inclined.³⁵ She declared her willingness to make a new treaty like the former, provided her 'interest to that crown might there-

³⁴ Mary's letter to Elizabeth, from Seyton, 5 Jan. 1562. Haynes, p. 377. Maitland's letter to Cecil, from Edinburgh, 15 Dec. 1561. ib. 375.

³⁵ See before, vol. 3. ch. 19. Her letter represented, 'We trust, being so near your cousin, you would be loth we should receive so manifest an injury as awnterly to be debarred from that title, which in possibility may fall unto us. We will deal frankly with you, and wish that you deal friendlily with us. We will have at this present, no judge of the equity of our demand, but yourself. If we had such a matter to treat with any other prince, there is no person whose advice we would rather follow. So great a conceit do we make of your amity towards us, and such an opinion have we conceived of your uprightness in judgment, that altho the matter partly touch yourself, we dare adventure to put much in your hands. We will require nothing of you, but that which we could find in our heart to grant unto you, if the like case were ours.' Haynes, p. 377.

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with be put in good surety.’²⁶ This was followed by an eloquent peroration, which was creditable to her talents or to her feelings, and may have resulted from a combination of both.²⁷ It is too easy and too natural, and in some parts too feminine, for a statesman’s pen; tho it displays, on the whole, the political sagacity of a mind, which for the last fifteen months had been much personally exercised in great public concerns, as she had taken the lead of her husband in all English and Scotch affairs.

To gain this dangerous assurance of the succession, Mary and her ministers exerted every means that were not inconsistent with the amity of the two

²⁶ Haynes, p. 377.

²⁷ ‘Which matter being once in this sort knit up betwixt us, and by the means thereof the whole seed of dissention taken up by the root, we doubt not but hereafter our behaviour together in all respects shall represent to the world as great and firm amity as by stories is expressed to have been at any time betwixt whatsoever couple of dearest friends mentioned in them, to the great comfort of our subjects and perpetual quietness of both the realms, which we are bound by all good means to procure. We leave to your own consideration what reasons we might allege to confirm the equity of our demand; and what is probable that others would allege if they were in our place, which we pass over in silence.

‘You see what abundance of love, nature has wrought in our heart towards you; whereby we are moved rather to admit something that others perchance would esteem to be an inconvenience, than leave any root of breach; and to set aside the manner of treating accustomed among other princes, leaving all ceremonies, to propound and utter the bottom of our mind nakedly without any circumstances: which fashion of dealing, in our opinion, deserves to be answered in the like frankness.

‘If God will grant any good occasion that we meet together, which we wish may be soon, we trust you shall more clearly perceive the security of our good meaning than we can express by writing. In the mean season we desire you heartily, as you term us your good sister, so imagine with yourself that we are so in effect, and that you may not look for no less assured and firm amity at our hands, than if we were your natural sister indeed. Of this you shall from time to time have good experience, so long as it shall please you to continue on your part the good intelligence begun betwixt us.

‘And thus, right excellent, right high and mighty princess, our dearest sister and cousin, we commit you to the tuition of the Almighty.’ Seyton, 5 Jan. 1562. Haynes, 378.

sovereigns. Difficulties were raised against the friendly interview which Elizabeth desired, because this point was not conceded:²⁸ till some months afterwards, Mary sent her state secretary to arrange conditions for its taking place,²⁹ when articles were settled accordingly for a meeting at York at the end of the ensuing August.³⁰ But as the blood shed at Vassy had alarmed the French Protestant nobility, and terminated their peaceful relations with the Catholic party,³¹ and as the Guises were forming new combinations and secret efforts to attack the reformed, the English cabinet made the interview dependent on the pacification of these disquieting perturbations, which, from Mary's affinity and favor to the leaders of the Romish system in France, and from Elizabeth's danger if their opponents were destroyed, could not long continue without involving both the English and Scottish governments in their fatal agitations. In June, the conferences between the great French parties produced no conciliation,³²

²⁸ See Maitland's letter to Cecil, of 27 Feb. 1562. Haynes, 380.

²⁹ The authority to him is dated Holyrood House, 25 May. Haynes, 386.

³⁰ See them in Haynes, p. 388-90. It was to be between 20 August and 20 September. The Scottish queen might come with 1000 persons in her retinue, and be permitted to use the rites and ceremonies of her own religion. Current English monies were to be exchanged for ten thousand pounds of gold and silver of Scotland, as the monies of that country did not circulate in England; or the fine gold and silver coin of Scotland were to be made current here for six months, at their just value as compared with English monies. *ib.* On 8 July the safe-conduct was assigned for her, copied in Haynes, 390.

³¹ This occurred in the March of this year. See before.

³² On 14 June, sir R. Throckmorton, from Paris, informed sir Th. Chaloner, the English ambassador in Spain, that the queen mother and king of Navarre had met the prince of Condé, with an hundred horse each, 'in a colloquy in the field, and on horseback, for fear of ambushments and treason, which they say was in practice at the first day assigned, and therefore the conference was disappointed.' Lett. Haynes, 386.

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and a dire appeal to the calamitous sword became the most probable contingency.³³ By the middle of July the warfare was so certain, that Elizabeth dispatched sir Henry Sidney to the queen of Scotland, to postpone their interview until the following spring:³⁴ because the Guises had committed new hostilities against the French Protestants, and begun their extermination with demonstrations of menace to all reformation elsewhere;³⁵ measures of alarm which required the fixed attention of the English government, especially as the French were assem-

³³ 'In the end of this treaty between these great personages, whereof every man hoped some good issue, the matter is broken off unpounded, and small hope left now for any composition, but such as the sword shall force.' Lett. Haynes, 387. Among such grave matters it is amusing to read one important ambassador writing to another: 'I pray you, good my lord ambassador! send me two pair of perfumed gloves, perfumed with orange flowers and jassmin; the one for my wife's hand, the other for mine own; and whereinsoever I can pleasure you with any thing in this country, you shall have it in recompence.' *ib.* Paris must have changed her character greatly since 1562, that perfumed gloves were not to be found in it, but had to be fetched out of Spain, and by an ambassador's despatch. The fitting seems to have been of less consequence than the scent, for no patterns appear to have been inclosed.

³⁴ See the queen's instructions to Sidney, 'lord president of the council in the marches of Wales,' dated 15th July 1562. Hayn. 391.

³⁵ The queen states, that they had assaulted Blois, and tho the governor had surrendered it, had put the garrison and officers to death, and had proceeded to banish all the reformed, to allow no toleration, and to authorize the mob at Paris to cut in pieces all those who had broken any church, or kept them company. 'An order,' adds the queen, 'never heard of before, to give to the common people the sword!' by which the vulgar were killing persons daily, without regard of fault known or tried. That soldiers were coming to them from Spain, Savoy and the pope; that no disposition was seen in the duke of Guise and his parties to make any accord, 'but rather a wilful subversion and destruction of all manner of nations that consent not with them in the rites of the Christian religion.' 'Seeing these extreme strange proceedings in France, our good sister will well understand how unmete it is for us and our council to be so careless of the time as to depart from these parts, and leave our realm unprovided against such accidents as we know the adversaries of our religion would take advantage of should chance to the same.' Therefore wishes, 'to see her in the beginning of next summer, or Nottingham, at any time she shall name the last of August.' Hayn. 391-3.

bling 'great numbers of ships of war;' ³⁶ and an army was also forming on the sea coast of Normandy, under the duke d'Aumale, by which some part of England might be suddenly invaded. ³⁷ A small English fleet was expedited to that part of the channel, to prevent this aggression. ³⁸

The first great public measure of Mary was the destruction of the powerful earl of Huntley, in her summer progress of 1562. It benefited lord James, ³⁹ and is therefore imputable to his advice and ambition. But the queen is said to have decided upon it against the advice of her council. ⁴⁰ She passed thro Stirling to Aberdeen on horseback, with a large train. ⁴¹ Declining to visit Huntley in his adjoining castle, she passed on through Elgin to Inverness. ⁴²

³⁶ Haynes, 394.

³⁷ The instructions to Woodhouse, of 4th August, express this apprehension. Haynes, ib.

³⁸ See orders of 30th July to the lord admiral, to send four ships and a bark under vice-admiral Woodhouse, to lay off the Norman coast, and guard the seas. Haynes, p. 394. He was also to obtain intelligence from Dieppe and Newhaven, how the matters proceeded, and in what terms each party stood; but to offend neither, yet, 'to shew appearance of good will to the party persecuted, and that you mean well and favorably to them.' ib. 395.

³⁹ Chalmers enumerates seven beneficial appointments which he obtained by it, v. 3. p. 380. But that he converted it to his advantage, is not alone the deciding proof, tho it justifies the suspicion, that he therefore planned or procured it. When the ambitious play opposing games, *væ victis*!

⁴⁰ Randolph's remarks to Cecil, on 10 August, were, 'It is rather devised by herself, than greatly approved by her council, a terrible journey both for horse and man; the countries are so poor and the victuals so scarce.' Lett. 1 Chalm. 119.

⁴¹ Sir James Ogilvie's diary, quoted by Chalmers, notes her stages, and that she travelled always after dinner. She left Edinburgh on 11 August; was at Stirling on the 12th, accompanied by Randolph, and followed by John Knox. On 27th reached Aberdeen. Randolph wrote, 'Her journey is cumbersome, painful, and marvellous long; the weather extreme foul and cold; all victuals marvellous dear, and the corn never like to come to ripeness.' 1 Chalm. p. 126-8.

⁴² She reached it on 11 Sept. Randolph mentioned that he went to Huntley Castle, on his invitation, with Argyle, and stayed two nights.

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The castle of this highland capital was in the keeping of lord Gordon's deputy, who refused to deliver it; an act of fidelity to his feudal lord, but of treason against his sovereign. The country assembled round the queen, and the clan of the Gordons came out in arms, but finding their force inferior, the castle was surrendered,⁴³ after a resistance that allowed Mary to display her military disposition.⁴⁴

This achievement completed, she returned thro Fochabers, with a little army of Highlanders, increasing, as she approached the ford of the Spey, to three thousand men. As she had begun a local warfare, she journeyed with some apprehensions of retaliating attack.⁴⁵ But her attending force deterred it; she ascertained this fact as she advanced, but her resolution was prepared to have stood the encounter.⁴⁶ She was welcomed loyally into the new

' His house is fair, best furnished that I have seen in this country. His cheer is marvellous great. His mind, then, as it appeared to us, such as ought to be in any subject to his sovereign.'

⁴³ ' It had but thirteen able men within it. ' The captain was hanged, and his head set upon the castle. Some others condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and the rest received mercy.' Rand. 1 Chalm. 133.

⁴⁴ ' In all these garbules, I assure your honour, I never saw the queen merrier; never dismayed. I never thought that stomach to be in her that I find. She repented nothing, when the lords and others at Inverness came in the morning from the watch, but that she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields; or to walk upon the causeway, with a jack and a knapsack, a Glasgow buckler and a broad sword.' Rand. letter, 18 Sep. Chalm. 133.

⁴⁵ ' As she rode forward, divers reports were brought to her. Some told her she would be attacked as she passed the river. Others said she would be assailed from the woods, which skirted the roads within a short distance of the river; and it was said by others, that there had been in that wood a thousand men the night before.' Lett. Rand. 24 September, p. 134.

⁴⁶ ' Not one was found when proper persons were sent to discover them. Of this the queen was assured before she approached the Spey; so that she rode forward without fear. Yet at no time nor at any thing were they discouraged, tho we neither thought nor looked for other than to have fought on that day, or never.' Lett. ib. 135.

town of Aberdeen,⁴⁷ and then proceeded to make that part of the country obedient to her, and therefore to subvert the power and family of earl Huntley, against whom she had inherited or imbibed her mother's enmity.⁴⁸ We cannot now determine the degree of the danger, the necessity of the rigor, or the true causes of exerting it. In what she did, she had the concurrence of the other great chieftains of the country, and of the people; and therefore no mere personal spleen in her mind, or ambition in Murray's, without some misconduct in Huntley, will account for such determined and precipitated destruction of him and of his house.⁴⁹

Her measures were peremptory and unsparing. Huntley offered his submissions,⁵⁰ but would not venture on a personal attendance. He was sum-

⁴⁷ 'The good mind of the inhabitants was shewn in spectacles, plays, interludes, and others, as they could best devise. They presented her with a cup of silver double gilt, well wrought, with 500 crowns in it. Wine, coals, and wax were sent in, as much as will serve her while she remains here.' Rand. 24 Sept. 137.

⁴⁸ Her mother, when queen regent, had called Huntley to account for not subduing some of the Highland clans, and on her death-bed had blamed him for his advises. 3 Chalm. p. 152. The charge on her progress, against Huntley, was a secret conspiracy against lord James and her government, as Knox and Buchanan intimate. Robertson accredits them, and I see no adequate reason for counter-acting his opinion, tho I will not undertake to give any decision of my own on the subject. As lord James was now made earl of Murray, I shall henceforth call him by that name.

⁴⁹ 'Her determination is to remain here forty days at least; within which time she trusteth to put this country in good quietness. Her noblemen remain with her, and more daily come in.' Rand. p. 137. 'Consultations were now held, day after day, how to reform this country, and to make it obedient to their sovereign.' Rand. 30 Sept. 137. As Randolph wrote on the spot, he must have seen whether the country was in a state of legal submission or insubordination; and if he had observed any incongruity between its civil condition and the pretext for these daily councils, it is most probable that he would have noticed it to the English state secretary.

⁵⁰ See the particulars in Robertson; and more fully in Chalmers, with a favorable pen to Huntley, v. 3. p. 160-174.

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moned to appear on a very brief notice,⁵¹ and declared rebel for not presenting himself. But he had the ill judgment, or the desperate irritability, to assemble his friends and adherents in arms on a hill fifteen miles from Aberdeen.⁵² Murray, by a rapid movement, surrounded him with a larger force, and he was taken prisoner with two of his sons, after the slaughter of some of his attendants, and died as he was conveyed from the field of the useless battle and absurd act of rebellious hostility;⁵³ unless it had objects which have been mentioned, but not distinctly disclosed or authenticated.⁵⁴ His son, who

⁵¹ Act Privy Coun. Keith, 226. On the 15th of October for the 16th, scarcely 24 hours; an abruptness of notification, which, if the danger was not extreme, and her vicinity close, is of itself an expressive injustice.

⁵² The privy council's act of the earls Errol, Athol, Marshall, and Moreton, and lord Erskine, as well as of Murray and Maitland, of 27 Oct. describe Huntley as then 'coming forward with determined purpose to pursue our sovereign lady;' and that she, with her true lieges, were 'to pass forward to meet him on the plane fields.' As if a severe conflict was expected, it directs provisions for the wives and children of those who should fall. Keith, p. 227.

⁵³ Randolph's account to Cecil was, 'The earl of Huntley, after he was taken, without either blow or stroke, being set upon horseback before him that was his taker, suddenly falleth from his horse stark dead, without a word that he ever spoke after he was upon horseback.' Lett. 28 October. Chalm. 3. p. 176.

⁵⁴ Sir Robert Gordon, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to James I. and Charles I., in his MS. notes has stated, that 'The earl of Huntley gathered these forces at the queen's own desire, to free her from the earl of Murray's power.' Cited by Keith, 229. On this obscure subject we can only collect a few contemporary historical notices, which must rest on the credit of each relater. Knox mentions that lord 'Gordon came to the duke [Hamilton] from the earl of Huntley, requiring him to stir his hands in the south as he should do in the north.' p. 342. Knox affirms that the letters in the earl's pocket, and the prisoners taken, disclosed the treason to be, that the earl of Murray was to have been murdered, and the queen taken and kept at Huntley's devotion. p. 347. But the more important intimations are those which connect Huntley's intentions with the Guises in France. Buchanan mentions that the queen received letters from the pope, and from her uncles, the Guises, 'advising her to entertain well the earl of Huntley, as being the man of greatest power in Scotland, and best inclined towards restoring the ancient form of religion, and to feed him with fallacious hopes of taking to husband one of his sons.'

was beheaded, confessed intentions of destroying her chief counsellors.⁵⁵

CHAP.
XX.

As many marriages were planned for Mary in the commencement of 1563 as had been talked of for Elizabeth;⁵⁶ but the civil war had now began in all its evils and perturbations, in France, between the Catholic and Protestant parties; and on 19 December, the undeciding but calamitous battle, near

A promise was likewise made by the pope and cardinal Lorraine, of a supply of money, to enable her the better to execute her purposes; and that Murray and some of the greatest enemies of the Catholic faith were to be put to death. Keith, 224. That there were communications in this August, between Mary and the Guises, we learn from a passage in Throckmorton's despatch to Elizabeth, from Paris, of 5 Aug. 1562. 'The 4th of this present, James Bethon, servant to the queen of Scotland, and son to the late cardinal Bethon, departed from this town towards Boulogne or Calais, to embark, and so to pass thro your realms into Scotland. He taketh upon him to do the good purposes he goeth about, being despatched from the cardinal of Lorraine without my knowledge. He is one of the worst affected to your nation that is of his nation. He carrieth with him as ill devices to be put in use against your majesty, as the papists here can devise. He returneth home, as I am informed, to procure that there may be some business upon the frontier of Scotland towards England.' Forbes' State Papers, v. 2. p. 14. On 15 Oct. 1562, his further report was: 'The house of Guise, with the advice of the cardinal of Ferrara, and the Spanish ambassador here, have lately despatched Villemort and La Crocque, servants to the queen of Scotland, to pass thro your majesty's realm; and there to make some trouble if they see opportunity, and to exasperate the queen of Scotland and her papistical council to make some trouble on the frontier, and to do what they can to deprive the earl [Murray,] Lethington and all others which favor the Protestant religion, of their credit and authority with her.' ib. 115.

⁵⁵ So Randolph on 18th Nov. apprised Cecil. See his letter in Keith, 230. Maitland's language to Cecil, on 14th Nov. on Huntley, is also strong: 'Wicked enterprise; unnatural subject; his iniquity; no just occasion of grudge was ever offered to him.' Lett. in Keith, 232. What Knox mentions of his demeanor at their violent sermons were natural feelings: 'Have ye not seen him pick his nails, and pull down his bonnet over his eyes, when idolatry, witchcraft, murder, oppression, and such vices were rebuked? Was not this his common talk? 'When these knaves have railed their fill, then will they hold their peace.' p. 348.

⁵⁶ On 17th Jan. sir Thomas Smith reported, that the cardinal of Lorraine was working for it, 'and offereth the emperor's son the marriage of the queen of Scotland. She serveth them for a good scale. She has been offered to the king of Spain's son; to the king of Navarre; the king of Sweden; and the cardinal of Bourbon, who is no priest.' Forbes, 287. Knox mentions that the duke of Nemours, as well as lord Darnley, was talked of. p. 347.

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Dreux, took place between the connetable with the duke of Guise against the prince of Condé and the admiral.⁵⁷ Yet altho little advantage resulted to the duke from the conflict, the honor of the day being attributed to his bravery and talent, greatly increased his personal reputation ;⁵⁸ but his popularity only enlarged his desire and power to extinguish his reformed opponents.⁵⁹

The papal spirit of her uncles was now in full activity in Mary's bosom : and she expressed her feelings and secret determinations in a private letter to the pope,⁶⁰ whom she referred to her uncle for

⁵⁷ Throckmorton, who saw the conflict, describes it fully in his report. The admiral with the vanguard defeated Montmorency's battalions, and took him prisoner. Guise overthrew Condé's wing, and made him a captive, and kept the field of battle. Lett. 3 Jan. 1563. Forbes, 251. D'Anselot on 5th Jan. assured Elizabeth ' que l'avantage n'a été ni d'un coté, ni d'autre.' Lett. ib. 263. Eight hundred gentlemen fell in it (p. 276) ; and marshal St. André, duc de Nevers, and other nobles.

⁵⁸ Throckmorton evinces the general feeling in his own impression : ' He behaved himself like a great and valiant captain ; and such victory as remained to him ; such victory I may say, because if all be well considered, it is very doubtful ; the duke may challenge to himself.' ib. p. 252.

⁵⁹ So Throckmorton indicated on 13th Jan. after many conversations with him : ' The duke of Guise, as far as I can perceive, will in no wise accord to peace, till the Protestants be utterly exterminated.' Lett. ib. 277.

⁶⁰ I am not aware that these two letters of Mary have been noticed before. That to the pope is in Latin, dated 30th Jan. 1563. ' Most holy father ! Our mind has always been so to bend our desire, thought and labor, that some means might be offered to us by heaven, by which we could bring back our wretched people, whom, with the greatest grief, we have found strayed from the good way, and every where subject to fugitive opinions and condemned errors. This extreme iniquity of the time has particularly displeased us, and has not yet suffered us to do our duty in what concerned the sacred council, tho we peculiarly desired it. We pray your holiness not to think that this has been omitted from our fault, for we have tried every thing in order to send prelates from our kingdom. We hoped that such a good and holy proceeding would serve to the edification of our subjects, that at length they might acknowledge in a worthy manner the holy Catholic Roman church, with that obedience in which we might live and die your most devoted daughter. Certainly we will spare no means in our power, nor even our life.' Lett. in Plat's Concil. Trident. v. 4. p. 661.

a fuller disclosure of her intentions.⁶¹ This seems to have been written at the instigation of the Spanish prime minister,⁶² and was accompanied by another to her relative, the cardinal, declaring her determined adhesion to the Romish See;⁶³ her fixed aversion to the reformed opinions;⁶⁴ her resolution to lose her life, if she could benefit her church, rather than forsake it.⁶⁵ She adds her desire to act conformably to his will.⁶⁶ These letters indicate that she was carrying on an unknown intercourse with the mortal enemies of the great national improvement, which both England and Scotland had adopted; and which in her public government she was ostensibly supporting: and lead us to infer, that from the opposition between her private sentiments and connexions, and her public situation and acts, a profound dissimulation was becoming a part of her political

⁶¹ 'We have asked our relation the cardinal Lorraine, that, kissing the feet of your holiness, he would more fully explain to you our mind.' *ib.* 661.

⁶² 'It is in her letter to the cardinal, dated the same 30th Jan. that she mentions this suggestion. I translate it from the Latin in which it has been printed: 'My kinsman! an opportunity offering, I would not be wanting in my duty to preserve your favour and friendship towards me. As cardinal Granvelo made me secure, he has caused me to add to yours, these letters to our most holy lord, which I wish to render to him with due reverence.' *Plat. Mon.* p. 660.

⁶³ 'In these I profess and affirm that I will live and die in the ancient obedience to the Catholic and Roman church. I repute it to be the head, and its pontiff the supreme shepherd, whom I supplicate that he may acknowledge me his devoted daughter.' *ib.*

⁶⁴ 'I pray you to testify of me as far as you can, that the many execrable errors in which the greatest part of this kingdom is immersed, particularly displease me, yet I must be a spectator of them.' *ib.*

⁶⁵ 'Believe me that I should be most happy if I could meet with any remedy to these evils; even if that must be with the expenditure of my life; for I have determined rather to lose that than to change this my faith, or to give ear in any respect to these heresies.' *ib.* 661.

⁶⁶ 'You may be certain that I will listen to you; and I earnestly beg, that if I have in any way been less intent on religion than was fit, that you will excuse me; for you know the purposes of my will more exactly than any other.' *ib.* 661.

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habit or mental character. A few days after writing these letters, Mary showed that gaiety of temper and levity of manners were not incompatible with severe resentment.⁶⁷

The queen, who had a personal gratification in talking to Knox, when she made her spring excursion toward St. Andrew's, sent for him to Lochleven. She exerted her eloquence upon him for two hours, to have the Catholics allowed the free use of their religion, till 'somewhat offended' at his impracticability, 'she passed to her supper.'⁶⁸ But next

⁶⁷ In November preceding she had received letters from her French uncles by Chastelard, whose infatuation and presumption became fatal to him from her own previous imprudence and subsequent displeasure. In one of her dances, called 'The Purpose, in which the man and woman talketh secretly,' as Knox describes it, Mary chose the French gentleman for her partner, 'because he had the best dress.' 'All this winter he was so familiar with the queen, that the nobility being by this means stopped to have free access [to her] as they thought fit and due to them, were highly offended.' Knox, 361. Presuming on this, Chastelard on the evening of 12th Feb. concealed himself in her bedchamber as she was about to retire to it. Her female attendants observed and turned him out; and Mary being the next morning apprized of it, forbade him her presence. Two nights after, as she retired to her room, he followed her to clear himself, as he said, from the imputations which had been cast upon him. She cried out for help, and then sent for the earl of Murray. When he came, she ordered him to stab the Frenchman with his dagger; but the earl thought it better to put him under arrest. Rand. Lett. Chal. 157. Knox says, that Murray falling on his knees, desired her not to cause him to take the man's blood upon him. 'Your majesty hath used him so familiarly before, and now if he shall be secretly slain at your own commandment, what will the world judge of it?' 'O!' said the queen, 'you shall not let him speak.' He was tried for the offence, and in eight days was beheaded. As he suffered, looking up to the sky, he exclaimed, 'O cruel dame!' Knox, 351. Brantome mentions that he read over on the scaffold Ronsard's Hymn on Death, as his only preparation for the fatal stroke. His own account of his condemnation was, 'Pour être trouvé en lieu trop suspect.' Knox, ib.

⁶⁸ John's statement is, 'She dealt with him earnestly two hours before supper, that he would be the instrument to persuade the people, and principally the gentlemen of the west, not to put hand to punish any man for the using of themselves in their religion as pleased them.' p. 352. A most laudable object, if it were not meant as a step to their power and means of persecuting afterwards.

morning, as she diverted herself with hawking, she wished another colloquy with this important leader, in which she endeavored to incline his mind against a prelate she disliked, not without reason ;⁶⁰ and to procure a reconciliation for her natural sister, lady Argyle, with her husband ;⁷⁰ then suddenly reverting to their conference on the preceding night, promised to be governed by his advice.⁷¹ Knox records these interviews, 'to let the world see how deeply Mary queen of Scotland can dissemble.'⁷²

Her pleasant journey and rural enjoyment⁷³ was saddened by tidings of the assassination of the duke

⁶⁰ She began by mentioning that a ring had been offered her by lord Ruthven, 'whom I cannot love, for I know him to use enchantment, and yet he is one of my privy council.'—'I understand that ye are appointed to go to Dumfries for the election of a superintendant to be established in these countries ; but I hear that the bishop of Caithness would be such. If ye knew him as well as I do, ye would never promote him to that office ; nor yet to any other within your kirk. Well, do as you will ; but that man is a dangerous man.' p. 354. Knox owns that the queen was not deceived in her conception of his character.

⁷⁰ 'When the queen had long talked with John Knox, and he oft willing to take his leave, she said, 'I have one of the greatest matters that have touched me since I came into this realm to open to you, and I must have your help in it.' She began a long discourse of her sister, the lady Argyle ; how that she was not so circumspect in all things as she wished her to be. 'And yet her husband, whom I love, useth her not in many things so honestly and so godlily, as I think ye yourself would require : well, it is worse than ye believe. But do this much for my sake, as once again to put them at unity, and if she behave not herself as she ought to do, she shall find no favor of me, but in any wise let my lord know that I have requested you in this matter, for I would be very sorry to offend him in that or in any other thing.' Knox, 364.

⁷¹ 'And now,' said she, 'as touching our reasoning yesternight, I promise to do as you required. I shall cause to summon all offenders, and ye shall know that I shall minister justice.' ib. It was on 19 April that she was at Lochleven House. Chalm. 159.

⁷² Knox, p. 364. To effectuate the queen's request, John wrote to Argyle a letter that was neither very wise nor very successful. See ib. p. 355, 6. But he had only one style of thought and manner, and this was certainly not of the 'molliter fandi.'

⁷³ 'The queen is not healthy and merry : most commonly riding in the fields as time will serve her.' Rand. 10 March. Chalm. 159.

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of Guise, at Orleans,⁷⁴ and the illness of her other uncles.⁷⁵ The great talents and popular qualities of the murdered prince, were strongly felt and liberally pourtrayed by the English ambassador.⁷⁶ She returned to Edinburgh, to hold her parliament at the end of May, where her graceful elocution was admired,⁷⁷ and to be crowned. An act of oblivion,

⁷⁴ On 18 Feb. as the duke was returning to his lodging, Peltrot, a gentleman disguised like a German trooper, rode up to him and shot him in the shoulder, 'to revenge, as he said, the tyranny which the duke had committed against the Christians, and was like to exercise if he might have any longer life.' Throck. lett. Forbes, 2, p. 343. Thus committing himself the atrocious crime of taking into his own hands that punishment, which, if established laws do not reach, the Deity alone has the right to inflict, and reserves to himself to do so. The duke died six days afterwards.

⁷⁵ 'The duc D'Aumale is in great danger of his hurt which he received in the battle; marquis D'Albeuf is sore sick of a continual fever; the grand prior is dead.' Lett. Throck. 2 March, p. 346. Thus out of the five brothers of the Guises, the cardinal was at this time the only efficient person of the family.

⁷⁶ Sir Thomas Smith on 26 Feb. wrote from Blois to Elizabeth,— 'The death of this nobleman will make some great turn. The papists have lost their greatest stay, hope and comfort. Many noblemen and gentlemen followed the camp and that faction, rather for the love of him than for any other zeal or affection. He was indeed the best captain in all France; some will say in all Christendom, for he had all the properties which belongeth to or are wished in a general; a ready wit and well advised; a body to endure pains; a courage to forsake no dangerous adventures; use and experience to conduct any army; much courtesy in entertaining of all men; great eloquence to utter all his mind. He was very liberal both of money and honor to young gentlemen, captains and soldiers; whereby he got so much love and admiration, that I think now he is gone, many gentlemen will forsake the camp. They begin to drop away already. He was so earnest and so fully persuaded of his religion, that he thought nothing evil done for that sect. Therefore the papists thought nothing evil bestowed upon him; all their money and treasure of the church; part of their lands; even the honor of the crown of France they could have found in their hearts to have given him.' Lett. 2 Forb. 340, 1.

⁷⁷ So Knox acknowledges with very coarse-minded spleen. 'Such striking pride of women as was seen at that parliament, was never seen before in Scotland. Three sundry days the queen rode to the Tolbooth. The first day she made a painted oration. There might have been heard amongst her flatterers 'Vox Dianæ! The voice of a goddess! God save that sweet face! Was there ever orator spake so properly and so sweetly?' p. 357. Knox after this quarrelled with Murray, so 'that familiarly after that time they spake not together more than a year and a half.' ib.

and a confirmation of the forfeitures of Huntley and Sutherland were the chief statutes of her senate;⁷⁸ and an excursion to the western regions of Scotland occupied her summer.⁷⁹ But before she went, her vexation at a sermon of Knox, about her proposed marriages, made her order him to her private cabinet, to give him a passionate lecture. Her eloquence had never availed with him; yet she resolved that he should hear, and, if possible, feel, tho she could not govern his sturdy temper by it. The truth was, that John took a surly pleasure in being scolded by her in private, which was indeed a great distinction; and in scolding on his own part, in return, publicly at her from his pulpit in general declamation. It was the old papal churchman towering above the crown in presbyterian garments.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ 1 Chalm. 163. Knox 'conjuring the queen to forsake her idolatrous religion, the chancellor, lord Merton, desired him to hold his peace and go away.' Spottisw. 188. ⁷⁹ Chalm. 166 9.

⁸⁰ He describes the interview in his own strong way. 'The queen, in a vehement fume, began to cry out, that never prince was used as she was. 'I have borne with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking, both against myself and against my uncles. I have sought your favours by all possible means. I offered unto you presence and audience whensoever it pleased you to admonish me; and yet I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I will be once revenged.' And with these words, scarce could Marnock, one of her pages, get handkerchiefs to hold her eyes dry; for the tears and the howling, besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech. To his answer, she replied, 'What have you to do with my marriage? What are you within the commonwealth?' He asserted himself to be 'a profitable and useful member in the same.' He thus proceeds: 'At these words howling was heard, and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erskine (the only other person present) a man of meek and gentle spirit, did what he could to mitigate her anger. The said John [Knox] stood still without any alteration of countenance for a long time, while the queen gave place to her inordinate passions; and in the end he said, 'Madam! I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures. Yea, I can scarcely well abide the tears of my own boys, when my own hands correct them. Much less can I rejoice in your majesty's weeping; but seeing I have offered unto you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth as my vocation craves of me, I must sus-

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In May 1563, Le Croc arrived in Scotland as the ambassador from the French court, and urged Mary to marry the emperor's youngest son;⁸¹ but no foreign match was popular in Edinburgh;⁸² and Elizabeth recommended her to chuse one to whom she could feel attached, and whom her nobility and commons would allow: and ordered Randolph to assure her, that if she would content Elizabeth and the English nation in her marriage, they would proceed to the inquisition of her right to the succession.⁸³

In 1564, her marriage with Leicester was suggested and greatly pressed by the English court; but Mary decidedly objected to him, because he was a subject;⁸⁴ and also to the duke of Orleans, proposed by the French court;⁸⁵ but as this prince was not a Protestant, Elizabeth was afraid of the consequences if he became king of Scotland. It was essential to the security of both the English and Scottish reformation, and of their supporters, that

tain your majesty's tears, rather than I dare hurt my conscience or betray the commonwealth by silence.' Herewith was the queen more offended, and commanded the said John to pass forth of the cabinet, and to abide further of her pleasure in the chamber.' p. 359-61. The imperturbable John did so; but it was only to lecture the court ladies there on death and foul worms; fair flesh, silly souls, and their gold, garnishing and precious stones, till the laird of Dun came in and told him he might go home. *ib.* 361.

⁸¹ Randolph's letter in Keith, 239. Melville details the opposing advice of Elizabeth, on this proposal of the archduke Charles. p. 105-7. Brantome mentions that before this, the king of Navarre had an idea of divorcing his wife and marrying her, but that she steadily refused to take another woman's husband from her. She justly thought that to be a moral crime. ⁸² *Ib.* 241.

⁸³ Elizabeth's instructions to Randolph, dated 20 Aug. 1563. Keith, p. 243.

⁸⁴ Rand. lett. 30 March 1564. Keith, 252. His letter of the 7 November following, and that of lord Bedford's, sixteen days afterwards, contains the further reasoning in Scotland against the proposal of Leicester. *ib.* 260-5.

⁸⁵ The duke of Orleans. Rand. lett. 12 Nov. 1564. Keith, p. 260.

the husband of Mary should, if possible, be of that persuasion.

CHAP.
XX.

In September 1564, Mary determined to send sir James Melville to England,⁸⁶ to confer with Elizabeth on her letters, marriage and succession.⁸⁷ In his audience with the English queen, she declared her own resolution to live single, and recommended strongly the earl of Leicester for Mary's husband, as the person who would preclude all fear and mistrust in her mind of being dispossessed of her throne, and with whom she could appoint the Scottish princess her successor.⁸⁸ She spoke very kindly of Mary, and seemed to take much interest in her;⁸⁹ nor was she less pleased with the envoy, whose travels and acquaintance with foreign manners, made his conversation interesting to her.⁹⁰ It was an effusion of

⁸⁶ He came to her in Scotland, in May 1564, with letters to her in his favor, from the emperor, the elector palatine, and her uncles. He told her the emperor was against her marriage with his brother the archduke Charles. Melv. Mem. 110. She settled on him immediately a pension of 1000 marks, and offered him also some lands, which he declined, as property which she might want. ib. 111.

⁸⁷ Melville has inserted her instructions, dated 28 Sept. 1564, in his book, p. 112-5.

⁸⁸ 'She said, she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she should have married herself if she had ever been minded to take a husband; but, being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished that the queen her sister should marry him as meetest of all others. With him she might find in her heart to declare the queen second person, rather than with any other; for, being matched with him, it would best remove out of her mind all fear and suspicion to be offended by usurpation before her death; being assured that he would never give his consent, nor suffer such thing to be enterprized during his time.' Melv. 119.

⁸⁹ 'She appeared to be so affectionate to the queen, that she had a great desire to see her. She *delighted* oft to look upon her picture, and took me into her bed-chamber, and opened a little lettrour, wherein were divers little pictures.' One of these was Leicester's, who was then in the room speaking with Cecil. 'Then she took out the queen's picture, and kissed it, and I kissed her hand for the great love I saw she bore to the queen.' 'She appointed me to be with her the next morning by eight o'clock, at which time she used to walk in her garden.' ib.

⁹⁰ 'In declaring the customs of Dutchland, Poland, and Italy, the

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female nature in Elizabeth, to desire his opinion, whether she or his own sovereign was fairest;⁹¹ and a discovery of some infirmity, neither uncommon nor unpardonable, to be thought to excel the applauded Mary in musical skill;⁹² and also—oh humbling vanity even in lofty minds! the intelligent queen of England desired likewise to be deemed the superior dancer.⁹³ But if the most private and confidential feelings and habits of the greater spirits that shine in the world's eye and business, be unre-

clothing of the women was not forgot. The queen said, she had of divers sorts, which every day she changed. One day the English; one the French; and one the Italian, and so of others; asking me which of them set her best. I said, the Italian; which pleased her well; for she delighted to show her golden colored hair, wearing a kell and a bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was more red than yellow; curled apparently of nature.' *ib.* 123.

⁹¹ 'I said, she was the fairest queen in England, and ours in Scotland. She was whiter; but our queen was very lusome. She inquired, which of them was of highest stature. I said ours. Then she said, that queen was over high; and that herself was neither over high, nor over low. She asked what kind of exercises she used; I said, when I was dispatched, the queen was but now come back from the highland hunting; and when she had leisure, she read good books, the histories of divers countries; and would sometimes play upon lute and virginal. She inquired if she played well; I said, reasonably for a queen.' *ib.* 124.

⁹² 'After dinner, my lord Hunsden drew me up to a quiet gallery, where I might hear the queen play upon the virginal. I put by the tapestry that hung before the door: and seeing her back towards it, I entered within the chamber, and heard her play excellently well; but she left off as soon as she turned her about and saw me. Then she sat down upon a cushion, and I upon my knee beside her; but she gave me a cushion with her own hand to lay under my knee, which I refused, but she compelled me; and called lady Stafford out of the next chamber, because she was alone there. Then she asked, whether the queen or she played best; in that I give her the praise. She said, my French was good, and inquired if I could speak Italian, which she spoke reasonably well. Then she *spoke to me in Dutch*, but it was not good.' *Melv.* 125.

⁹³ 'I was earnest to be dispatched, but I was stayed two days longer, that I might see her dance as I was informed. Which being done, she inquired of me whether she or the queen danced best. I said the queen [Mary,] danced not so high and disposedly as she did. Then she wished she might see the queen. I offered to convey her secretly to Scotland by post, clothed like a page disguised. She said alas! if she might do it, and seemed to like well such kind of language.' *ib.* 125.

servedly revealed to us, some accompanying weaknesses will always appear amid their impressive superiority, as long as human nature in its present form and bearing subsists.

No particular result followed the visit of this conciliating agent. Lord Darnley became more visibly the man of her secret choice;⁹⁴ but Murray and Maitland went in November 1564 to Berwick, to confer more diplomatically with the earl of Bedford, on her important marriage;⁹⁵ and in the next month, celebration of the mass was made a forfeiture of goods, lands and life, except in the queen's chapel; and Rizzio, who became afterwards of such a calamitous notoriety, was now for the first time brought forward to public notice, by his elevation from a valet and occasional bass singer in the queen's chamber, to the confidential office of her French secretary;⁹⁶ a promotion which within a few years led to so much crime, misery, disgrace, and agitation.

As the year 1565 began, Mary exhibited an inclination to chuse lord Leicester;⁹⁷ but when she made her journey into Fife, where Darnley, arriving from

⁹⁴ He was the son of the earl of Lennox, and of the royal blood. On 3 Nov. Randolph wrote, 'many suppose it is concluded in her heart.' *ib.* 259. He added, 'that one Wild had brought intelligence, that all the papists in England are of her [Mary's] side.' *ib.* 260. The duke of Norfolk was also then mentioned as a husband for her. *ib.* 260.

⁹⁵ Bedford's lett. 23 Nov. in Keith, p. 263-6.

⁹⁶ 'Raulet, her secretary, for the French, is clean out of favor; and Rizzio, an Italian, supplieth that place.' Rand. lett. 3 Dec. 1564; Keith, 268. In March of the next year, the envoy thus noticed him again: 'An Italian Piedmontese, a singer, that came hither with M. Moret, is her secretary for the French.' *ib.* 270. Melville says, that he 'was not very skilful in inditing of French letters, which she did not write over again with her own hand. Both queens then wrote to each other in French with their own hands.' Melv. p. 109.

⁹⁷ So Randolph wrote on 5 Feb. Cecil's Diary. Meard. 758.

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London, suddenly presented himself to her at Wemys Castle about the middle of February,⁹⁸ he pleased her as much as he dissatisfied the earls Merton and Glencairn:⁹⁹ and in March, Maitland went from her to England, to procure Elizabeth's consent to her marrying him.¹⁰⁰ Bothwell was then so little in Mary's favor, that she disliked his coming home from France, and threatened to have him proclaimed a rebel.¹⁰¹ But the political state of Scotland began now to be perturbed. The knowlege of Darnley's attachment to the papal religion, had alarmed and divided the nobles. Those who were of that persuasion, joined the queen, and applauded her choice. The others, dreading persecution and disaster, looked to the English government as their only efficient protector.¹⁰² The probable results of Darnley's exaltation, were now discussed by all who anticipated evil from it.¹⁰³ The great danger to England was felt to

⁹⁸ He reached Edinburgh on 13 Feb. and was with the queen on the 16th. Cecil's Diary, p. 758; Stowe dates his departure from London on 3 Feb.: 'Her majesty took well with him, and said, that he was the lustiest and best proportioned tall man that she had seen; for he was of a high stature, long and small, even, and brent up; well instructed from his youth in all honest and comely exercises.' Melv. Mem. p. 134.

⁹⁹ Randolph lett. 10 Feb.; Keith, 269. 'The lord Darnley is much favored of the queen.' Cecil, p. 758.

¹⁰⁰ Keith, p. 270. On 4 March 1565, Randolph apprised Cecil, that the cardinal of Lorraine was 'practising to match her with the duke of Orleans or the French king.' 'The queen much distasteth her uncle's meddling.' ib. 269.

¹⁰¹ Rand. 15 March, who added, 'He is charged to have spoken dishonorably of the queen, and to have threatened to kill Murray and Ledington.' Keith, p. 270.

¹⁰² Rand. 20 March. He gives an instance of the indifference of the Romanists in her household to the Scriptures. 'One of the queen's chapel, a singing man, said, that he believed a tale of Robin Hood as well as any word written in the Old Testament or the New.' ib. in Keith, p. 271.

¹⁰³ The duke who had been regent feared the overthrow of his house. Murray doubted that he would be an enemy to the true religion. Cecil's abstract in Keith's app. 160. Argyle was averse to

arise from the practices and resolutions which were known to be afloat, to re-establish the Romish religion by violence, in both Scotland and England, to which Mary had acceded, and in which Darnley was expected to concur. The state council of England met several times in anxious deliberations on this subject,¹⁰⁴ and on their decision, sir Nicholas Throckmorton was sent to Edinburgh to prevent if possible the nuptials. The Scottish nobility had a similar dread from it, of active hostilities against their reformation, and of personal evils to themselves: nor did the king's occasional language lessen their apprehensions.¹⁰⁵ At times he vacillated into an appear-

it. The queen conceiveth a great displeasure against this nobleman, for his opposition. Rand. lett. Keith, p. 273.

¹⁰⁴ Their resolution, dated 1 May 1565, is printed from MS. Calig. B. 10, in Keith, p. 274. Cecil in his abstract notes, on 23 April, 'A consultation at Westminster upon Lethington's message of the marriage—misliked by all.' And on 1 May, 'A general determination by the whole council at Westminster, to disallow of the marriage to Darnley.' Keith's app. 150. On 4 June was another solemn deliberation of the English privy council, upon the perils that might ensue, and the remedies. The dangers were, that a great number in England, *not of the worst* subjects, might be alienated from Elizabeth, to favor all practices that should tend to the advancement of the queen of Scots; that the marriage was chiefly promoted by those who furthered it, 'as the only means left to restore the religion of Rome;' therefore, 'both in this realm and in Scotland, the papists would most fortify this marriage, and devise all means within their realm to disturb the English government,' and 'to achieve their purposes by force, rather than fail' *ib.* p. 207. 'Hereby the Romish religion would be erected and increased daily in this realm.' They then reviewed the proofs that these perils were really impending, and the remedies; of which one was to prevent the marriage. See this State Paper in Rob. app. 203–214. So that Elizabeth's objection to this marriage was not light female opposition. The queen had confessed to Murray, that money had been sent to her from the pope. E. Bedf. letter, Aug. 1566. Rob. app. 231.

¹⁰⁵ On 31 July, Randolph wrote to Leicester—'This is now their fear; *the overthrow of religion*; the breach of amity with the queen's majesty, and the destruction of as many of the nobility as she hath a misliking of; or that he liketh to pitch a quarrel unto. I speak least of that which I think is most earnestly intended by this queen and her husband. *By him* it was lately said, that he careth more for the papists in England, than he did for the Protestants in Scotland.' Rob. app. 215.

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ance of toleration or indifference:¹⁰⁶ but his unsettled resolution and irritable passions excited dislike, while they perpetuated disquietude among those who were too willing to seek and nourish animosities against him.¹⁰⁷ At first refused admittance, sir Nicholas was at last taken to an audience, when he found Mary's affections so resolutely fixed on the handsome Englishman by the end of May, that violence only could prevent the union.¹⁰⁸ Rizzio favoring him, became doubly estimable in his queen's regard. His influence now governed both. She is described in June as devoted to her young choice.¹⁰⁹ Some of the chief nobles abandoned Murray's counsels, and united more firmly with her.¹¹⁰ She then made her young favorite a knight, and created him an earl;¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ 'He would now seem to be indifferent to both religions; she to use her mass; and he to come sometimes to the preaching. They were married with all the solemnities of the popish time, saving that he heard not the mass.' Letter, *ib.*

¹⁰⁷ 'His words to all men, against whom he conceiveth any displeasure, how unjust soever it be, are so proud and spiteful, that he rather seemeth a monarch of the world, than he that, not long since, we have seen and known as the lord Darnley. He looketh now for reverence of many that have little will to give it him, and some there are that do give it that think him little worthy of it.' *ib.* An instance of this hasty violence was remarked, in striking at lord Ruthven with his dagger, because he brought him word that his ducal creation had been deferred to a future day. Cecil's abstract. Keith, p. 160.

¹⁰⁸ So he stated to the queen in his despatch of 21 May; Keith, 276; and to Cecil by letter of the same date. *ib.* 280.

¹⁰⁹ 'She doats upon her husband' was Randolph's strong expression. Keith, 283. His further statement to Leicester on 31 July, was, 'No man pleaseth her, that contenteth not him. She hath given over to him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himself liketh best.' Rob. app. 216.

¹¹⁰ These were, Athol, Caithness, Errol, Montrose, Fleming, Cassilis, Montgomery, Hume, Ruthven, and Lindsay. Keith, 283.

¹¹¹ His oath as a knight, on 15 May 1565, deserves our notice, as a relic of what this order of society was, and had been instituted to be:

'I shall defend the Christian faith according to my power:

'I shall be loyal and true to my princess, my sovereign lady, queen of Scotland, and her successors:

and tho apprised of Elizabeth's disapproval, persevered in her determination, kept herself private, and distinguished him by peculiar intimacy,¹¹² which did not lessen his unpopular arrogance.¹¹³

The opposition of the dissatisfied nobles only produced a state of danger to themselves and to those who sided with the court, which soon drove both to mortal hatred and to arms. Murray and Argyle projected to intercept and separate the queen and her lover; but her celerity evaded their vigilance, and frustrated their attempt.¹¹⁴ The pope sent her money to assist her cause, because it was his own. The resisting lords supplicated a similar aid from

'I shall honor and do reverence to all wise orders of nobility, and to the office of arms:

'I shall fortify and maintain justice without fee or favor:

'I shall use and exercise myself in the office of chivalry, and help all them that are of the same order, if they have need:

'I shall defend the realm of Scotland from all aliens and strangers:

'I shall never fly from my princess, master or fellow, with dishonor, in time of need:

'I shall defend all orphans, widows, and maidens of good fame:

'I shall do diligence whenever I hear is any murderers, robbers, or masterfull thieves that oppress the people, to bring them to the laws according to my power:

'I shall inquire and do diligence to seek all articles contained in the books of chivalry, and keep them all according to my power:

'I shall fortify, maintain, and defend the noble order of knight-hood, which I am ready to receive; and horse, arms, and knightly habiliments, after my power.' Keith, 281, from MS. Calig. B. 10, in the British Museum.

¹¹² 'She is now in suspicion of all men; her court is kept very secret. She dineth seldom abroad as she was accustomed, but either in her own chamber or with the lord Darnley, whose lodging joineth unto her's, and a privy passage between them. She is now offended with the most part that serve her. Her Maries clear out of credit, and tarry now even at home, wheresoever she rideth.' Rand. 2 July, p. 288.

¹¹³ 'No persuasion can alter that which custom has made old in him. He is counted proud, disdainful, and suspicious; which kind of men their soil, of any other, can worse bear.' ib. 287.

¹¹⁴ Randolph relates these events in his dispatch of 4th July, p. 291, 2. 'Two hours before this lord [Murray] came to that town, the queen was past.' ib. 291.

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engagement, was an oppressing and treasonable conduct, which led eventually to hasten the mischief that followed. Their resistance occasioned the queen's council to determine to recal Bothwell, because he was Murray's enemy, and his assistance was wanted to give force to her party. He came quickly to the summons; for, on the 10th October 1565, we find his name for the first time at the sittings in the Scottish cabinet,¹²³ and again in the ensuing month. Murray's opposition had brought him into power and confidence, before Mary's partiality had distinguished him: and his own talents and artful conduct soon gave him weight and influence, to his own ultimate ruin, and to the degradation and infelicity of his royal and too partial mistress.

A popular feeling supported the queen in the freedom of her matrimonial choice.¹²⁴ The lords solicited aid from Elizabeth, who refused to assist any offensive measures against their sovereign.¹²⁵

¹²³ Keith's app. 115, and Hist. p. 317. We have Bedford's character of Bothwell, on 8 Feb. 1566, in a few strong words, which his actions verified by that day twelvemonth. He told Cecil that 'he despaired of justice on the borders while Bothwell is warden, who *neither* fears God, nor loves justice.' Keith, app. 167.

¹²⁴ The royal proclamations, on 4 August 1562, issued for the county arrays to meet at Edinburgh on the 9th, and elsewhere on the 11th, 12th and 14th, were so eagerly obeyed, that on the 9th, such a large body being found to be unnecessary, they were discharged on condition of keeping ready for a further notice. Keith, p. 310.

¹²⁵ The degree of support which Elizabeth gave to the opposing lords, her principle in extending it, and her limitation of their resistance, are clearly stated by her with great judgment and probity in her answer of 12 Sept. 1565, to her minister, on their application for 500 arquebussiers. 'We have no intention for many respects to maintain any other prince's *subjects to take arms against their sovereign*; nor would we willingly *do any thing to give occasion to make wars* between us and that prince; which has caused us to forbear hitherto to give you any power to let them be aided with any men; but now, considering that

Countermarching to Edinburgh as she left it, with the hope of the support of a popular insurrection, they were disappointed; and the royal army of five thousand men advanced on their inferior forces in the metropolis; the van led by Lennox, the centre by Morton, and the rear by the king,¹²⁶ in whose division the queen appeared, with a weapon ready charged,¹²⁷ and with whom Bothwell was also acting.¹²⁸ The populace left the rebelling to their fate, who, retreating to Dumfries and being still chased onwards, sought their safety within the English borders.¹²⁹ The king and queen then issued from St. Andrew's a declaration to their people, arraigning the exorbitant ambition of the nobility who had defied them.¹³⁰

they are pursued, notwithstanding their humble submission and offer to be tried by law and justice, and *have retired* to Dumfries, a place near our west marches, *to defend themselves*, we are content to let them have 300 soldiers, as of your own adventure. You shall expressly advertise them, that you send them that aid *only* for their defence; and *not* therewith to *make war on their queen*; or do any thing that may offend her person.' Lett. in Robertson, append. v. 3. p. 220. To avoid pledging herself or the English government to their cause, she expressly added: 'Except to preserve them from ruin, we do not yield to give them aid of money or men, and yet, we *would not* that either of these were known *to be our act*, but rather to be covered with your own desire and attempt.' ib. 221.

¹²⁶ Keith, 315.

¹²⁷ The despatches to Cecil of 4 September were, 'She wears a pistol charged when in the field. None but her husband have gilded armor; several of the lords are appointed to assassinate Darnley; queen Mary hates queen Elizabeth.' Cecil's abst. Keith, 164.

¹²⁸ Acts of council in Keith, app. 115. He first appears in the public record as in the king's division at Castle hill, on 10 October. Cecil, in his abstract, has noted his letter to say, '8 October. Huntley and Bothwell are the new counsellors.' Keith, app. 165.

¹²⁹ Keith, 316.

¹³⁰ It is dated 3 Sept. 1565, from St. Andrew's. It charges them with 'their unreasonable desire to govern; for now, by letters sent from themselves to us, they make plain profession that the establishing of religion will not content them; but we must, on force, be governed by such counsel as shall please them to appoint to us.' Keith, app. p. 114.

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The fugitive lords called upon Elizabeth for succor;¹³¹ but they had disregarded her limiting advice, and pressed into personal rebellion to coerce their queen in her domestic arrangements, injuring thereby, from private interests, the great religious cause which they had united to support. Elizabeth deemed their example mischievous, and would not put England in arms against Scotland to support their illegal and intemperate violence, tho she allowed them to remain within the protection of her dominions. The duke Hamilton made his peace with Mary and her husband, on condition of residing in France;¹³² and a summons of treason was issued against the other nobles who had attempted the insurrection.¹³³

The wisest act of the English ambassador, in the commencement of 1566, was his letter of sound advice to Mary, stating what she might do that would most favour her succession to the English throne, and recommending her to forgive the offending lords.¹³⁴ The queen inclined to adopt his counsel, and Rizzio favored it;¹³⁵ but a new French envoy was sent to prevent this reconciliation, and to obtain the queen's concurrence in the confederacy to suppress the Reformation every where in Europe—a sanguinary compact, which she is stated to have joined.¹³⁶ The variable secretary, who was

¹³¹ They sent the abbot of Kilwinning to her. Keith, 319. Her reason was forcible: 'Your treason may serve for example to my own subjects to rebel against me.' p. 319. She took the distinction, that she had not *excited* them to arms against their queen.

¹³² He obtained his pardon with great difficulty. Knox, p. 426.

¹³³ Keith has printed it, dated 1 December 1565. p. 320.

¹³⁴ See his letter in Mel. Mem. 141-6, and in Keith, 322-4.

¹³⁵ Keith, 325.

¹³⁶ Melville; Keith, 326. Randolph, on 6 Feb. 1566, wrote to Cecil

believed to be in the pay and service of the pope,¹²⁷ was gained to prefer and to promote this foreign policy.¹²⁸ CHAP.
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of this man's arrival; and that a 'bond to *introduce popery in all Christendom* had been signed by the queen Mary. The original to be sent back by Mr. Stephen Wilson.' Cecil's abst. p. 167: Keith's app. This man was Villaimont, or, as he is more usually called, Clernau.

¹²⁷ Melv. Mem. 136; 147.

¹²⁸ Keith, 326.

CHAP. XXI.

MARY'S DIFFERENCES WITH HER HUSBAND—
THE MURDER OF RIZZIO.BOOK
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MARY began her second marriage, with those ceremonial and kind attentions to the husband of her choice, which elevated him in the public eye, and did credit to her own feelings of propriety and regard;¹ while Elizabeth, not pleased with the defying indifference to her opinion, offended by the secret dealings with which the transaction had been managed,² and uncertain of the consequences towards herself that were meant to be attached to it, evinced her displeasure with somewhat less than her usual judgment and self-command, by putting his mother in England into a state of personal superintendence and constraint.³ But the course of time soon displayed to every one, that as there is a pas-

¹ 'After the queen had married my lord Darnley, she did him great honor herself; and willed every one that would deserve her favor to do the like, and to wait upon him; so that he was well accompanied; and such as made suit to him and by him, for a while, came best sped of their errands.' Melv. 137. Her proclamation on 18 July was, 'that he should be holden and obeyed and revered AS KING; and that all laws and proclamations should be made in the names of Henry and Mary.' Knox, 415.

² Melville confesses that, when in London, 'I had a *secret charge* to deal with his mother, my lady Lennox, to purchase leave for him to pass into Scotland.' p. 120.

³ Melv. 137. There seems much truth in the remark of Knox, 'In her heart, queen Elizabeth was not angry at this marriage; because a foreign prince would have made her more redoubted, and both Henry and Mary were in the same degree of consanguinity to her, children of her father's sister.' Hist. p. 407.

sion from the eye which is no emotion of the heart, and which, deriving no support from the judgment, declines as the temporary excitement of the inclination is allayed, so Mary's sensibility for Darnley perceptibly diminished as her temper and wishes were crossed by his will and humour; and as his imperfections and desire of authority awakened her criticising judgment, and stimulated her upbraiding resentment. Accustomed to royal attentions from her cradle; loving superiority, from the character of her mind as well as from fostering habit; and feeling unceasingly that all his greatness was the creation of her individual choice; she had married him on the assumption that she should always have been the queen as well as the wife; and could not brook to be reduced to see her power and influence subordinate to his counteraction or control. Her preference had not been founded on his qualities for regal greatness. It had been a girlish fancy in a womanly heart, for a tall, handsome and humour-some boy,⁴ who, exalted to a throne before he was nineteen, was intercepted in the natural and healthful growth of those moral and intellectual improvements of which he was not unsusceptible; and which in other positions of society we gradually attain, as we learn from daily experience that our personal wishes and tempers must be continually adapted, in some degree, to the feelings and con-

⁴ See Elizabeth's remark to Melville, 'You like better yonder long lad,' pointing towards lord Darnley, who, as nearest prince of the blood, bore the sword of honor that day before her. My answer was, 'that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, that was liker a woman than a man; for he was very lusty, beardless, and lady-faced.' Melv. 120.

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venience of our surrounding fellow creatures. The sudden elevation, and its seducing power, disabled him from acquiring that patient courtesy, that self-regulation, that discriminating address, and that dignified ease, to which hereditary royalty is gradually educated, and by which it obtains an individual respect and a conceded influence, which make authority popular, effective, and secure. Hence Darnley neither retained the affections of his wife, nor acquired the attachment of his nobility. Tho her fondness outlasted the first moon which witnessed their nuptials, it did not survive the departing year. Contests for power, as well as the collisions of caprice, were perceived to be dividing them. He thought, or had those about him who led him to think, that she kept him too inferior in state and in the business of the kingdom; and that she was confiding too much of the national affairs to her French secretary Rizzio, instead of consulting with himself. He saw that the matrimonial crown was withheld from him, and that no certainty of his succession to it had been enacted in case of his outliving her.⁵ He attributed these omissions to an unkind and wilful purpose; and yet allowed himself to deviate into habits which offended her taste, and diminished their domestic comforts. In the ensuing February he is represented as making others ill by undue drinking, and as yielding to

⁵ Keith, 327. * In the months of November and December, the queen began to declare herself to be maintainer of the papists; yet the earls of Huntley and Bothwell went not to mass, albeit in great favor with the queen. The king passed his time in hunting and hawking, and such other pleasures as were agreeable to his appetite.' Knox, 426.

habits of inebriety himself,⁶ from which even her tears could not reclaim him.⁷ Their jarrings became public:⁸ and she was observed already, tho only the seventh month from their union, to dislike him, and to be weary of him.⁹ Her displeasure extended even to such as sought his favor; and he became as adverse to those who followed her in preference to himself.¹⁰ Altercations arose about her wishing to place her signature to the public documents before his.¹¹ The government which he was allowed or enabled to execute, was much blamed, and he was deemed wilful and haughty.¹² These were only defects, not crimes, which time would have modified, and which Mary's elder judg-

⁶ Sir William Drury, on 16 Feb. 1566, writing to Cecil from Berwick, after mentioning the arrival there of a Frenchman from Scotland, adds, 'he is sick, my lord Darnley having made him drink of aqua composita. All people say that Darnley is too much addicted to drinking.' Keith, 329.

⁷ 'Tis certainly repeated that there was some jar betwixt the queen and him, at an entertainment in a merchant's house in Edinburgh; she only dissuading him from *drinking too much himself, and enticing others*; in both which he proceeded, and gave her such words that she left the place with tears; which they that are known to their proceedings say is not strange to be seen.' ib.

⁸ 'Darnley demands the crown matrimonial with such impatience, that the queen repents she has done so much for him.' Rand. lett. 24 Jan. 1566; Keith, app. 166. The remark of Knox, that, 'seeing it was not concluded in parliament that he should have the crown matrimonial, he would have arms but only as duke of Rothsay,' (p. 428) may account for his uneasiness on this point; as the want of the royal arms seemed a suspending abstraction of the regal dignity.

⁹ Drury so wrote. 'Darnley is in great disliking with the queen. She is weary of him, and, as some judge, will be more so ere long.' Keith, 329. From Knox we learn, 'the queen bade to give him *only* his due, whereby it was perceived that her love waxed cold towards him. His arms were left blank. She put her own name before his in all writs; and thereafter caused to leave out his name wholly.' Knox, p. 428.

¹⁰ Ib. Of these, Drury especially names David [Rizzio.] ib.

¹¹ Ib.

¹² Ib. He adds, 'and some say vicious, whereof too many were witnesses the other day at Inchkeith.' ib.

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ment might have removed, if she had given her talents that direction. But the queen was a child of inclination as well as himself; and was as little fitted or desirous as he was, to be an instructor to others, or to be herself instructed. To be active, to command, to talk, to write epistles, and to enjoy, appear to have been her most characterizing qualities.

David Rizzio obtained too many public displays of Mary's favor for his own security.¹³ Her attentions to one who had been so recently but a singer,¹⁴ excited so much dissatisfaction in others, that he felt his own safety to be precarious.¹⁵ But the interest which the queen took in him, would not allow him to observe the more cautious behaviour which his experienced friend advised, and which he desired to practise:¹⁶ nor would she refrain from her familiarity, tho recommended to do so.¹⁷ His person

¹³ 'He occupied her majesty's ear oftentimes in the presence of the nobility, and when there was the greatest conventions of the estates: which made him to be so envied and hated, chiefly when he grew so great, that he presented all signatures to be subscribed by her, that some of the nobility would gloom upon him; and some would shoulder him, and shut him by when they entered the chamber, and found him always speaking with her majesty.' Melv. 132.

¹⁴ 'Rizzio was a merry fellow, and a good musician. Her majesty wanted a bass, to sing the fourth part. He was drawn in to sing sometimes with the rest, and afterwards was retained in her service as a varlet of her chamber.' Melv. 132.

¹⁵ Sir James says of Rizzio: 'Therefore he lamented his estate unto me, and asked my counsel how to behave himself.' Melville advised him 'when the nobility were present, to give them place, and pray the queen to be content therewith; and instanced his own similar conduct with the elector palatine, who had begun to favor him more than his nobility liked.' Melv. 132, 3.

¹⁶ Melville mentions this fact, 'which he did; and said unto me afterwards, that the queen would not suffer him, but would needs have him to use himself in the old manner. I answered, that I was sorry for the inconveniences that might ensue thereupon.' ib. 133.

¹⁷ 'I took occasion, in most humble manner, to shew her what advice I had given unto seigneur David. Her majesty said that he meddled no farther but in her French writings and affairs, as her other French

was neither attractive nor young;¹⁸ but he had become her favorite counsellor, and was believed to be the pensioned agent of the pope, to re-establish popery in Scotland.¹⁹ He at length rejected all precautionary admonitions,²⁰ and determined to pursue his fortune and achieve his plans.

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His friendship was earnestly solicited by Murray,²¹ a circumstance expressive of his great influence with Mary: and Rizzio perceiving the king's ill humour toward himself, was more inclined to favor the exiles.²² The queen, adopting the same feeling, became disposed to defer the Parliament that was to inflict forfeitures upon them.²³ But the envoy

secretary had done before; and whoever might find fault therewith, *she would not leave to do her ordinary direction.*' Melv. 133. Knox gives us rather a striking instance of the queen's preference of Rizzio to her husband, which the latter must have felt as a purposed insult. 'Because formerly he had signed every thing of any moment; she caused to make a seal like the king's, and gave it to D. Rizzio, who made use of it by her command, alleging, that the king being at his pastime, could not always be present.' Knox, 428.

¹⁸ He came into Scotland in December 1561, in the retinue of Moret, envoy from the duke of Savoy, and was advanced to be secretary in November 1564.

¹⁹ Melville, as already quoted, notices these allegations, that he had 'a pension of the pope (p. 136,) and meant with time to plant again in Scotland the Roman Catholic religion (p. 137), and had some secret intelligence with the pontiff.' p. 147. Lord Bedford characterized him in his letter of 11th March 1567, as 'this enemy of religion.' MS. Paper Office, 1 Chalm. 259.

²⁰ 'I entered with David in the same manner, for then he and I were under good friendship. But he disdained all danger, and despised counsel; so that I was compelled to say, that I feared overlate repentance.' Melv. p. 140. The circumstances mentioned by Knox shew the presumptuous infatuation into which Rizzio rushed: 'Not only he had drawn unto him the managing of all affairs the king set aside, but also *his equipage and train did surpass the king's.* At the parliament that was to be, he was ordained to be chancellor, which made the lords conspire against him.' p. 429.

²¹ 'More humbly than any man would have behaved, with the present of a fair diamond, inclosed within a letter full of repentance, and fair promises to be his friend and protector.' Melv. 147.

²² Ib.

²³ Ib.

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from her French uncles altered this purpose, and Rizzio would not contravene the coinciding wishes of the pope.²⁴ It was therefore resolved to assemble the legislative body, and enact the penalties.²⁵

This dictated determination, and Rizzio's consenting to effectuate it, brought on the succeeding catastrophe. It was fixed that the vindictive parliament should meet on 12th March.²⁶ Several lords applied earnestly to the king to interfere in Murray's behalf,²⁷ but he had no political power. This was centered wholly in Mary and her party, and directed by the Italian, her secretary, as her favored minister, and as their official instrument. Hence violence, never repulsive to the feelings or to the conscience of that undisciplined age, seemed to the friends of the endangered lords to be their only efficacious resource.

On the 9th March, Rizzio was brutally assassinated in the queen's apartments, when he was there at supper with her. We have two accounts of this

²⁴ Melv. 147.

²⁵ 'Against her own intention, and against her former deliberation.' Melv. 148. When a French priest was friendly cautioning Rizzio to make his fortune and withdraw, the elated secretary answered, 'The Scots will brag, but not fight.' Knox, 429. Morton and Ruthven, in their letter of 2d April 1566 to Throckmorton, described their view of him to be 'a pestilent counsellor to the queen against the nobility, common weal of our country, the religion, and the forfeiture of our brethren.' Lett. in Goodall, I, p. 164.

²⁶ So Murray's letter to Cecil, of 15th Jan. 1566, from Newcastle, states, 'Purposely to be holden for leading the process of forfeiture upon me, and the noblemen here with me.' Keith, append. 166.

²⁷ Earl Bedford apprised Cecil, that 'to prevent the condemnation of Murray, Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, and others, address themselves to the king, intreating him for Murray; and promising him the crown matrimonial if he will follow their advice in restoring those whom the queen disliked, who would be his true friends; and to give way to them, to remove David Rizzio from the queen, who, by his counsel and practices, hindered him from the sole rule.' Lett. in Cecil's abst. p. 167.

atrocious murder, of the highest degree of authority. The one from the queen herself; the other from lord Ruthven, who acted as one of the chief leaders of the assassins.²⁰ A comparison of these two opposing documents will present the main truths satisfactorily before us.

Lord Ruthven states what the queen, having herself no privity of the circumstance, omits; the king's preliminary application to him to undertake the crime. It is surprising to us, that any man so afflicted as he describes himself to have then been, by diseases that were drawing him near his own grave,²¹ should entertain a proposal to perpetrate a murder. Ruthven required the pardon of the lords in exile, with the continuance of the established Reformation, which Darnley engaged to grant, on their becoming his friends, and giving him the matrimonial crown.²² The king concerted it with Morton and Ruthven, to take place on the 8th or 9th March, but Ruthven asserts, that it was not intended to be done in the queen's apartments or presence.²³

She was then in the seventh month of her pregnancy.²⁴ She admits that the parliament was to

²⁰ Mary's letter to her ambassador of France, describing the event, is dated Edinburgh, 2 April 1566, and is printed in Keith, 330-4, from the original that was in the Scottish College at Paris. Lord Ruthven's discourse on it was written at Berwick, the 30th of the same month. See it in Keith's app. 119-120, from the copy in the Cotton library, Julius F.

²¹ He says that, aged 46, he had 'two infirmities, an inflammation of the liver, and a consumption of the kidneys, whereby he kept his bed continually, for the space of three months; and so feeble, that he scarcely might walk twice the length of his chamber.' Keith, app. 119.

²² He inserts the reciprocal articles for their object, p. 120, 121. Mary's statement corresponds in substance with these facts. Keith, 351.

²³ Keith, app. 122.

²⁴ Her letter, 331.

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have met on the 12th; that the rebels were to be then forfeited, and that it was intended to have 'placed the spiritual estate therein *in the ancient manner*, intending to have done some good anent [towards] *restoring the old religion*, and to have proceeded against our rebels according to their demerits.'³³ Thus she had determined in this parliament to begin the execution of the bond she had entered into to overturn the new Protestant establishment, and destroy its unconvertible supporters.³⁴ She had therefore resolved on beginning a course of persecuting crime under the counsels of her favored Rizzio; and they were on the eve of perpetrating a series of destructive atrocities on the others, when the vicious plans of these were allowed to arrest the meditated iniquity, by making him the victim of their opposing wickedness. It is thus that vice is permitted to combat vice. The criminals punish each other, and society is benefited by their reciprocal hostilities.

On 9th March at seven o'clock in the evening, the queen was at supper in her cabinet, with the countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and some others. The king entered, and placed himself at her side.³⁵ Ruthven says that he had previously desired his friends to make haste to come; that he would leave the door of the room open, and be talking with the queen,³⁶ while Morton and Lyndsay, with their armed accomplices, took possession of the lower and outer parts of the royal mansion.³⁷ Ruthven, guided by Darnley's directions, went up the privy way to her cabinet, and 'found her majesty at supper, at a little table, the

³³ Mary's letter, 331.³⁴ *Ib.* ³⁵ Ruth. disc.³⁶ See before.³⁷ Mary, 331; Ruth. 122.

lady Argyle at the one end, and David at the other, his cap on his head: the king speaking with her majesty, with his hand about her waist.³⁸ Ruthven desired Rizzio to come out. The queen inquired of her husband, if he knew any thing of that enterprise. He denied all privy,³⁹ but he gave no opposing interference. Ruthven accused Rizzio to her, of hindering the king of his matrimonial crown; of causing the banishment of the nobles, and of being a common destroyer; and bade the king take his wife under his own care.⁴⁰ She rose up. Rizzio retired behind her,⁴¹ and she stood before him.⁴² He held her gown with his dagger drawn. Three of her friends laid hold on Ruthven, who defended himself with his poignard, exclaiming, 'Lay no hands on me, for I will not be handled.' The conspirators rushed in:⁴³ the table with all its contents was thrown down,⁴⁴ but lady Argyle caught up one of the candles. The opposing relaters begin here to vary. The lord states, that he took the queen in his arms, and put her into the king's, beseeching her not to be afraid, as no one would do her harm.⁴⁵ She declares that they struck Rizzio with their weapons over her shoulders, while some stood before her face with their bended pistols.⁴⁶ Both agree that he was

³⁸ Ruth. 123.

³⁹ Mary, 331.

⁴⁰ Ruth. 123.

⁴¹ Mary, 331.

⁴² Ruth. 123.

⁴³ Ruth. 123.

⁴⁴ Ib. and Mary, 331.

⁴⁵ Ruth. 123.

⁴⁶ Mary, 331. On this point, Ruthven declares, 'whereas her Majesty allegeth that some held pistols to her breast, and some struck so near her, that she felt the coldness of the iron, we take God to record there *was not one stroke* in her majesty's presence; nor was David stricken till he was at the farther door of her majesty's outer chamber.' p. 129. Melville says, 'David took the queen about the

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dragged out of her cabinet.⁴⁷ Ruthven mentions that they 'slew him at the queen's fore door in the outer chamber,⁴⁸ and the queen concurrently declares, 'at the entry of our chamber, they gave him fifty six strokes with whinyards and swords.'⁴⁹ Mary drops all mention of the king; and her silence as to any attempt on his part to repress or prevent the outrage, gives sufficient probability to Ruthven's assertion, that it was Darnley's concerted or concurring deed.

On what succeeded this assassination the two narrators differ only by each omitting what the other states, and therefore by inserting the incidents that most favored the peculiar views of each, and by dropping what interfered with them. The peer details the queen's conversation with her husband on the outrage, and his charge of her familiarity with the expiring secretary.⁵⁰ Ruthven's diseased

waist, and cried for mercy; but George Douglas plucked forth the king's dagger that was behind his back, and struck him first with it, leaving it sticking within him.' p. 149.

⁴⁷ Melville thus describes it: 'He giving great screams and cries, was rudely reft from the queen, who could not get him safe, neither for threats nor fairness.' *ib.* 149. ⁴⁸ Ruthven, p. 123.

⁴⁹ Mary, 331. 'He was forcibly drawn forth of the cabinet, and slain in the outer hall.' *Melv.* 149. A stain is still shown as his blood, on the boards where he fell.

⁵⁰ The queen's majesty began to reason with the king: 'Why have you caused to do this wicked deed to me, considering that I took you from low estate, and made you my husband?' The king answered, 'I have good reason for me, for since yonder fellow David came in credit and familiarity with your majesty, you neither regarded me, nor entertained me, nor trusted me after your wonted fashion. Every day before dinner you were wont to come to my chamber, and past the time with me, and this long time you have not done so; and when I came to your majesty's chamber, you bore me little company, except David had been the third person; and after supper, your majesty used to sit up at the cards with the said David till one or two after midnight.' The queen answered, that it was not a gentlewoman's duty to come to her husband's chamber. He asked her in reply, why she had done so, 'till within these six months.

body became debilitated by his sanguinary exertions,⁵¹ but he went down to explain to some of the queen's friends, that the proceedings of the night had been invented by the king himself.⁵² Mary was silent on his intimating that it had received her husband's sanction; and states other reasons given by the leading nobles for the execrable violence.⁵³ Bothwell and Huntley, who came forward to help her, were deterred from interfering, and escaped by a window.⁵⁴ But the queen was kept in close confinement all that night and the ensuing day,⁵⁵ till Murray and the

that David fell into familiarity with you. You have used me otherwise by the persuasion of David.' The queen's indignant determination was, — 'I shall be your wife no longer, and shall never live well, *till I cause you to have as sorrowful a heart as I have at this present.*' Ruth. p. 124.

⁵¹ His own words are, 'Being sore fell'd with his sickness and wearied with his travel, he desired her majesty's pardon to sit down, and called for drink. So a Frenchman brought him a cup of wine, and after he drank, her majesty began to rail at him, saying, 'Is this your sickness?' He answered, 'Heaven forbid your majesty had such a sickness.' p. 124.

⁵² To her he said, 'If any thing be done this night that your majesty dislikes, the king your husband, and none of us, is in the wyle,' which he confessed to be true. *ib.* To Huntley, Caithness, Sutherland and others 'he shewed the whole proceedings of that night, and how it was invented by the king himself, as his hand-writ would show.' *ib.* p. 125. He afterwards adds, that the king's dagger was found sticking in Rizzio's side. p. 126.

⁵³ These were, 'How we were abused by the said David, in taking his counsel for maintenance of the ancient religion, debarring of the lords which were fugitive; entertaining amity with foreign princes; putting also upon council the lords Bothwell and Huntley who were traitors, and with whom he associated himself.' Keith, 332. Knox says, 'They made a band to stand to the religion and liberties of the countries, and to free themselves of the slavery of the villain D. Rizzio.' p. 429. I am not sure whether by the term villain here, sturdy John means a scoundrel, or in its ancient signification, a low born man.

⁵⁴ Rathven, *ib.* 'The earls Bothwell and Huntley hearing the noise and clamor, came suddenly to the close, intending to have made work, if they had had a party strong enough; but the earl Morton commanded them to pass to their chamber, or else they should do worse.' Knox, 428. 'The earls of Athol, Bothwell and Huntley escaped by leaping down out of a window towards the little garden, where the lions are lodged.' Melv. 148.

⁵⁵ Her letter, p. 332.

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other exiles arrived from England, on the king's previous compact for their pardon.⁵⁶

Such are the most authentic accounts of this revolting crime; which can leave no doubt in the impartial mind, that Rizzio was meditating the abolition of the Scottish reformation, and the attainder of the exiles; that these projects, and the irritations of their own pride, occasioned a counter plot for his downfall to be formed between the absent nobles, their friends in Scotland, and the discontented king; and that Rizzio's death was intended, tho by some, with more legal forms than others meant to use; for we cannot doubt that many, if not all, who acted in Edinburgh, came determined to assassinate him where they found him, tho not in the disgusting manner which their excited passions adopted on the spot.⁵⁷ The inhumanity of so attacking him, in the queen's presence, and under the circumstances of her maternal condition, has a savageness of mind about it which has rarely been equalled: nor can our common judgment deem it probable, that they would have forced themselves with such illegal and wicked purposes into her festive and private chamber, without the previous sanction and concurrence of the king.⁵⁸ The criminality of this inexcusable

⁵⁶ Mary, 332. Ruthven, 127.

⁵⁷ Knox says, 'They first purposed to have hanged him, and had provided cords for the same purpose; but the great haste which they had, moved them to dispatch him with whinyards or daggers, wherewith they gave him three and fifty strokes.' p. 429. The number of the wounds announces a fiendlike desire and pleasure in the assassins, to have a personal and manual share in the atrocity, as if some illustrifying transaction.

⁵⁸ The assertion of Knox is, 'The king and his father subscribed to the bond, for they durst not trust the king's word without his signet.' p. 429.

deed of horror, must therefore be divided between him and its executing actors. Nor from Murray's arrival at Edinburgh from Newcastle, on the second day after its perpetration,⁵⁰ can we acquit him of an acquiescing privity in some plan of overthrowing the existing administration by violence; because he obviously travelled with a preconceived certainty, that he should find no obstacle in the metropolis to his secure reception. But as the arrest and attainder of Rizzio would have insured these incidents, we are not justified in distinctly implicating this earl with the cruel assassination. Yet as the arm of unlawful force could alone accomplish his wishes, we must admit that if he did not foresee or fore-plan the particular iniquity which was committed, he must have supposed and meant, that so much bloodshed at least would not be omitted, which would be necessary to effectuate the projected subversion. And if he foresaw that blood must be shed, before the governing cabinet could be superseded, the moral guilt of the transaction equally attaches personally to him, whether he assented to the homicide falling on Rizzio only, or on any others of those who would think it to be their duty, or feel it to be their interest, to defend the ruling authority, or to obey the resisting orders of their legal queen. Blood was determined to flow, and human life to be taken, if the revolutionary plan could not otherwise be completed. None of them can therefore be exempted from the culpability of this disgraceful deed.

⁵⁰ The murder was on Saturday 9 March. Murray came 'upon the Monday,' Melv. 150, which did not allow time for any despatch to have been sent to him, who was then 'remaining at Newcastle,' ib.

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On the ensuing morning the queen's emotions were at first naturally violent,⁶⁰ but she gradually resumed more composure, and seized an opportunity of requesting sir James Melville to assist her.⁶¹ He endeavored, as she desired, to procure the succor of the municipal magistracy; but the king's interfering prohibition had already averted this assistance,⁶² and the popular prejudice against the murdered man prevented its subsequent exertion.⁶³ He succeeded better in executing the queen's wishes, to interest Murray on his arrival, who may have been

⁶⁰ 'The queen being above measure enraged, sometimes railing upon the king, and sometimes crying out at the windows, desired her servants to set her at liberty. She was highly offended and troubled.' Knox, 430.

⁶¹ 'The next morning, which was Sunday, I was let forth at the gate, for I lay therein. Passing thro the outer close, the queen was looking forth of a window, and cried unto me to help her. Then I drew near unto the window, and asked what help lay in my power. She said, 'Go to the provost of Edinburgh, and bid him, in my name, convoke the town with speed, and come and release me out of their traitorous hands. But run fast, for they will stay you.' By the time this was said, Nisbet, master household to the earl of Lennox, was sent with a company to stay me; to whom I gave good words, and said that I was only passing to the preaching in St. Giles's kirk.' Mem. p. 150.

⁶² 'Immediately it was noised in the town, that there was murder committed within the king's palace. Wherefore the provost caused to ring the common bell; or sonner le tocsin, as the French speaks, and straightway passed to the palace, having about four or five hundred men in warlike manner. As they stood in the outer court, the king called to the provost, commanding him to pass home with his company, saying, 'The queen and he were merry.' But the provost desired to hear the queen speak herself. Whereunto it was answered by the king: 'Provost! know you not that I am king? I command you to pass home to your houses; and immediately they retired.' Knox, p. 430. Ruthven states, that 'the king directed two writings, subscribed with his own hand, on the Saturday immediately after the slaughter of David, to certain men of Edinburgh bearing office, charging them to convey men in arms, and make watch in the town; and to suffer none to come out of doors except Protestants.' p. 126.

⁶³ 'He said he had another commandment from the king, that he should draw the people to the Tolbooth, and see what they would do; but he looked for no help at their hands; because the most part of them were so discontent with the present government, that they desired a change. Yet he convened them in vain, and shewed me their answer.' Melv. p. 150.

shocked to find that result accomplished by a barbarous outrage, which might have been effected by a parliamentary impeachment.⁶⁴ The feelings which he exhibited to her on their interview, incline us to make this distinction.⁶⁵ The king, for a few hours, co-operated with his confederates,⁶⁶ but after several conversations with the queen, the sympathies which her real fears, her visible unhappiness, and her precarious state excited, combined with those appeals of her eloquent voice, and soothing manners and promises, which no one could more attractively use for a given purpose, whether associated or not with a kindred sensibility of heart, than this accomplished lady, softened and won the easy spirit and credulous ear of the gratified husband; whom such tones and behaviour had once endeared, but from whom they had been for several months averted. While they

⁶⁴ ‘I made her majesty to understaud the provost’s answer by one of her ladies, whom she sent again unto me. She said, she supposed my lord of Murray and his associates would be sent for; and willed me, at his coming, to persuade him not to defile himself so as to join with them, but to hold himself free, and be her friend at this strait; doing which should be his greatest weal, and win her love and favor as ever he had possessed it. This commission I used at his coming in, which was upon the Monday.’ Melv. 150.

⁶⁵ ‘But he was more moved at his meeting with her majesty, who embraced him and kissed him, alleging, that in case he had been at home, he would not have suffered her to have been so uncourteously handled; which moved him so, that the tears fell from his eyes. He knew also that it was not for his cause, but for his own particulars, that the most part of them made that enterprise.’ Melv. 150. Mary says of him, ‘seeing our state and entertainment, he was moved with natural affection towards us.’ p. 332.

⁶⁶ ‘On the Sunday, ‘there was a proclamation made in the king’s name, *subscribed with his hand*, that all bishops, abbots, and other papists, should avoid and depart the town.’ Knox, 430. This singular man describes, in his own way, their obedience to it, ‘which was indeed observed, *for they had a flea in their nose*.’ ib. Ruthven mentions that the king signed and sent a letter, stating that it was his will that parliament should not assemble; and ordering all the estates to depart from Edinburgh within three hours, except such as he specified.’ p. 126.

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were projecting to diminish her power, and to establish the king in full authority,⁶⁷ she at last persuaded him to abandon the nobles who had linked their safety with his honor; to unite with her, and, by deceiving them, to assist her to escape,⁶⁸ and not to enforce the Reformation.⁶⁹ Before she made this conquest of the king's mind, she settled a plan for her deliverance with Bothwell and Huntley.⁷⁰ But having, by her husband's overreaching his friends, got safely out of the palace at midnight, they proceeded to Dunbar, before they could be intercepted,⁷¹ and from thence sent heralds and letters to summon the country to their aid.⁷² Bothwell and Huntley soon joined them,⁷³ with other powerful chieftains:

⁶⁷ Mary's statement is, 'In their council they thought it most expedient that we should be warded in our castle of Stirling; there to remain till we had approved in parliament all their wicked enterprises, established their religion, and given to the king the crown matrimonial, and the whole government of our realm.' p. 332.

⁶⁸ Ruthven's detail of the king's varying conduct towards Mary that night is curious. p. 127, 8. Melville and the queen give the final result. "When the lords were preparing an instrument to be signed by her for their indemnity, her majesty caused the king to advise them to discharge the guard that kept her, that their security might be valid, from her being at liberty, else it would not avail them." Melv. 151. Mary's account corresponds: 'To remove them from our palace, with their guards and assistants, the king promised to keep us that night in sure guard; and that he should cause us to approve in parliament all their conspiracies. By this mean he caused them to retire out of our palace.' p. 333.

⁶⁹ Mary notices, that she urged him 'how unacceptable it would be to other princes, our confederates, in case he altered the religion.' p. 333.

⁷⁰ Mary thus describes it: 'To have gotten ourselves relieved of this detention, we desired, in quiet manner, the earls of Bothwell and Huntley to have prepared some way, whereby they might have performed the same; who, not doubting herein, at least taking no regard to hazard their lives in that behalf, devised that we should have come over the walls of our palace in the night upon ropes and chairs, which they had in readiness to that effect.' Mary's lett. 333.

⁷¹ 'So that night, which was Tuesday, they went all to their rest. But the queen, with the king, passed out of Holyrood House at midnight, toward the castle of Dunbar.' Melv. 151. ⁷² Knox, 131.

⁷³ Mary, 333. These noblemen, after leaping from the palace win-

and as the general public were sure to feel rightly, and to act indignantly on such an atrocity, they speedily moved with an overpowering force to the Scottish capital,⁷⁴ from which the menaced chiefs fled hastily for their individual safety.⁷⁵ So little personal benefit resulted to any from their crime.⁷⁶ But it happened beneficially for the prevention of the persecution, which had been meditated by Rizzio and his papal instigators, and also for the protection of the Reformation, which the queen had solicited the deluded king to overthrow,⁷⁷ that her wandering and self-gratifying fancy fastened upon Bothwell,⁷⁸ altho like Rizzio he had not the graces of personal beauty,⁷⁹ nor was much distinguished by his practical virtues.⁸⁰ For this man happened not to be a friend

dow, 'they two, alone, with great fear, went forth on foot to Edmonstone, and from thence to Crichton,' Knox, p. 429; but now 'came to Dunbar.' *ib.* 431.

⁷⁴ 'We remained in Dunbar five days; and after returned to Edinburgh well accompanied with our subjects.' Mary, 333.

⁷⁵ 'Being informed of the queen's fury and anger towards the committers of the slaughter, and perceiving they were not able to make any party, they departed out of Edinburgh on Sunday, 17th March, every one a several way, for the queen was now bent on the slayers of David Rizzio; and to be the better avenged on them, she intended to give pardon to all such as 'had been before attained, for whatsoever crime.' Knox, 432.

⁷⁶ The little profit that men are usually allowed to extract from their more wicked actions, was signally manifested in the chief murderer, lord Ruthven. He struck the blows of death on Rizzio on 9 March, and he was in his own grave on the 13th of the ensuing May; surviving his victim but two months and four days. His inquisitio post mortem, cited by Chalmers, v. 2. p. 353, gives us this date of his short duration.

⁷⁷ See note 69.

⁷⁸ 'Earl Bothwell, whom the queen preferred above all others, after the decease of David Rizzio.' Knox, 433.

⁷⁹ Brantome says of him; 'Ce Bothwell etoit *le plus laid homme* et d'aussi mauvaise grace qui se put voir.' *Disc. de Marie.*

⁸⁰ On 6th April 1665, Bedford's letter to Cecil was: 'I assure you, Bothwell is as naughty a man as liveth, and much given to the most detestable vices.' Lett. in Chal. 2. p. 26.

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of the Romish system.⁸¹ It was during his asserted influence that much of the church property of Scotland was given away by the queen to her political friends,⁸² and some portion of it is stated to have gone to this new object of her irregular partialities;⁸³ altho the general account of these ecclesiastical donations to him, appears to be liable to some critical limitation.⁸⁴

⁸¹ When Bothwell married the earl Huntley's sister, 'the queen desired that the marriage might be made in the chapel, at the mass; which the earl Bothwell would in no wise grant.' Knox, 428.

⁸² 'The patrimony of the kirk, bishops, abbeyes, and such othe benefices, were disposed by the queen to courtiers, dancers, and flatterers.' Knox, p. 433.

⁸³ 'The earl Bothwell had for his part, Melross, Haddington, and Newbottel. The castle of Dunbar was likewise given to him, with the principal lands of the earldom of March, which were of the patrimony of the crown.' Knox, p. 433.

⁸⁴ Mr. Chalmers' criticism on the preceding passage, indicates that altho Bothwell once had Melross abbey, yet that in 1561 it had been taken from him, and given to Balfour for life, who held it till his death, in the third year after Rizzio's fall. But Mary's grant to Bothwell may have been the reversion of it, and he had obtained in December 1565 Glencairn's pension upon it, of five hundred crowns, 3 Chalm. 78, 9. That his kinswoman was made prioress of Haddington abbey, in March 1566, is admitted; and as Maitland, the possessor of its lands, fled then in proscription to England, the allegation of the grant of this to Bothwell seems to have a reasonable foundation. But the possession of Newbottel Abbey by the Kerrs, seems inconsistent with its gift to Bothwell, unless he had some pension extracted from it, as had been done to others, from the abbey of Melross. Mr. Chalmers allows him to have had the gift of Dunbar Castle and its appropriate lands (v. 2. p. 29,) and that 'these grants were of great importance to him.' *ib.* We can seldom get a full and accurate detail of the pecuniary boons which court favorites obtain.

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MARY'S CONDUCT TOWARDS HER HUSBAND—BOTHWELL'S INCREASING INFLUENCE—THE CONSPIRACY FORMED AGAINST THE KING.

ACCEPTING the submission of Murray and Argyle on the condition of their detaching themselves from their violent confederates,¹ who were proscribed, and who fled to England for their personal safety,² Mary made Huntley, Bothwell, and Athol, her leading ministers;³ but Murray, Argyle, and Glencairn were soon added to her state council.⁴ The differences of ambitious or selfish men are never irreconcilable, because power and booty may usually be divided: but the quarrels of the heart seldom end but with the grave; and depreciation for misconduct is rarely redeemed. The king experienced this evil to its full extent. Neither his queen, nor his people, esteemed, honored, or trusted him any more;⁵ while Murray and Bothwell became 'great

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¹ Mary's lett. in Keith, 333.

² Mary, ib. and Ruthv. 129. The act of council, of 19th March, at Edinburgh, charged sixty-seven other persons, besides Morton, Rathven, and Lyndsay. ib. 130. Another act, of May, ordered the prosecution of all that had been concerned in the late heinous attempt. ib. 131. The king chose to deny all knowledge of the conspiracy. Mary, p. 333.

³ They appear in the cabinet council of 5 April 1566. Mary, 335. The other members were, William, earl marshal; the earls of Crawford, Caithness, and Mar; sir John Maxwell, the bishop of Whitehouse, John of Lindoirs, and sir James Balfour. Keith, 335.

⁴ Keith, 336.

⁵ In less than a month after the catastrophe, Randolph wrote to Cecil: 'The king is not loved by the queen, on account of the said murder. The people hate him, because he hath broken his oath to

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friends.⁶ Elizabeth refused to intercede for the fugitive nobles on such a transaction;⁷ but the king, recovering from his brief fascination, as Mary changed her behaviour to him, inquired after them, and regretted that he had been induced to desert them.⁸ It was settled that the queen should await the period of her maternal confinement in the castle of Edinburgh:⁹ from whence she took occasional excursions to Stirling¹⁰ and some neighbouring seats, but with no increase¹¹ of kindness to her husband. Her government remonstrated with the English cabinet, against Morton, Ruthven, and Lyndsay being allowed to remain at Newcastle. Elizabeth despatched Killigrew into Scotland, with a promise of attention to the application,¹² and sent a warning to the obnoxious nobles to leave her dominions before midsummer.¹³ But the envoy

the conspirators.' Lett. in Cecil's abstract, p. 167. Melville describes her as 'lamenting to see the king's folly, unthankfulness, and misbehaviour. I excused the best I might, but I could perceive nothing but a great grudge that she had in her heart.'

Lett. 1 May, 15. 150.

Lett. 13 May, ib.

⁶ Melv. 153. 'Finding the queen's favor but cold,' ib. Her aversion to him became now so fixed, that we find by Randolph's letter of 25th April, that 'I. Thornton was gone to Rome, to sue for a divorce.' Lett. in Rob. app. 584.

⁹ Council act of the 6th April. Keith, 336.

¹⁰ Keith, 336.

¹¹ Melville remarks: 'Some thought she fled from his company. I travailed earnestly to help matters between them, and was so importune, that her majesty desired my lord of Murray to reprove me; and forbade me to be familiar with the king, who passed up and down alone, and few durst bear him company. He was disliked by the queen, and by all them that favored secretly the late banished lords. It was a great pity to see that good young prince cast off, who failed rather for lack of good counsel and experience, than of evil will.' Mem. p. 153.

¹² Hollingshead. Sir Robert Melville, her ambassador in London, expostulated on the subject. Mel. 155.

¹³ On 31st May, earl Morton complained to Randolph, that she, Elizabeth, would not allow him and his associates to remain in England. Cecil's abst. 168.

reminded the Scotch government, that it was then harbouring an English rebel; and that its queen was also practising with the revolting O'Neil in Ireland, and entertaining his ambassador in Edinburgh.¹⁴ Bothwell continued to rise in Mary's estimation.¹⁵ In June, the queen, feeling symptoms of an approaching delivery, wrote to her principal noblemen to be with her at Edinburgh. The king, Argyle, Athol, Murray, and Mar, took their stations near her in the castle; while Huntley, Bothwell, and others lodged themselves in the city. They were not long in expectancy. On the forenoon of the 19th June 1566, her son and heir, and the eventual successor of Elizabeth, the Scottish James VI. and our James I. was born,¹⁶ to the delight of his immediate countrymen, and to the benefit, viewing all the accompanying results on an enlarged and impartial scale, of our England; to whose sceptre he acceded, at a time when no one better fitted to

¹⁴ Melv. 155, 6. The person alluded to as the rebel, either was or became purchased to be a spy of sir W. Cecil, and was used to watch and sound the purposes of Mary. Keith, 337. His letters to Cecil, of 2d July, seem to imply not an original mission as a spy, but a subsequent conversion to that treacherous office, and that his hope of pardon was actuating him to undertake it. 'I desire God may be no gladder of my soul than I would be to have favor of my prince and country again, and would willingly spend my life therein. And I, in hope of that good will I ever looked for from your hand, will hazard my life in following your advice.' He seems also by the following request to have been only employed in July, as he asks for directions. 'I dare not speak with Mr. Killigrew. In the meantime, make notes of instructions of all things wherein you would have my labor used, and I will satisfy your expectations.' This is not like the language of a person sent from England for such purposes, as he would in that case have taken his orders with him. The same letter states that on the preceding day he had received Cecil's letters, who answers as if his new engagement was then beginning. Keith, 338.

¹⁵ 'Now the earl of Bothwell's favor increased, which miscontented many.' Melv. 154.

¹⁶ Melv. 158. Keith, 338.

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hold it more usefully, had any right or kinship to its important throne.

The tidings of this birth sir James Melville, within two hours after its occurrence, set off to communicate to Elizabeth, who had been dangerously unwell about this period.¹⁷ He reached London on the fourth day; the English queen was on that evening at Greenwich, amusing herself with a dance after supper. Her secretary whispered to her the event. Her joyousness vanished; she sat down, with her cheek resting on her hand, in meditative silence: all present were surprised at the change, till she revealed the emotions that were oppressing her heart to the ladies near her, by a sudden exclamation, that ‘the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was a barren stock!’¹⁸ a natural and highly interesting effusion—a volume of female sensibilities in one short sentence. Her feelings were the more likely to be nervously affected at that time, for tho partaking in the mirth of her court, by a dance, she was but just recovering from the debility of a fifteen days illness. The next day she recovered her spirits; welcomed Melville ‘with a merry volt,’ and thanked him for the diligence he had used in bringing her the intelligence.¹⁹

The king and Mary had remained in public so-

¹⁷ ‘About this time the queen of England was so sore visited with a hot fever, that no man believed any other but death to be the end of it; all England being therethro in great perplexity.’ p. 153.

¹⁸ Melv. 158, 9.

¹⁹ Melv. 159. ‘Then I requested her majesty to be a gossip to our queen; for our com-meres are called gossips in England, which she granted gladly to her.’ ib.

ciety together, for the three months which preceded the birth of the prince; but the resenting feelings of the queen, are described by her friends as still brooding in her bosom.²⁰ At the end of July she went to earl Mar's pleasant seat at Alloa,²¹ where Maitland was permitted to see her, and was pardoned.²² She was then at variance with her mortified husband,²³ tho within a week afterwards they exhibited a temporary reconciliation.²⁴ But Bothwell began to assume the manners, as well as the influence of Rizzio, and with similar unpopularity; and was perceived to predominate in the direction of the government.²⁵

As we advance to that catastrophe, which shaded the life of Mary to her death with gloom, unhap-

²⁰ Melville's portraiture of her is impressive: 'She was still sad and pensive, for the late foul forfeit committed in her presence so unreverently, she being their born queen, and then in such danger as to have lost the fruit she bore. So many great sighs she would give, that it was pity to hear her, and too few were careful to comfort her. Sometimes she would declare part of her griefs unto me, which I essayed to put out of her mind by all possible persuasions.' He reminded her, 'how seemly it is to a queen to be pitiful, and to a woman to be wanting in vengeance!' 'This communing began at the entry of her supper, in her ear in French, when she was casting great sighs, and would not eat for no persuasion that my lords of Murray and Mar could make to her. The supper being ended, her majesty took me by the hand, and passed down thro the park of Stirling, and came up thro the town, ever reasoning with me upon these purposes.' Melv. p. 169. This kind of vindictive melancholy has somewhat of the appearance of nervous indisposition.

²¹ Treasurer's accounts. 2 Chalm. 527.

²² On 2 Aug. Cecil's abst. p. 169.

²³ On 3 August, Bedford's report was, 'the queen and her husband agree worse.' Cecil's abst. 169.

²⁴ Lett. 9 Aug. ib.

²⁵ On 2 August 1566, earl Bedford reported to Cecil, 'Bothwell is generally hated, and is more insolent than ever David Rizzio was.' Cecil's abst. 169; and on 9th, 'Bothwell is still in favor, and has a great hand in the management of affairs.' ib. On 12th Aug. the earl added, 'I have heard that there is a device working for the earl of Bothwell, the particulars whereof I have not heard. But because such dealings like me not, I desire to hear no further thereof.' MS. Cal. B. 10. p. 380; Goodall, v. 1. p. 306.

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pinness, and disgrace, it is important for a correct judgment of her conduct upon it, to mark the particular circumstances of her preceding transactions, with a minuteness, which without such a reference, would be impertinent in national history. In August, the king hunted with her in Tweedale,²⁶ returned with her to Edinburgh, and then accompanied her to Stirling.²⁷ This friendly union in their amusements was the result of the judicious exertions of the French ambassador, Malvaser, who had been sent to congratulate her on her delivery, and whom his court had instructed to reconcile Mary with the king, and to procure the recal of the exiled nobles.²⁸ It was Murray's interest to obtain their forgiveness, and Bothwell's to prevent it, as their return would lessen his ascendancy. The persuasions of the

²⁶ The treasurer's accounts contain a charge, on 12th August, for a boy passing with close writings from the king and queen to Bothwell and others; and on 28 August, for payment of forty shillings to the 'Marchmont herald, for attending on the king and queen during the hunting.' 2 Chalm. 527. It was a remarkable instance of a correct foresight in Randolph, that about three years before, in April 1563, he should have written of Bothwell: 'If he were here, he would be reserved for an evil instrument. There comes a vulture into this realm, if ever that man comes again into credit.' See his lett. in Robertson, 2. p. 333.

²⁷ Keith, p. 345. But with what private feelings this public show of amity was accompanied, we learn from earl Bedford's dispatch to Cecil, of 3 August 1566. 'The queen and her husband agree after the old manner, or rather worse. She eateth but very seldom with him; lieth not; nor keepeth company with him; nor loveth any such as love him. At her going out of the castle of Edinburgh to remove abroad, he knew nothing thereof. *It cannot for modesty*, nor will for the honor of a queen, be reported *what she said of him*. [Sir] James Melville giving a dog to the king, the queen thereupon fell marvellously out with Melville; called him a dissembler; and said she could not trust one who would give any thing to *such a one as she loved not*.' Lett. Dr. Robert. app. 229.

²⁸ Bedford's lett. of 3 and 9 August, in Cecil's abstract. On 8 August, he also wrote, 'The disagreement between the queen and her husband continueth, or rather increases. She is come to Edinburgh. The king is gone to Dumferling, having at his farewell such countenance as would make a husband heavy at the heart.' Lett. Rob. app. 30.

French envoy were not therefore at this juncture successful.

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In August, the cabinet settled that the queen should go to Jedburgh, and hold a court of justice, with a great force to repress the turbulent borderers. Bothwell was to advance with sufficient troops for that purpose.²⁹ On 22d August, Mary and her husband went to Stirling, with their princely babe.³⁰ They continued together³¹ till about the middle of September, when the queen went alone to Edinburgh.³² But on 22d of that month, she was again at Stirling with the king,³³ apparently only for that day, as she had left the metropolis on the 21st, and was there again on the 23d.³⁴ After the following day, she seems to have returned to Stirling, but only for a brief visit, as about the 27th her council desired her presence in Edinburgh, for the dispatch of business. She wished her husband to have accompanied her to it, but he preferred to remain at

²⁹ Bed. lett. of 3 Aug. 169. It is more fully cited in Goodall, 1. p. 305. From his despatch of 12 August, we find the Jedburgh expedition was postponed. *ib.* 306.

³⁰ Birrel's diary, in 1 Chal. 283

³¹ The Privy Seal Register implies that they were together at Drummond Castle on 30 August. 1 Chal. 283. On 8 Sept. Sir John Forster wrote 'the queen hath her husband in small estimation.' Lett. in Rob. app. 230.

³² That she held councils at this city on 17 and 21 September, the Privy Council Register states, and the dates of papers entered in the Privy Seal Register xxxv, induce the inference that she was in the metropolis from the 12th to the 21st of that month. 1 Chal. 284.

³³ Le Croc's letter of 15 Oct. states to his correspondent, the Scottish ambassador at Paris, 'On the 22d day of the *last* month, your brother arrived at Stirling, where he found the queen in good health, as likewise the prince her son; who is a very fine child, and thrives so well, that against the time of his christening, his god-fathers will feel the weight of bearing him in their arms.' Keith's Hist. 345.

³⁴ The Privy Seal Register has a date of 23 Sept. which implies her signature on that day, at Edinburgh; and the council book shews that on the 24th she held a council there. 1 Chal. 284.

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Stirling, and wait her return. She left him there, intending to rejoin him in five or six days;³⁵ an interval, during which his father made him an important visit.³⁶

Feelings and ideas were now found to be actuating the king's mind, which, tho not expected by others, were natural results of his degraded position. Humbled, tho visited by the queen; kept at a distance from power; disliked and mistrusted by the nobles, and unpopular among the nation, he meditated a plan of retiring altogether from a royalty which he felt to be a mockery, and from a state in which he saw only suspicion, probable conspiracy, and impending evil about him: and therefore to quit Scotland for a foreign residence. It was because he had communicated his intentions to the earl of Lennox, his father, that this nobleman went to Stirling to divert him from it. The earl wrote to the queen, that his dissuasions had failed, and that a ship had been got ready by his son for his departure. This letter reached her on 29th September, and she laid it before her cabinet, who resolved to confer with the king, on his reasons for such an hasty deliberation.³⁷ Their intentions were anticipated by the sudden arrival of Darnley himself at the palace; and when he found that some of the nobles were with his wife, he allowed his mistrust or his animosity so far to govern him, as to refuse to enter the mansion till they were gone. The queen, suppressing all dissatisfaction at his objection, went out of the palace to meet him, and

³⁵ Lett. of privy council to queen mother of France, dated 8 October. Keith, 348.

³⁶ *Ib.*

³⁷ *Ib.*

conducted him to her own apartment; where, tho he remained all night, he would not explain any particular cause of his intended self-banishment. The specific object for which he had thus unexpectedly come does not appear; and he was about returning the next morning to Stirling, when the council visited him with their expostulating inquiry, as to the reasons of his proposed secession. The queen joined her intreaties that he would disclose his feelings and his object. But he would neither acknowlege his voyage nor his secret discontents, yet chose to declare that the queen had not given him occasion for any, and with this conciliatory remark, took his leave of her and went away.²⁸ It is probable that he came with the hopes of a personal appeal to her connubial feelings; but that he had either found none of these in his evening interview with her, or perceived her to be so linked with those whom he deemed his enemies, as to be convinced that no benefit would arise to him from residing there with her. He collected his mind more calmly after his departure, and then confessed to her in a letter, that he had two points of complaint: one, that she did not trust him with so much authority, nor was at such pains to advance him and make him to be honored in the nation, as she at first had done; the other, that nobody at-

²⁸ Keith, 349. Le Croc says, that when he was at Stirling, the king told him there, ' he had a mind to go beyond sea, in a sort of desperation;' and thus describes his departure from Edinburgh: ' He at last declared that he had no ground at all given him for such a deliberation; and thereupon he went out of the chamber of presence, saying to the queen, ' Adieu, madam, you shall not see my face for a long space.' After which, he likewise bade me farewell; and next, turning to the lords in general, said, ' Gentlemen, adieu.' Keith, 346.

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tended him, and that the nobility deserted his company.³⁹ In her answer, she coolly told him, as to his first allegation, that he ought to blame himself, not her; and that she had continued to show him respect, 'although they who did perpetrate the murder of her faithful servant, had entered her chamber *with his knowledge, having followed him close at the back*, and had named him the chief of their enterprise.' She added, that 'yet would she never accuse him thereof, but did always excuse him, and was willing to appear as if she believed it not.'⁴⁰ Thus in substance authenticating Ruthven's account of the king's co-operation in that abominable assassination. The want of attendance she asserted to be also his own fault.⁴¹ She imputed the aversion of the nobility to him to his own conduct,⁴² and declared that they were utterly averse to his having the management of affairs put into his hands.⁴³ Another important statement, as it proves that the ruling lords, who were now united with her, were all hostile to him. Up to this time the extent of the queen's plan of conduct seems sufficiently ascertainable: civil attentions, matrimonial intercourse, no state, except the attendance of her household,

³⁹ Keith, 350.⁴⁰ Ib.⁴¹ 'Since, she has always made an offer to him of her own servants.' Keith, 342.⁴² 'He is at no pains to gain them and make himself beloved by them, having gone so far as to prohibit these noblemen to enter her room, who she had at first appointed to be about her person.' ib.⁴³ Ib. All these facts were sent in the despatch to France on 8 Oct. Le Croc's letter of 15 Oct. to the ambassador at Paris confirms the preceding. Keith, 345-7. The Privy Council Register shews that this was signed by Huntley the chancellor, Argyle the justice-general, Murray, Athol, Caithness, Rothes, Maitland, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and four bishops. 1 Chal. 291.

and no participation of the power or authority of government. But no just ground appears for charging her with any criminal intentions or conspiracy against him. If he had submitted to live with her on these terms, as the highest nobleman in the country, but relinquishing to her and her friends the whole of the government, she would have allowed him to share the honors of her state. It is obvious that she wished him to be to her what prince George of Denmark was to our queen Anne; the husband of the queen, but not the sovereign of the country. It will be no breach of impartiality to add, that it is doubtful whether he had any pretensions, from conduct, talent, rank or personal influence, to be more than she would have thus permitted. A progressive acquisition of general popularity, and a more friendly society with the nobility, might have gradually raised him to some influencing importance, as his maturer actions might deserve it. But the project of his foreign exile, his determination not to live with the queen in the subordination which she desired, his evidenced hostility to the predominating lords, and his unceremonious abandonment of her court and person, were incidents that were likely to destroy her attachment to him;⁴ to create alarms not unfounded, and to make the ruling aristocracy his determined enemies, some

⁴ Robert Melville, in his letter from London, of 22 Oct. to the same person, indicates this. He had left Scotland about the 14th of that month, and says, 'The queen was in some displeasure at my department, upon *evil behaviour* of the king's part, who was of mind to depart out of the realm, and no occasion given him by her majesty; neither will he declare wherein his discontentment is, but in general that he is not regarded with the nobility as he should be.' Keith, p. 351.

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of whom he desired to displace from their official situations.⁴⁵ He went to Glasgow, but afterwards desired Le Croc to meet him half way between that town and Edinburgh. The French envoy did so, and finding his father with him, remonstrated against his intended voyage, till he appeared to relinquish it. Le Croc then went to Jedburgh, to communicate these conferences to the queen.⁴⁶ It is clear that both parties were now in a position of conflicting evil towards each other, from which future mischief was most likely to result.

Bothwell attended the privy council meetings in September, or the beginning of October.⁴⁷ It was at this time that Murray completed his confederation with Huntley, Argyle, and Bothwell, and signed the written engagement to unite with them, which he had been compelled to promise before he had been admitted to the queen's presence, or restored to her favor.⁴⁸ But as the queen was now preparing for her justiciary court at Jedburgh, Bothwell, as lord lieutenant of the disturbed counties, left Edinburgh on 6th October, where the principal lairds had two months before resolved to resist him, unless the queen came in person to their locality.⁴⁹ On the

⁴⁵ R. Melville adds, 'neither can he obtain such things as he seeks; to wit, such persons as the secretary [*Maitland*,] the justice clerk, and clerk of register, to be put out of their office.' *ib.* 351.

⁴⁶ Le Croc's lett. 15 Oct. from Jedburgh, in Keith, 347.

⁴⁷ He was there on 17th Sept. Keith, 351. And 3d Oct. Keith, 560. And on 6th Oct. *ib.* 359.

⁴⁸ Murray stated this himself, in his letter of 19th Jan. 1569. He does not explain the object of this combination. He merely says, 'which was devised in sign of our reconciliation in respect of the former grudges and displeasures that had been among us.'

⁴⁹ So Bedford wrote on 3d August to Cecil: 'Lord Hume, the lairds of Cessfurd and Buccleugh, and the rest of the surname, do promise to live and die with Cessfurd, and to withstand Bothwell, unless the queen comes in person. The Elliots, whom we feared

8th he came into conflict with one of the discontented Elliots, and was severely wounded in the struggle.⁵⁰ He was carried to the castle of the Hermitage for recovery.⁵¹ On the same day on which this encounter happened, the queen, ignorant of it, left her metropolis, with her whole court, for Jedburgh,⁵² where we find her till the 15th of that month.⁵³

On the next day she took that extraordinary step, which begins the discoloration of her character, and affords the first token of her imputed criminality. The Hermitage was twenty miles from Jedburgh. Yet she executed the resolution of going thither and returning the same day,⁵⁴ a journey of forty miles, in the wintry part of autumn, merely to see Bothwell. No particular exigency called her, because as eight days had elapsed since his wound, and as in nine days more he was so well as to be himself at a privy council in Jedburgh,⁵⁵ he could be in no

would become our open enemies, have sent to the lord warden and me to suffer them to lye five or six days on our borders. We answered as much as we might do without breach of amity.' Cal. B. 10. p. 380, l. Good. 305.

⁵⁰ Birrell's Diary says, in the hand. p. 5. 1 Chal. 295. Craufurd's Memoirs MS. expressed the injury to have been 'in divers parts of his body and head, so that he hardly escaped with safety of his life.' Keith, 351. ⁵¹ Crauf. ib. ⁵² Birrell's Diary, p. 6.

⁵³ On the 10th, 11th, and 15th, she held privy councils at Jedburgh. P. C. Regist. Sir James Melville has this important passage in his Memoirs: 'Her majesty passed afterwards to Jedburgh herself, where the earls of Bothwell and Huntley enterprised the slaughter of the earl of Murray; but the lord Hume came there with forces, and prevented that enterprise.' Mem. 173.

⁵⁴ Privy Seal Reg. xxxv. 1 Ch. 196. Craufurd's MS. Keith, 352.

⁵⁵ The proclamation issued by the privy council, from Jedburgh, on 25th Oct. states, that Bothwell, Huntley, Murray, Athol, Rothes, Maitland, the bishop of Ross, and others, were present at it. See it in Keith, 352. And on 26th Oct. the bishop of Ross mentions Bothwell as being that day with the lord commissioner at Jedburgh; and on 27th, wrote of him: 'Lord Bothwell is here, who convalesces well of his wounds.' Keith, app. 136.

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danger on the 16th; nor if he had been as indifferent to her, as state counsellors and partisans usually are and ought to be to their female sovereign, would she have given him the personal attentions of such a singular visit. But such was her interest at this moment for him, that she sent off the next day a large packet of writings to him.⁵⁶

From the fatigues of this extraordinary exertion, from her agitation on his account,⁵⁷ from some unexplained thought and displeasure, connected in some way with her husband,⁵⁸ perhaps we may add from the additional labor of writing at night the contents of that packet, which from Maitland's intimation were probably on something that was concerning both the king and Bothwell, she was seized on the 17th with a violent illness. She swooned away, for two hours. A dangerous fever came on. She became delirious.⁵⁹ For twelve hours her life was despaired of.⁶⁰ She herself looked for nothing but death,⁶¹ and had relapses which increased the

⁵⁶ We learn this fact from this entry in the treasurer's account: 'Oct. 17, 1566. To ane boy passand off Jedburgh with an *mass of writings* of our soveranis to the earl Bothville, 6 shillings.' 2 Chal. 441.

⁵⁷ Craufurd's words are: 'And the great distress of her mind from the earl of Bothwell.' Keith, 352.

⁵⁸ We have this important intimation in a letter of Maitland, written from Jedburgh a week after she was taken ill, and printed by M. Laing, v. 2. p. 71-3. It is dated 24th Oct. and is addressed to the archbishop of Paris. 'The occasion of the queen's sickness, so far as I understand, is caused of thought and displeasure; and I trow by that I could wring further of her own declaration to me, the root of it is the king.' M. Laing, 72. ⁵⁹ Keith, 352.

⁶⁰ So she wrote the next month to England: 'We looked not to have bruiked [enjoyed] this life twelve hours in our late sickness.' Keith, 354.

⁶¹ Maitland says, 'Truly her majesty was very sore handled, and looked herself for nothing but death.' M. Laing, 71. So the bishop of Ross: 'Her majesty was so handled with great vehemency, that all that was with her were despaired of her convalescence.' Keith, app. 134.

alarm;⁶² and in preparing for it, she committed her son to the care of Elizabeth.⁶³ The king on the 24th is remarked, with some spleen, to be at Glasgow, and not to have come to see her;⁶⁴ yet considering the distance of Jedburgh from Glasgow, there was hardly time for the news of her danger to have reached him, and for his arrival afterwards.⁶⁵ But he was there on the 28th,⁶⁶ which was perhaps as soon after he found it was more dangerous than her usual indispositions, that he could get there at that season. She was then recovering, tho in much debility.⁶⁷ The nobles met, while her recovery was uncertain, and agreed to remain together, until

⁶² The bishop of Ross thus describes her state, after the preceding letters of Maitland and Le Croc, on Wednesday, the 23d: 'Her majesty got some relief, which lasted while Thursday, at ten hours at even, at which time her majesty swooned again, and failed in her sight. Her feet and her knees were cold, which were handled by extreme rubbing, drawing, and other cures by the space of four hours, that no creature could endure greater pain; and thro the vehemency of this cure, her majesty got some relief; while about six hours in the morning on Friday (25th), when her majesty became dead, and all her members cold, eyes closed, mouth fast, and feet and arms stiff and cold. Nevertheless, master Naw, who is a perfect man of his craft, would not give the matter over in that manner: but of new began to draw her nose, legs, arms, feet, and the rest, with such vehement torments, which lasted the space of three hours, till her majesty recovered again her sight and speech, and got a great sweating, which was holden the relief of the sickness, because it was on the ninth day, which commonly is called the crisis of the sickness, and so here thought the cooling of the fever.' Lett. Keith, app. 134.

⁶³ Mary's lett. Keith, 354. But Mary is here contradicted by her friend the bishop of Ross, who declares she 'recommended her son the prince to the king and to madam the queen mother of France.' Lett. 26th Oct. 1566. Keith, app. 135. Her mind perhaps varied.

⁶⁴ Le Croc. 'Le roy est à Glasco et n'est point venu ici.' Keith, app. 133.

⁶⁵ Le Croc's blaming words imply this possibility. 'If he has been informed by any one, and *has* had time to come here if he were inclined, it is a fault which I cannot excuse.' ib.

⁶⁶ 2 Chal. 441.

⁶⁷ The bishop, on 26th, adds, that from Friday, the 25th, she 'continually convalesces better and better, but the vehement press of vomiting and laxative, with the great pain of rubbing and drawing of her

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they returned to Edinburgh; and then to open the queen's will, and take proper measures for the government of the kingdom, but to suppress all turbulence wherever it should appear.⁶⁸ They issued, on the 25th October, their proclamation, that the queen's illness disabling her from attending to the business, which was the occasion of her repairing to those parts, divers persons might take the opportunity to revenge their private quarrels, to the disturbing of all good order: and therefore the nobility and council had resolved, that, setting aside all feud and favor, they would declare themselves enemies to every committer of such violences.⁶⁹

The king was mentioned upbraidingly by the bishop of Ross, on 26th October, not to have come to see the queen.⁷⁰ But no one has considered whether he was officially apprised of her illness, or was only left to hear of it by current report, or by a chance private information. That he was not purposely made acquainted with it by the cabinet, we may infer from the French envoy's expressions: because this minister would not have in that case attached any 'ifs' to the question, whether he had

members, has made her so weak, that she is not able hastily to travel forth of these parts.' He mentions at length her prayers, her declaration that she should die in the Catholic faith, and her exhortations to her nobility to be united; to keep her son from all evil company, to place those about him who 'would and could instruct him in virtue and in all godliness, and not to suffer him to take or use any evil conditions and inclinations which may fall unto him thro his father, mother, or any his natural parentage.' She desired that Catholics might not be troubled; and sending for the French ambassador, expressed her constant mind to die a Catholic, her good mind at all times to France, and her recommendation of her son to its king and queen mother. The next day, Saturday the 26th, she became better. Lett. ib.

⁶⁸ Lett. ib. 135.

⁶⁹ See it in Keith, 353.

⁷⁰ The bishop wrote, 'the king all this time remains at Glasgow, and yet is not come towards the queen's majesty.' Keith, app. 135.

been apprised of it,⁷¹ but from his official situation would have known whether any direct communication had been made to him on the subject, as ought unquestionably to have been done. Altho we have four letters on her illness from official men,⁷² written while the danger lasted; and two of these blame the king for not being there, and in the other, Maitland mentions him with censure, none intimate that any express had been sent to him of the queen's attack or danger. The natural inference therefore is, that he was left to hear it how he could, at a distance of eighty miles; and reasoning from this appearance, to arrive at Jedburgh on the 28th of the month,⁷³ had no appearance of any wilful delay after he could have heard of it:⁷⁴ nor was it his interest to be absent. When he arrived, the crisis had passed. Of his reception, we have no contemporary evidence but that of Knox and Buchanan, and from

⁷¹ 'Si est ce qu'il a été adverti par quelqu'un et a eu de temps asser pour vent.' We cannot but think from these words, that Le Croc thought it possible at least, if not probable, that he might not have been apprised of it by any one, and *might not have had time* to arrive. The 'parquelqu'un,' negatives the likelihood of any official communication.

⁷² The privy council, in Keith, 133; Le Croc. ib.; Maitland; 2 Laing, 71-3; the bishop of Ross; Keith, 134.

⁷³ We learn the date of his arrival from Le Croc's letter of 2 Dec. which states, 'the king her husband came to visit her at Jedburgh, the very day after capt. Hay went.' Keith's pref. 7. Now we find, from the bishop's letter of 27 Oct. that upon that day he made 'capt. Hay the bearer' of his letter. Keith, app. 135.

⁷⁴ Knox seems therefore correct in his assertion; 'the king, being advertised, rode post from Stirling to Jedburgh, where he found the queen somewhat convalesced, but she would not see nor speak to him.' p. 399. Correspondently with this, Buchanan says, in his Detection, 'when the king heard thereof, he hasted by post to Jedburgh, to visit the queen.' It is not at all likely that the king would delay an instant his visit to her, because, if she died, he had the greatest pretensions to the regency, and therefore the greatest interest to be on the spot to claim it. There is a difference between Knox and Le Croc and Ross, whether the king was at Stirling or Glasgow. It is of no moment, as the difference of either distance from Edinburgh does not materially vary.

them we find it to have been so unaccommodating,⁷⁵ that he staid but one night; and after conversing a long time with the French ambassador,⁷⁶ returned to his accustomed residence, having found in the queen little else than one continued spirit of indifference or aversion towards him.

In trying at this distant period to trace the real character of Mary's feelings towards him at this moment, on which so much of the probability, as to the guilt or innocence of her future conduct seems to depend, we may remark, that when she thought she was dying, and was giving directions as to her son and government on that expectancy, which were minutely detailed at the moment by her episcopal friend, she never mentioned her husband; nor did she desire the lords to place him in the regency; but instead of committing their common son to his superintendence, she particularly recommended the child to the care of the king and queen-mother of France; altho, whatever might be Darnley's faults, Charles IX. and Catherine de Medicis had no claim whatever to be preferred to him, either in virtue or in piety, or for the national good.⁷⁷ This

⁷⁵ To Knox's 'she would scarce speak to him,' we may add Buchanan's account: 'So far was it off, that his lodging and things necessary were provided for him against his coming, as were wont to be for mean persons, that he found not any one token toward him of a friendly mind.' He adds, 'the nobility, and all the officers of the court that were present, were specially forbidden to do him any reverence at all at his coming, nor to yield him their lodging, nor to harbour him so much as for one night.' Detect.

⁷⁶ The statement of Buchanan, 'Being thus denied all duties of civil kindness, *the next day*, with great grief of heart, he returned to his old solitary corner,' coincides with Le Croc's 'he remained there but one single night, and yet in that short time I had a great deal of conversation with him.' Keith's pref. 7. But Le Croc omits all mention of the reasons of his short stay, or of his feelings on the subject.

⁷⁷ See the bishop of Ross's letter on the evening of the 26th Oct. in Keith, 135.

wilful and spontaneous deposition of the king, from all concern with his own offspring and with the kingdom, combined with the entire omission of his name in the deliberation of the court nobles on their measures, if the queen should die, sanctions Buchanan's statement, 'that he found not any one token toward him of a friendly mind.' But a more painful consideration remains to be expressed. We have already remarked, that Maitland, her confidential secretary, writing officially on the 9th day of her illness to the bishop-ambassador at Paris, declared one of the causes of her sickness to be 'thought and displeasure;' and that he had wrung out of her own declaration to him, 'the root of it was the king.'⁷⁸ With this 'thought and displeasure' about her husband, she had gone to Bothwell on the 16th, and returned the same day, and on the next, before her illness seized her, despatched a mass of letters to him.⁷⁹ What could be the subject of these perturbing meditations, feelings, consultation and correspondence? The next passage in Maitland's letter gives us a glimpse of some unfavorable possibilities; 'for she has done him so great honor without the advice of her friends, and contrary to the advice of her subjects; and he, on the t'other part, has recompensed her with such ingratitude, and misuses himself so far towards her, that *it is ane heart-break for her to think that he should be her husband, AND HOW TO BE FREE OF HIM SHE SEES NO OUT-GAIT.*'⁸⁰ This was not written at an ordinary moment or upon a common occasion, but is what he, as a statesman, is

⁷⁸ Laing, append. 2. p. 42.

⁷⁹ See before.

⁸⁰ Laing, app. p. 72.

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confidentially disclosing at that critical hour to the employed ambassador of her court, as what he had ‘*wrung*’ from the queen; and this being written when all was uncertain whether the queen would live or die, and when her symptoms rather inclined towards her dissolution, becomes peculiarly important. He proceeds in this developement of her secret feelings towards her husband, and represents them not only as those which she at that moment entertained, but which she had for some time cherished. ‘I write freely to your lordship, as to a man that being employed in the charge ye bear, should not be ignorant in what estate things stand at home, and yet as to a friend with whom I may safely communicate my opinion. I see betwixt them no agreement; nor *no appearance that they shall agree well thereafter*; at least I am assured that *it has been her mind this good while*, AND YET IS as I write.’⁸¹

From this letter of Maitland, we learn that thoughts and displeasures about her husband were agitating Mary’s mind when she went to Bothwell, and that these were, vexation to think he should be her husband, and meditations how to be free of him; for to see no way out of a matter, implies that we are meditating to find one; and these thoughts were occupying her consideration at a time when it was her mind, and had been for a good while, that there was no agreement between her and her husband, and no appearance that they would afterwards agree. If these were the subjects and feelings that were disturbing Mary’s mind, when, to the compromise of her own character, she made Bothwell that hasty

⁸¹ Laing, p. 72.

and extraordinary visit, will it be unjust to her to infer that these formed topics, both of her conference and of her correspondence with him? if they did not, how came they at that moment to be so occupying and perturbing her, as to be deliberately stated by her own secretary from her own declaration, that they were among the occasions, that seven days before caused the illness, under which she seemed to be sinking?

There is no evidence on what day after the 26th October, Bothwell left Jedburgh: but there is a record, that on the 31st of that month she had provisions and necessaries purchased, to be sent to the Hermitage,⁸² as if he had returned thither.

She continued at Jedburgh till the 8th November,⁸³ when she left it for Kelso, and proceeded towards the sea to Berwick, to view that town. The English deputy, after conducting her to Halydon Hill, to see it to most advantage, attended her with great honor, almost to Eyemouth. She travelled along the coast to Dunbar,⁸⁴ as if to be

⁸² '31 (Oct.) ' *By the queen's command*, bocht ane boll of keepit meill, four stains of cheis, and 3 horse providit to truss the same to the Armitage, with other necessaries, 24 shillings.' Treas. Acc. 2 Chal. 442.

⁸³ The same accounts shew the duration of the residence at Jedburgh: 'Nov. 30, for expenses maid upon the lordis compositours to Jedburgh, fra the 9th day of October to the 8th day of Nov. inst. as the diat buke beris, 728*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* Item, to the justice general, fra the 9 October to the 8 November, 3*l.* a day, 90*l.*' 2 Ch. 442. A corresponding payment is also entered for sir John Bellendene, the justice clerk, for the same time. *ib.*

⁸⁴ Maitland, *lett.* of 19 Nov. in Keith, 353. She reached Berwick on 16 Nov. *ib.* Sir John Forster, the English warden of the marches, conferring with her there on horseback, his courser reared up, and striking the queen's thigh, 'hurt her very evil. Incontinent, the warden alighted off his horse, and sat down upon his knees, craving pardon of her grace. She made him rise, and said, she was not hurt, yet it compelled her to stay two days at the castle of Hume, until she was well again.' Melv. p. 173. She was at Dunbar on the 18

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reinvigorated by the breezes from the ocean, and from thence on the 20th arrived at Craigmillar, a castle about a league from Edinburgh;⁸⁵ where she staid above two weeks, and where the nefarious actions that ensued at Edinburgh two months afterwards seem to have taken their origin during this visit.

The king came to her at this castle about 27th November, and staid with her nearly a week there, but no increase of real cordiality ensued, and none was likely to take place, in the opinion of the French ambassador; he only gives two of his reasons for thinking so, but they sufficiently explain the mutual dissatisfaction of this royal pair:⁸⁶ his aversion to the submission she required, and her extreme jealousy of his planning to acquire partisans and power.⁸⁷ The baptism of the prince at Stirling was the next court incident that was contemplated; but the king gave Le Croc an intimation that he would not attend the ceremony.⁸⁸

Nov. and wrote from thence to the privy council in England the letter in Keith, 354

⁸⁵ Le Croc's lett. of 2 Dec. Keith, pref. 7. Mary wrote on 4 Dec. from Craigmillar, to send Bedford the letter, in Keith, 356. Melville's remark at this time was, 'the king followed her about where she rode, getting no good countenance; and therefore he passed to Glasgow, where he fell sick for displeasure.' p. 173.

⁸⁶ Le Croc's letter of 15 October, from Jedburgh. Keith, 347.

⁸⁷ Le Croc, in his letter of 2 Dec. to the archbishop, at Paris, wrote, 'The king returned to see the queen about five or six days ago; and the day before yesterday he sent word to desire me to speak with him half a league from this, which I complied with, and found that *things go still worse and worse*. I think he intends to go away to-morrow. To speak my mind freely to you, (but I beg you not to disclose what I say, in any place that may turn to my prejudice,) *I do not expect*, upon several accounts, *any good understanding* between them. I shall name only two. The first is, the king will never humble himself as he ought; the other is, the queen can't perceive any one nobleman speaking with the king, but presently *she suspects* some contrivance among them.' Keith, pref. 7.

⁸⁸ Lett. ib. We cannot wonder at the king's dissatisfaction, when we

The queen was not yet re-established in her health. Her physician still attended her; but this shews that her illness made no diminution of her adverse feelings towards Darnley. Another passage of it so expressively coincides with the intimations already given from Maitland, of the mental agitation which contributed to her malady, that we cannot avoid connecting them with the same subject, 'She is in the hands of the physicians, and I do assure you is not at all well, and do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in a deep grief and sorrow. Nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats these words, 'I could wish to be dead.' You know very well that the injury she has received is exceeding great, and her majesty will never forget it.'⁸⁰ There can be no doubt that the injury here alluded to, was the king's co-operation in the murder of Rizzio: and on comparing this letter with that of Maitland's written only eight days before, we can as little hesitate to infer that the vexation of Darnley's being her husband, and the thoughts how to be free from him, which her secretary intimated, were those which were producing the deep grief and sorrow, which the French envoy so emphatically associates with the great injury she had received. Her remarkable exclamation, so often repeated; 'still she

find from sir J Forster's dispatch of 11 Dec. that what he only ought to have done was assigned to another. '*The earl of Bothwell is appointed to receive the ambassador, and all things for the christening are at his appointment. The same is scarcely well liked by the nobility, as is said. The king and queen are at present at Craigmillar, but in little greater familiarity than he was all the while past.*' Rob. app. 230. Mary's letter to Bedford, of the 4th, named the 15th as the intended day of the ceremony. Keith, 355. Elizabeth had sent this nobleman instructions to attend it on 7 Nov. ib. 356-9.

⁸⁰ Lett. in Keith's pref. 7.

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repeats these words, 'I could wish to be dead!' imply an agitation and conflict of mind, which so strikingly resembles what could not but arise, when propositions were made to her of 'an outgait,' a way to get rid of her husband, that our most guarded judgment can hardly avoid referring the expressions to the schemes and conferences which *her friends*, Huntley and Argyle, have acknowledged, were forming against the king at this very moment at Craigmillar.

These earls state that she was there in December, accompanied by Bothwell, Murray, Maitland, and themselves.⁹⁰ That Murray and Maitland came one morning to Argyle as he was in bed, and lamented the continued banishment of Morton and the others, for that death of Rizzio, which had been effected to prevent the parliamentary proscription of Murray and his friends;⁹¹ and stated that it was incumbent on the latter to procure a termination of their exile.⁹² Argyle suggested the obstacle to be in the queen's opposition.⁹³ Their reply was,

⁹⁰ Their protestation was printed by Anderson, from the copy in the Cotton library, Cal. C. 1, in his collection, v. 4. p. 188-94, and from him by Keith, app. 136. It was written either in Dec. 1568, or Jan. 1569.

⁹¹ 'We being in bed, who, lamenting the banishment of the earl of Morton, lords Lyndsey and Ruthven, with the rest of their faction, said, that the occasion of the murder of David, slain by them in the presence of the queen's majesty, was for to trouble and impeache the parliament, wherein the earl of Murray and others should have been forfeited, and declared rebels.' Protest. ib.

⁹² 'And seeing that the same was chiefly for the welfare of the earl of Murray, it should be esteemed ingratitude if he and his friends, in reciproque manner, did not enterprise all that were [in their] puissance for relief the said banished; wherefore they thought that one of our part should have been as desirous thereto as they were.' Protest. ib.

⁹³ The earls add, 'And we agreeing to the same, to do all that was in us for their relief, providing that the queen's majesty should not be offended thereat.' ib.

that the nearest and best way to obtain her consent would be to liberate her from her husband, with whom she was on many accounts so much offended.⁵⁴ Argyle declared he knew not how this could be accomplished;⁵⁵ and Maitland's ready answer was, that they would find the means well enough to make her quit of him, if Argyle and Huntley would not counteract them.⁵⁶ This conversation certainly did not directly implicate the queen; but it is the evidence of both Maitland and Murray, at the time when they were peculiarly interested not to be deceived in their judgment on this point, that if they could but effect a divorcement for her from her husband, they might obtain even the pardon of those who had murdered her favorite minister. Her hatred to them was therefore less than her aversion at that time to the king, in the estimation of those who were always about her, and among the highest in her confidence. This fact coincides with the intimation of both Maitland's and Le Croc's official and private correspondence.

The same subject was then proposed by Murray and Maitland to the earl of Huntley, with a promise, if he and Argyle would concur in the intended measures, that their lands and offices should be restored

⁵⁴ 'On this, Lethington [Maitland] proponit and said, That the nearest and best way to obtain the said earl of Morton's pardon, was to promise to the queen's majesty to find a mean to make divorcement between her grace and the king her husband, who has offended her highness so highly in many ways.' *ib.* ⁵⁵ *Ib.*

⁵⁶ Lethington said, the earl of Murray being ever present, 'My lords! care not you thereof, we shall find the means well enough to make her quit of him, so that you and my lord of Huntley will only behold the matter, and not be offended thereat.' *ib.* This remark implies that Maitland and some one else had planned to do it, without Argyle and Huntley taking any active part in the execution.

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to them.⁹⁷ They assented, and especially he says, because it would please and content the queen.⁹⁸ It was not the forgiveness of Morton that would please her, but the deliverance from her husband. The words had no other meaning.

These four noblemen having thus united in a project to procure the consent of Mary to the recal of the exiles, by getting her released from her marriage, proceeded to Bothwell's chamber to take his opinion, and he made no great difficulty.⁹⁹ The confederacy being thus formed between these five ruling noblemen, they went altogether to propose it to the queen. Maitland became the orator, and, reminding her of her husband's grievous and intolerable offences and ingratitude done to her,¹⁰⁰ he proposed explicitly to her, that if she would pardon Morton and the others, they would find means with the other nobles to make divorcement between her and the king, *so as that she need not meddle with it.*¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Protest. ib.

⁹⁸ Huntley says as to himself, 'Our answer was, it should not stop by us that the matter came not to effect, in all [that] might be profitable and honorable both for them and us; and specially where the pleasures, will, and contentment of the queen's majesty consisted.' Prot. ib.

⁹⁹ 'And thereon we five, viz. earls of Murray, Argyle, Huntley, and secretary Lethington [Maitland] passed all to the earl of Bothwell's chamber, to understand his advise on these things proposed, wherein he gainsayed not more than we.' ib.

¹⁰⁰ 'So thereafter we passed altogether towards the queen's grace, where Lethington, after he had remembered her majesty of a great number of grievous and intolerable offences, that the king, as he said, ingrate of the honor received of her highness, had done to her grace, and continuing every day from evil to worse.' ib.

¹⁰¹ Proponed, 'That if it pleased her majesty to pardon the earl of Morton, lords Ruthven and Lyndsey, with their company, they should find the means with the rest of the nobility, to make divorcement betwixt her highness and the king her husband, which should not need her grace to meddle therewith.' Prot. ib.

An important condition, because it was not to be done by any complaint of her's against him, which is the usual way by which divorces are obtained thro the channels of law ; but by some way not legal, and therefore forcible and violent. Such was the offer ; not pardon to her husband for his provocation, but pardon to his coadjutors for theirs, tho what they had done was but that which had most offended her in him.¹⁰² Each of the other lords addressed her to the same purport.¹⁰³ How did she receive these urgencies and this singular proposition to abandon her vindictive feelings against a few peers, on condition of having those gratified which she nourished against her husband ? Maitland's language was strong against him ; but by what events, a king's forcible divorcement and deposition, for he was spoken of at that moment as king, would, according to all the probabilities which arose from the former experience of mankind, be ultimately followed, could hardly be absent from Mary's recollection ; that they were at that moment in her contemplation, the common laws of thought under such circumstances, and with such feelings and desires as were in her mind, would induce us to suppose, and her answer implies. Her friends, who describe the conference, do not exhibit her as expressing any hesitation, aversion, or regret, to a proposal so nefarious. She assented to it immediately, under two conditions : one, that it should be lawfully done ; the other, that it should not pre-

¹⁰² Maitland added, ' To the which it was necessary that her majesty take heed to make resolution therein, as well for her own easement, as well of the realm ; for he troubled her grace and us all, and remaining with her majesty would not cease till he did her some other evil turn, when that her highness would be much ' impesched ' to put remedy thereto.' ib.

¹⁰³ Ib.

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judice her son.¹⁰⁴ That it might be managed without his disinheritance, Bothwell immediately assured her;¹⁰⁵ but to bargain that it should be lawfully done, compels us to believe, that unlawful possibilities were then occurring to her mind, tho she was conditioning that they should be avoided.

This suggestion of the queen led them all to consider how the royal husband, when degraded, was to be disposed of. That he should be alone in one part, and she in another, or that he should go abroad, was next proposed.¹⁰⁶ She suggested, that perhaps she had better withdraw to France till he made submission;¹⁰⁷ an alternative which we might refer to some passing feelings of a kinder nature, but that it left him without the protection of her presence, amid his determined enemies. But Maitland, as if he felt that her only objections to their proceedings were the fear of her son's title being shaken, and of the safety of the intended act from Murray's possible opposition to any violence, answered her by an intimation that they could find means that she should 'be quit of him without prejudice to her son,'¹⁰⁸ and that Murray would not interfere.¹⁰⁹ The queen's

¹⁰⁴ 'Her grace answered, 'that under two conditions she might understand the same; the one, that the divorcement were made lawfully; the other, that it were not prejudice to her son; otherwise, her highness would rather endure all torments, and abide the perils that might chance her in her grace's lifetime.' Pref. *ib.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ib.* ¹⁰⁶ *Ib.*

¹⁰⁷ 'And hereon her majesty said, 'that peradventure he would change opinion; and that it were better that she herself for a time passed in France, abiding till he acknowledged himself.' *ib.*

¹⁰⁸ 'Then Lethington, taking the speech, said, 'Madam! fancy you not we are here of the principal of your grace's nobility and council, that shall find the means that your majesty shall be quit of him, without prejudice of your son.' *ib.*

¹⁰⁹ He added, 'and albeit that my lord of Murray here present, be little less scrupulous for a Protestant than your grace is for a Papist,

final answer was, that she would do nothing to stain her honor or her conscience; and desired them rather to let the matter remain as it was, than to do that for her benefit, which might turn to her injury and defamation.¹¹⁰ Maitland closed the interview, by desiring her to leave the matter to their management, and that the result should be good, and receive a parliamentary sanction.¹¹¹ As these facts implicated Murray in what was then projecting, and alluded to in these conferences, he published a brief answer to the protestation, denying that he was present at any purposes holden at Craigmillar, which, in his hearing, tended to any unlawful or dishonorable end.¹¹² But this vague affirmation was no denial of the specific conversations detailed by the earls, which were so guarded and so general as to avoid all technical illegality. He does not deny that he concurred to bargain for the pardon of his friends, by offering to the queen to procure her divorcement from

I am well assured he will look thro his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings, saying nothing to the same.' *ib.*

¹¹⁰ The queen's majesty answered, 'I will that you do nothing wherethro any spot may be laid to my honor or conscience; and therefore I pray you rather let the matter be in the estate as it is, abiding till God of his goodness put remedy thereto, [than] that ye, believing to do me service, may possibly turn to my hurt and displeasure.' *ib.*

¹¹¹ 'Madam!' said Lethington, 'let us guide the matter among us, and your grace shall see nothing but good; and approved by Parliament.' *ib.*

¹¹² 2 Goodall, p. 321. The most direct charge against Murray is that of the lord Herries, mentioned by the bishop of Ross. 'Is it unknown, think ye, the earl of Murray, what the lord Harris said to your face openly, even at your own table, *a few days after the murder was committed*. Did he not charge you with afore knowledge of the same murder? Did not he flatly and plainly burthen you, that you, riding in Fyffe, and coming with one of your most assured trusty servants, the said day wherein you departed from Edinburgh, said to him, among other talk, 'This night, ere morning, the lord Darnley will lose his life.' Leslie's Defence, And. v. 1. p. 75.

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her husband. The veracity of the detail stated in the protestation, remains therefore unimpeached. We are only urged to believe by Murray's assertions, and by the queen's limitation of her consent, that nothing unlawful or dishonorable was then resolved upon; the discreditable project itself being not supposed by any of the parties concerned to deserve this character.¹¹³

That the actual death of the king was at this time really concerted between these confederating nobles, is no necessary inference from these secret conferences, because his deposition and divorce might have been effected by a parliamentary enactment, and secured by his imprisonment or exile. His destruction may have been at times glanced upon, in their prospective consultations, by some; but the tenor of the preceding language implies, that it would not then have been assented to in December, by either the queen, Murray, Huntley or Argyle. It is only from a report of Bothwell's assertion, that we can now infer that the commission of the most irreparable crime which man can commit against man, was really meditated at Craigmillar.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Leslie charges them with these criminal conferences. 'Is it not full well known, that ye and the earl of Bothwell, Morton, and others, assembled at the castle of Craigmillar, and other places at divers times, to consult and devise on this mischief?' Defence, *ib.* p. 76.

¹¹⁴ In his first examination, French Paris stated that Bothwell, in urging him to co-operate in the final plan of murder, mentioned to him, 'Lethington [Maitland] is the enterpriser of all this thing; and then I have my lord Argyle, Huntley, my brother, my lords of Morton, Ruthven, and Lyndsay. These three will never fail me; for I spake for their grace, and I have the hand-writing of all those that I have told thee of; and also, we were willing to have done it the last time that we were at Craigmillar.' Goodall, 1, p. 140. His plural pronoun, *we*, may have been only applicable to Maitland and himself; for if some of the others had not been unwilling, why was not the deed there executed?

One document indeed from Mary's friends,¹¹⁵ may be construed to imply a suggestion of his death, as one of the means which might be resorted to, unless the ambiguous words 'what other ways to dispatch him,'¹¹⁶ can be fairly and impartially supposed as not meant to have their ordinary meaning. And as the same paper states, that Mary at that time receded from such a project,¹¹⁷ she seems to have understood them in their literal import. But that the combination was formed at Craigmillar, to divest the king of all power, and that every one concurred thus far without any hesitation, we perceive by the additional fact, that it was proposed in this form to Morton, for him to join in it, if the lords in power should procure his recal.¹¹⁸

Having bound themselves secretly to this confederacy against the king, and with Mary's full assent to it, and to a divorcement, provided nothing unlawful or destructive of her reputation was en-

¹¹⁵ These are the instructions given on 12 Sept. 1568, to the commissioners, who were to support Mary's cause in England, printed in Goodall, v. 2. p. 352-366. They are signed by sixteen lords and an archbishop, two of them being Huntley and Argyle.

¹¹⁶ The passage from these instructions is; 'They caused make offers to our said sovereign lady, if her grace would give remission to them that were banished at that time, to find causes of divorce, either for consanguinity, in respect they alleged the dispensation was not published, or else for adultery; or *then to get him convicted of treason*, because he consented to her grace's retention in ward, or *what other ways to dispatch him.*' 2 Goodall, 359.

¹¹⁷ 'Which altogether her grace refused, as is manifestly known.' *ib.*

¹¹⁸ Mr. Archibald Douglas's letter to Mary, in Harl. MS. 1, 37, printed by Dr. Robertson in his History, thus describes the object of this confederacy: 'I was permitted to repair to Scotland to deal with earls Murray, Athol, Bothwell, Argyle, and secretary Lethington, in the name of the earl Morton, &c. They declared they had thought it convenient to join themselves in league and band with some other noblemen, to have nothing to do with your husband's command whatever.' Douglas was desired to propose this to Morton and his friends, which he did, and 'they all condescended to have no farther dealing with your husband, and to enter into the said band.' Rob. Hist.

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forced, she went on 5th December to Edinburgh, and on the 11th to Stirling, for the baptism of her son.¹¹⁹ This was performed with splendor on 17th December.¹²⁰ Bedford attended it on the part of Elizabeth, who sent a golden font as her friendly present.¹²¹

In the beginning of December, the king had intimated to Le Croc at Craigmillar, that he should not be present at the baptism.¹²² The machinations against him at that place and at that moment, must have prevented any invitation or encouragement to him to attend it. The conspirators, and the queen, who knew and favored their designs of degrading him, could not desire to exhibit him to the people and to the rest of the nobility, in splendor and honor, as their matrimonial sovereign.¹²³ To avoid

¹¹⁹ Privy Seal Reg. 35. In setting off from Edinburgh to this journey, she hurt one of her breasts on the saddle, which eleven days afterwards was still much swelled. Le Croc; Keith's Rep. 7.

¹²⁰ Spottisw. Hist. Keith, 360. Tho Cecil's Diary has 17. So G. Newton as cited in Goodall, 1, 320. Le Croc also remarks, that it was celebrated on Tuesday. This was the 17th, to which day it had been altered from Sunday the 15th. Spottiswood describes the ceremony; 12,000*l.* had been granted by the Scottish estates for its expences; half to be paid by the spiritual estate, 4000*l.* by the barons and freeholders, and 2000*l.* by the boroughs. Ord. Cess. Keith, 359. Only a few nobles who favored the Catholic ceremonies were inside the chapel. The others, with the English ambassador, stood at the entrance. Keith, 360.

¹²¹ Elizabeth thus mentions it in the instructions to Bedford: 'At convenient time you are to present her the font of gold, which we send with you. You may say pleasantly that it was made as soon as we heard of the prince's birth, and then it was big enough for him; but now, he being grown, is too big for it. Therefore it may be better used for the next child, provided that be christened before it outgrows the font.' Keith, 357.

¹²² Le Croc's lett. 2 Dec. Keith, pref. 7. He says, 'It was the queen's pleasure that he should bear the name of James, 'because,' said she, 'all the good kings of Scotland his predecessors *who have been most devoted to the Crown of France*, were called by the name of James.' ib.

¹²³ Craufurd's MS. positively affirms, that 'neither did king Henry

the humiliation of a public neglect, he gave out that he should leave the town before the ceremony : but as that could only offend the people by a personal humor, which would fix the blame of his absence as his voluntary act on himself, he remained in his house, yet so uneasy, as to send three times to the French ambassador for a conference. But Le Croc declined the meeting, alleging the queen's dislike as his reason,¹²⁴ and even went so far as to defer any visit to himself, by stating that his lodgings had two doors, and that if the king entered one, he should go out at the other :¹²⁵ a purposed insult to the husband of the throne, which no ambassador would have so offensively expressed, if he had not known that the queen had acquiesced in this combined hostility against him, and had decided on his deprivation. This was palpably another step of the conspiracy against him. He had done nothing further to offend any one, but he is spoken of as if he had become a denounced victim, against whom great evils were preparing.¹²⁶ He was so visibly ill treated,

come there, albeit he was in Stirling all that while, neither was he permitted or required to come openly.' M. Laing, v. 1. p. 22.

¹²⁴ Le Croc's lett. 23 Dec. Keith, ib. 'I found myself obliged at last to signify to him, that, seeing he was in *no good correspondence with the queen*, I had it in charge *from the most Christian king* to have no conference with him.' ib. So that the combination against the poor forsaken king, still but twenty years of age, had now obtained the French cabinet and its ambassador to join it. It is obvious that nothing but the most fatal ruin now hung over him.

¹²⁵ Le Croc, ib.

¹²⁶ Le Croc, whom the preceding facts shew to have been a part of the confederacy against him, says, 'His bad deportment is incurable.' Yet not one additional aggression on his part is any where noticed. But he adds what indicates the settled hostility against him, and what also points to its ulterior measures: 'Nor can there be ever any good *expected* from him, for several reasons which I might tell you was I present with you. *I can't pretend to foretell how all may turn*, but I will say, that *matters can't subsist long as they are*, with-

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and by the queen so palpably neglected on this interesting occasion; when the presence and baptism of their common child, was an appeal of the tenderest nature to female sensibility to unite in sympathy and kindness, at least for that interval, with its father, whom her heart so shortly before had so fondly preferred and selected, that the Englishmen present lamented that she should have so much slighted him: and the earl of Bedford desired sir James Melville to intreat the queen, for her own honor and profit, to behave to him as she had formerly done;¹²⁷ an expressive testimony that they thought Darnley was doing nothing to deserve the indignity he was experiencing.¹²⁸

out being accompanied with *sundry bad consequences*? This was written on 23 December. That nothing good was to be expected from a young nobleman, who but seventeen months before was thought worthy of a crown, and who was still at the ductile age of twenty, was the extravagant assumption, or rather phrase of a mind that could not have believed what it was writing. but who wrote what it chose to assume to suit other purposes. An aged diplomatist foreseeing only bad consequences, and that matters must change, at the same time that he knew the alteration could not come from the powerless and deserted Darnley, implies that the deposing measures had been settled, that he knew of them, and that they were of the character that would evolve 'bad consequence.'

¹²⁷ We derive this important fact of the queen's conduct towards her husband at this critical juncture from sir James Melville himself, who says of the English ambassadors, 'they parted all very well content and satisfied with the queen's majesty, but *lamented* that they saw *so little* account made of the king. And my lord of Bedford desired me to request her majesty to entertain him as she had done at the beginning, for her own honor and advancement of her affairs, which I forgot not to do on all occasions.' Mem. p. 172.

¹²⁸ Buchanan thus describes the different attentions paid by Mary to Bothwell and to her husband on this occasion: 'That Bothwell might be gorgeously seen among the nobility, she herself laid out the money to buy him apparel; and some she bought herself of the merchants for him, with such diligence in overseeing the making thereof, as if she had been, I will not say his wife, but even his servant. In the meantime her lawful husband, at the baptism of his own child, not only wanted all his maintenance for his necessary expences, but was also *commanded* not once to come in the ambassador's sight. His ordinary servants were removed from him; the

As no pardon was granted by Mary to Morton at Craigmillar, we may infer that no specific plan, satisfactory to her conscience or to her fears, had then been concluded upon for her husband's degradation. But nineteen days after she had left that place, and a week after the christening, and the next day after Le Croc's last noticed letter and its ominous intimations, the arrangements, whatever they were on this subject, were completed: for on the 24th December, the solicited forgiveness was conceded and signed for Morton, Ruthven, Lyndsay, and seventy-five others of the exiles.¹²⁹ On hearing of this pardon, as if he felt that it boded something ominous to himself, the king left the castle abruptly, without taking leave of the queen.¹³⁰

What precise plan was then settled as to the king at that moment, we have not documents to state; but it did not add to Mary's health or happiness.¹³¹

nobility were enjoined not to attend upon him, nor to do him honor, nor in a manner to know him. The foreign ambassadors were warned not to talk with him, tho the most part of the day they were all in the same castle where he was.' Detect. 2 And. p. 16. Buchanan is an adversary, but his account of the king's depreciation, harmonizes with some of the facts in the preceding notes.

¹²⁹ Privy Seal Reg. xxxv. p. 101-2. 18. 1 Chal. 307. Melville thus mentions this conciliation: 'In the meantime the earl *Bothwell* ruled all in court, and brought home some of the banished lords, and packed up a quiet friendship with the earl Morton.' p. 173. Bedford on 3d Dec. apprised Cecil of it, and says, that he had joined in befriending them according to the secretary's advice. 2 Ch. 544. That the English government wished them to be pardoned, to end the feuds in Scotland, was natural; but this desire does not of itself implicate them with any participation of the secret confederacy that was attached to it by the Scottish machinators. But it is also intimated, that Bedford endeavored to stop the pardon of Morton. 1 Ch. 306. This opposition may have arisen from his having received some intimation of the designs that were connected with it.

¹³⁰ 1 Chalm. 307, who states him to have quitted Stirling that same day, 24th Dec. ib.

¹³¹ Le Croc, after mentioning how 'admirably well' she behaved during the baptism, thus describes her in the letter he wrote the day before the pardon: 'She will give us some trouble as yet; nor can

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At this time, or soon afterwards, a rumor, that he was to be seized, was communicated to him by his father;¹³² and he hurried to his parent at Glasgow, where a severe attack of the small pox soon disabled and endangered him. On this occasion the queen exhibited the attention and kindness of sending to him her physician from Stirling.¹³³ While he was proceeding to Glasgow, she visited lord Drummond; on the 28th returned to Stirling;¹³⁴ two days afterwards paid a visit at Tullibardine, and was at Stirling on New-year's-day.¹³⁵ She remained there the ensuing fortnight, when the English ambassador, who had been with Murray at St. Andrew's,¹³⁶

I be brought to think otherwise so long as she continues to be '*en ces enuyes et regrets*.' She sent for me yesterday, and I found her laid on her bed, *weeping sore*; and she complained of a grievous pain in her side.' Keith, pref. 7.

¹³² We learn this fact from the examination of the person, Heigate, from whom the report went circuitously to the king. Mary thus states it in her letter, in the next month, 20 Jan. 1567, to her ambassador at Paris. He confessed 'that he had heard of a bruit, how the king should be put in ward; this was shewn by Heigate to Mynto, who again declared it to the earl of Lennox, and by him *the king was made participant* thereof; by whose desire and commandment Heigate again spake to Caldwell.' Keith, pref. 8. Heigate was the town-clerk of Glasgow. 1 Chal. 312.

¹³³ On 9 Jan. 1567, Bedford wrote to Cecil, 'the king is now at Glasgow with his father, and there lieth full of the small pox, to whom the queen has sent her physician.' 2 Chal. 557; and Birrel, in his Diary, has entered '13th Jan. king Henry was then lying sick in Glasgow of the small pox, but some said he had gotten poison.' 2 Chal. 285. From this time he 'never recovered perfect health until the day of his untimely death.' Keith, 364.

¹³⁴ It was on this day she sent from Stirling a private packet to Murray. 'Dec. 21. To a ne boy passand off striveling, *with close writings* of our sovereign to the earl of Murray in St. Andrew's, 12s.' Treas. Account, 2 Chal. 443.

¹³⁵ She signed an Act at Drummond on 28th, another at Stirling on 30th, on 31st at Tullibardine, and on 1 Jan. at Stirling. Reg. Privy Seal, lib. 36. She was five days at Drummond, and two at Tullibardine. Cecil's Diary. Both these places are about twelve miles from Stirling. Keith, 363. The grant at Tullibardine was the parsonage of Kirkcudbright to a servant of Bothwell's. 1 Good. 322.

¹³⁶ Cecil's Diary.

rejoined her. On that day, 13th January 1567, she set off with her princely son for Edinburgh,¹³⁷ passing the night of the 14th at Callandar, and thence proceeded to her metropolis.¹³⁸ Morton was now entering Scotland from his exile, on his unexpected pardon.¹³⁹ It was in the following week, that the mysterious iniquity which had been so secretly concocting, began to reach a more visible shape; for in that week, the queen and Bothwell took their different measures towards the condemned king, which, whatever either separately intended, coincided to the same horrible result. In that week, Bothwell went to Whittingham, to propose to Morton, who had now reached his seat at Whittingham, from England, the actual murder of Darnley;¹⁴⁰ and it was at the same time that the queen, simultaneously, while he was urging this atrocious deed, went to Stirling, where she proceeded to persuade the king to return back with her to Edinburgh. The movements of each deserve a separate consideration.

¹³⁷ From her public acts, we find that she was at Stirling on Dec. 20. Keith, 562; and again on 3 and 10 Jan. 1567. ib. 362; 570.

¹³⁸ Birrel, in his Diary, dates her journey on the 13th, p. 6; but two grants at Callandar on the 14th, and another on the same day at Edinburgh, 1 Chal. 311, concur with Cecil's Diary to place her return to that city on the 14th.

¹³⁹ Morton came from Berwick to Whittingham, in Haddingtonshire, soon after the 10 Jan. 1567; and about the 20th was visited by Bothwell and Maitland. 2 Chal. 362.

¹⁴⁰ It is from the confessions as published, of Ormiston and Paris, that we learn what Bothwell stated severally to them of the more than deliberations which he held at Craigmillar on the subject, when Ormiston, on the following February, declined Bothwell's proposal to murder Darnley: he says, 'The earl said unto me, tush, Ormiston! ye need not take fear of this, for the whole lords has concluded *the same* in Craigmillar; all that was there with the queen; and none dare find fault with it when it shall be done.' Paris stated, in his first confession, that the same earl told him, when he refused to be concerned, that Argyle, Huntley, Morton, Ruthven, and Lyndsay, had engaged in it, 'and we had a desire of doing it the last time we were at Craigmillar.' Confes. in Anderson.

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Bothwell urged the murder to Morton, on the ground that the queen had determined that her husband should be taken away.¹⁴¹ Morton refused his concurrence; from no moral repugnance, but because he had only just got relieved from the effects of a similar deed.¹⁴² Maitland was with Bothwell on this evil solicitation.¹⁴³ Persuaded by Archibald Douglas, a dependent of both the earls, to comply,¹⁴⁴ Morton listened again to Bothwell's further urgency; who, repeating his declaration, that the queen desired it,¹⁴⁵ Morton required her own hand-writing to that effect.¹⁴⁶ This was not obtained;¹⁴⁷ and thus this noble Scotchman evinced no repugnance to the

¹⁴¹ We have two original authorities of the iniquitous deliberations at Whittingham; Morton's own statement, when he was about to be executed, and the letter of his agent, Archibald Douglas. Morton said, 'After my returning out of England, I came out of Wedderburn to Whittingham, where the earl of Bothwell and I met together: and in the yard of Whittingham, after long communing, the earl Bothwell *proposed to me the king's murder*, requiring what would be my part therein, *seeing it was the queen's mind* that the king should be taken away, because, as he said, she blamed the king more of Davie's slaughter than me.' See the earl Morton's confession, made June 1581, in Bannatyne's journal, p. 494.

¹⁴² 'My answer to the earl Bothwell at that time was this, that I would not in any ways meddle with that matter, and that for this cause; because I am but new come out of new trouble, whereof as yet I am not rid; and therefore I cannot enter myself in such a new trouble again.' Morton's conf. ib. 494.

¹⁴³ So Arch. Douglas states in his letter. Robert. Hist.; and sir W. Drury mentions, in his letter of 23 January, that both were at Whittingham a few days before he wrote. 2 Chal. 302. Morton drops Maitland's name in his confession.

¹⁴⁴ 'After this answer, Mr. Arch. Douglas entered into conference with me on that purpose, persuading me to agree to the earl Bothwell.' Mort. confess. ib. 495.

¹⁴⁵ 'Last of all, the earl Bothwell yet being in Whittingham, earnestly proposed the said matter to me again, persuading me thereto, because he knew what was the queen's mind, and she would have it to be done.' ib. 495.

¹⁴⁶ 'Unto this my answer was, I desired the earl Bothwell to bring the queen's hand-writing to me for a warrant, and then I should give him an answer; otherwise I would not meddle therewith.' ib. 495.

¹⁴⁷ 'The which warrant he never reported unto me.' ib.

perpetration of the horrible deed, provided he could secure himself from being made responsible for it.¹⁴⁸

Douglas was ordered by Morton to accompany Bothwell and Maitland to Edinburgh, and to return with the queen's answer.¹⁴⁹ He went, but was informed that she refused what had been requested.¹⁵⁰ Bothwell afterwards sent the same person to Morton at St. Andrew's, to shew him that the purpose of the king's murder was to be done, and near a point, and to request his concurrence and assistance.¹⁵¹ But as the queen's warrant had not been obtained, Morton asserted that he 'never meddled further with it'.¹⁵² If Mary's answer, as thus sent back by Maitland and Bothwell, came from herself, altho it gives her the credit of a refusal, it leaves upon her memory the imputation, that she was apprised of the medi-

¹⁴⁸ On being asked fourteen years after the murder what he would have done if he had received the queen's written authority for it, he chose to say, 'I was purposed to have banished myself again, and turned my back upon Scotland, while I had seen a better.' *ib.* Thus he had no idea of revealing it to the king, of objecting to its commission, or of remonstrating to Mary: but merely to have gone quietly back to England to be out of harms way. We may reasonably suspect such a man of being willing to do more than he has chosen to avow.

¹⁴⁹ Arch. Douglas's letter to Mary. *Rob. Hist.*

¹⁵⁰ Douglas states that they gave him the answer in these words: 'Show to the earl Morton, that the queen will hear no speech of that matter appointed to him.' 'When I craved that the answer might be made more sensible, secretary Ledington [Maitland] said that the earl would sufficiently understand it.' Douglas's lett. *ib.*

¹⁵¹ 'Being in St. Andrew's to visit the earl of Argyle, a little before the murder, Mr. Arch. Douglas came to me there, both with the writing and credit of the earl Bothwell, shewing unto me that that purpose concerning *the king's murder was to be done and near a point*, and to require my concurrence and assistance thereto.' *Mort. conf.* 495.

¹⁵² 'My answer was to him, that I give no answer to that purpose, seeing I had not gotten the queen's warrant in writing, which was promised unto me; and therefore seeing the earl Bothwell never reported any warrant of the queen, I meddled never further with it.' *Mort. conf.* 496. Morton 'being asked if he counselled him in the contrary, he answered, I counselled him *not* in the contrary.' *ib.*

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tation of the crime ; as Bothwell's assertion to Morton, if true, would also charge her with the wish that it should be committed. She must have been an idiot as well as a criminal, if she had sent such a written authority for the perpetration as Morton exacted.

It was while this foul negotiation was pursuing with Morton, that Mary had resolved to persuade her husband at Glasgow to accompany her back immediately to Edinburgh : and as this change of his residence ended in his destruction, it is desirable to ascertain in what spirit she undertook this journey of forty miles, for the sole purpose of personally inducing him, contrary to his own previous design, of going with her to the place where he was murdered, within a few days after his arrival. As his political and personal enemies were at Edinburgh, and in unabated power, it is reasonable to suppose that, notwithstanding his facility of character, he would not have gone there, if the queen had not allured him by kindness and gratifying promises. But was any natural or real kindness at this time in her bosom towards him ? The new French ambassador had long solicited her to such feelings in vain ;¹⁵³ and the other, about three weeks before, had declared he saw no hope of them.¹⁵⁴ But we have the picture of Mary's actual sensibilities towards him at this moment from her own pen. We have her own letter, dated at the precise time, that her two most confidential friends were urging Morton to assist in the atrocity ;¹⁵⁵ and we see in that as

¹⁵³ See before.¹⁵⁴ See before.¹⁵⁵ This admitted and undisputed letter is printed by Keith, in his

much secret spleen, dissatisfaction and alienation against her endangered husband, as she had previously exhibited; altho, if she were sincerely going to effect a reconciliation, very different language and sentiments would have flowed from her pen, and would have been intentionally expressed. Nothing however of this character is visible in it;¹⁵⁶ and its absence forbids us to believe, that what on the 20th of January had no place in her heart, could by any human means be there on the 21st, when she set off for Glasgow, to act the part of cordiality to her husband, in order to induce him to leave his father

preface, p. viii. It is dated 20 Jan. 1567, only the day before she began her journey to fetch the king. It therefore exhibits to us her feelings towards him only the day before she went to him. It is addressed to her ambassador, the archbishop, at Paris. In the first part, she informs him of the reports spread by two of her servants, who contradicted each other. One was, that the king was contriving with some nobles to have his son crowned, and to take the government; an important revelation to us of one of the fears that was in the consideration of Mary and her adherents. The other rumor was, that the king was to be arrested; that this had been communicated to him, and that he had desired further inquiries to be made about it, and that he could not bear some noblemen that were attending the queen's court. Both these subjects shew us important reasons for Mary and her party having the king within their power at Edinburgh. It is in the latter part of the letter that she adds her feelings, as mentioned in the next note. Keith, viii.

¹⁵⁶ As this is a matter of common judgment, every reader must form his own opinion on the force of the queen's phrases. She says, 'And for the king our husband, God knows always our part towards him; and his behaviour and thankfulness to us is semblablement well known to God and the world; specially our own indifferent subjects see it; and in their heart we doubt not, condemn the same. Always we perceive him occupied, and busy enough to have inquisition of our doings, which, God willing, shall ay be such as none shall have occasion to be offended with them, or to report of us any ways but honorably, however he, his father, and their fautors speak; who, we know, want no good will to make us have ado, if their power were equivalent to their minds. But God moderates their forces well enough, and takes the means of execution of their pretences from them. For as we believe, they shall find none, or very few approvers of their counsels and devises imagined to our displeasure or misliking.' Keith, pref. 8. I cannot dispossess my mind of the idea that this is penned exactly as a person would write, who, from knowing that a condemnable deed was about to be executed,

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and his friends at that city, to come under the protection and within the power of herself, and of all these governing men who had bound themselves to resist, and the chief of whom were plotting to destroy, him. It seems to the unprejudiced eye, that the public appearance of reconciliation, which she now assumed, could but be artificial; and if artificial, it had a secret purpose. It was still more incontestibly theatrical on the part of the lords who joined her in it: and their fatal object in the hypocrisy soon became manifest. How far, with the feelings indicated in her letter, Mary was their dupe or their coadjutor, we would rather leave others to determine, than pronounce dictatorially ourselves.

These nobles appear to have not only combined against the king, but to have bound themselves by a written obligation to destroy him, one way or

in which the public tongue would implicate her, sought to prevent reproach at the French court, and in her ambassador's mind, by these anticipating assurances, that, tho' the king had deserved severity from her, and was blaming and inquiring into her doings, they should be always such as should not be discreditable to her. If she had not known what was in contemplation, and had not thought that what was to take place would or could be so managed, as not to be imputed to her, she would, in my opinion, never have written these passages. But she takes care to create an impression as far as she can, that the king and his father were contriving something against her. They only, she says, wanted power equal to their wishes. Now if she had felt and written this with any belief or sincerity, would she the next day have gone to Glasgow to fetch the king out of his obscurity and unpopularity there, in order to give him influence and power at Edinburgh, by affecting a perfect reconciliation with him, and by caressing and treating him as an affectionate wife and queen? Her admitted conduct, and this undeniable letter, printed by her own advocate, appear to me to be irreconcilable, but on the melancholy supposition that she was now acting her allotted and chosen part; that of bringing the king into the toil of the conspirators, and of inducing the public to exculpate her from any share of the transaction, by the previous display of apparent amity and forgiving regard. I wish not to press any one to a harsh opinion on this subject, but feel that I ought not to conceal the unbiassed tendency of my own.

another.¹⁵⁷ This deed of iniquity was devised by sir James Balfour, in the preceding November, the time when Mary went to Craigmillar;¹⁵⁸ and from its

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¹⁵⁷ That there was such a bond, we learn from several authorities, and among these from two concerned in the crime. A. Douglas says, 'that the same was executed at the command of such of the nobility as had subscribed his bond for that effect.' Rob. Hist. From the Paper Office Bund. P. 20. T. 29. Chalmers quotes, 'that upon the prevalence of the earl of Lennox, and the threats of procuring from sir James Balfour at Paris, *the deed of contract for the murder of Darnley*, it was resolved by Elizabeth in April 1580 to send Robert Bowes into Scotland.' 2 Chalm. 301. But the fullest account of it is given by Ormiston, one of the murderers, in his confession before his execution for the deed, on 13 Dec 1573: He stated to the attending minister, that on his telling Bothwell that every body suspected him, the earl answered, 'I shall let you see something that I had for me.' Ormiston adds; 'who let me see a contract subscribed by four or five hand-writings, which he affirmed to me was the subscription of the earl of Huntley, Argyle, the secretary Maitland, and sir James Balfour; and alleged that many more promised, who would assist him if he were put at; and therefore read the said contract.' Orm. Conf. and Arnott's Crim. Trials, app. 383-8. The actual contents of this paper we know only from the confession of Ormiston, who thus from his memory described it; 'which as I remember contained these words in effect: 'That for so mickle it was thought expedient and most profitable for the commonwealth by the whole nobility and lords under subscribed, that such a young fool and proud tyrant should not reign nor bear rule over them. And that for divers causes therefore, that they all had concluded that he should be put off by one way or other; and whosoever should take the deed in hand, or do it, they should defend and fortify it as themselves; for it should by every one of them be reckoned an holden done by themselves.' ib.

¹⁵⁸ This time is calculated from his next sentence, 'Which writing, as the said earl shewed unto me, was devised by sir James Balfour, subscribed by them at one quarter of a year before the deed was done.' ib. Three months from February 1567 takes up back to November 1566. Sir James Balfour in his letter to Mary, of 30 January 1580, seems to allude to this bond in this passage, speaking of Morton's being accused of the murder, 'wherethro the said earl takes the greater boldness to deny all things promised by him to Bothwell in that matter, except so far as the *bond, whereof I did send the copy to your majesty*, does testify.' 2 Laing, 315. M. Laing refers this to the after bond given on Bothwell's marriage. Paris stated, that Bothwell told him, 'I have the signature of all those I have named,' having named Argyle, Huntley, Morton, Ruthven, and Lyndsay. Hepburn, in his confession, said, he had thought 'no man durst have said it was evil done, seeing the hand-writing, and acknowledging the queen's mind thereto.' The letter of Mary's commissioners, on 1 Dec. 1568, also refers to it, calling her accusers 'writers with their own hands of that devilish band.' 2 Good. 213.

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THE MURDER OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND—MARY'S MARRIAGE WITH BOTHWELL—HER IMPRISONMENT AND DEPOSITION—HER ESCAPE, AND FLIGHT INTO ENGLAND.

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THE king was taken by the queen, not to the palace of Holyrood House, her own regal residence, but to a private mansion, at some distance from it.¹ They reached it on Thursday the 31st of January 1567:² and on the tenth morning afterwards, about two hours after the midnight of Sunday the 9th of February, the citizens of Edinburgh were roused from their sleep by the noise and concussion of a sudden explosion. Search being made as to the place and cause, the house wherein the king had been reposing, was found to be blown up;³ and his body, without any mark of violence, was seen near the corpse of one of his attendants, lying dead in the adjoining

¹ This was 'the mansion of the provost of the collegiate church of St. Mary in the fields, which belonged to Robert Balfour, the provost.' 1 Chalm. 315. Clernaut stated, that 'The king was lodged at one of the ends of the city, and the queen at the other.' 2 Chalm. 446. Kirk-o-field was about half a mile from the palace. The University of Edinburgh now stands upon the spot.

² See before, p. 99, note 166.

³ Mary's letter of 11 February thus describes it: 'This night past, being 9 February, a little after two hours after midnight, the house wherein the king was lodged was in one instant blown in the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, with such vehemency, that of the whole lodging, walls and other, there is nothing remained. No, not a stone above another; but all, either carried away or dung in dross to the very ground stone.' Lett. Keith's preface, viii.

garden.⁴ Of the circumstances which had occurred between his arrival and this catastrophe, we know nothing but from the deposition of his own servant, Nelson,⁵ from the confession of the queen's domestic, Hubert Paris,⁶ and from the examination of Bothwell's followers and agents, by whom the transaction had been immediately managed.⁷ As the certainty

⁴ Keith, 364. 'So that he was reckoned to have been suffocated and carried out by the hands of men before the powder had taken fire.' *ib.* Melville mentions that Bothwell told him the next morning, that lightning had 'burnt the house; that he had himself found the king lying dead at a little distance from the house under the tree, and willed me to go and see him, how there was not a hurt nor a mark in all his body.' *Melv. Mem.* 174.

⁵ Thomas Nelson, who described himself as servant in the chamber to king Henry, was on 6 Dec. 1566 produced by earl Murray to the commissioners at Westminster. 'After this the earl of Murray required, that one Thomas Nelson, late servitor to the king that was murdered, who did lie in the king's lodging the same night that he was murdered, and escaped by reason of a great stone wall betwixt the king's chamber and that place wherein he did lie, might be heard upon his oath to report his knowlege therein. Who, *being produced*, did present a writing in form of an answer of himself to an examination; *which being read to him*, he did by a corporal oath affirm the same to be true.' *Anders. v. 4. p. 164.* His evidence follows, 'marked with secretary Cecil's hand.' *ib.* 165.

⁶ On 10 August 1569, two years and a half after the murder, N. Hubert, called Paris, was examined at St. Andrew's, in the presence of the celebrated G. Buchanan, John Wood, senator of the college of justice, and Robert Ramsay, writer of his declaration, and servant to the earl Murray. It was sent up by the regent to his ambassador to Elizabeth, on 15 October 1569, with the other documents that had been produced before the commissioners at York and Westminster, with this remark, 'If further proof be required, we have sent you the depositions of N. Hubert, alias Paris, a Frenchman; one that was present at the committing of the said murder, and of late executed for the same.' 2 *Good. 88.* The originals of Murray's letter of instructions, and of the depositions of Paris, are in the State Paper Office. A copy of the deposition certified by Hay is in the British Museum, MS. Cal. C. 1. The first part of it is printed in *Goodall*, 1. p. 137; the second in *Anders. v. 2. p. 192-205.*

⁷ Of these, the depositions of William Powry, a servitor of Bothwell, taken at Edinburgh, 23 June 1567, are in *Anderson, v. 2. p. 165-173.* That of George Dalglish, 'servand in the chamber' to Bothwell, made 26 June 1567, in p. 173-7. Hay, of Talos, a servant of Bothwell, on 13 Sept. 1567, in p. 177-183. J. Hepburn, or Bowton, on 8 Dec. 1567, p. 183-8. They were all tried, sentenced to be hung, and executed, p. 191.

of the facts which they narrate, depends upon the veracity of each, which those who desire to believe the unblemished innocence of Mary, estimate differently from those who are less partial or more satisfied that she participated in the fore-knowledge of the crime, we will transfer the main circumstances of these depositions to our notes, that the text of this History may not stand pledged to any thing of a controversial character.⁸

* NELSON stated, ' That it was devised in Glasgow, that the king should have lain first at Craigmillar; but because he had no will thereof, the purpose was altered, and the conclusion taken that he should lie beside the Kirk-o-field. At this time he passed directly to the duke's house, thinking it to be the lodging prepared for him; but the contrary was then shewn to him by the queen, who conveyed him to the other house.

' In the laich chamber under the king she lay two nights, the Wednesday and Friday before his murder; the key of it, with the key of the passage towards the garden, were delivered to Archibald Betoun, usher of the queen's chamber door. The said keys were never delivered again to the king's servants.

' Before the time of the queen's lying in the king's lodging the two nights above named, she caused the outer door to be taken down, which closed the passage toward both chambers; and caused the same door to be used as a cover to the bath vessel, wherein he was bathed. So there was nothing left to stop the passage into the said chambers, but only the portal doors.

' At his coming thereto, a new bed of black fringed velvet was standing therein. She caused this to be taken down, saying, it would be sullied with the bath, and in the place thereof set up an old purple bed that was accustomed to be carried.

' She set up a green bed for herself in the said laich chamber, wherein she lay the said two nights, and promised also to have abiden there upon the Sunday at night.

' After she had tarried long, and entertained the king very familiarly, she took purpose, as if it had been on the sudden, and departed, as she said, to give the mask to Bastian, who was that night married. The said Archibald Betoun, and one Paris a Frenchman, having the keys of her chamber, wherein her bed stood, as also of the passage that passed toward the garden.

' When the queen was there, her servants had the keys of the whole house and doors at their command, for at night she used with the lady Reres to go forth to the garden, and there to sing and use pastime.

' The queen being departed toward Holyrood House, the king within the space of an hour passed to bed, and William Taylor lay in the chamber with him. This deponent and E. Symons lay in the little gallery that went direct to south out of the king's chamber, having a

The transaction created an universal sentiment of horror; and it is to this moment inexplicable, why

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window in the gavel thro the town wall. Beside them lay W. Taylor's boy. They never knew of any thing till the house was fallen about them. Out of the which, as soon as this deponent could be rid, he stood upon the ruinous wall, while the people convened, and till he got clothes, and so departed.

'On the Monday afternoon he was called and examined; and among other things, was inquired about the keys of the lodging. This deponent shewed that Boukle had the key of the cellar, and the queen's servants the keys of her chamber; which the laird of Tullibardine hearing, said, 'Hold there! here is one ground.' After which words spoken, they left off and proceeded no further in the inquisition.'

These were the only facts to which Nelson spoke. It is the most unimpeached of the depositions, and there is an air of truth and minute reality about it, and an abstinence from all marked imputations on any one, beyond what naturally arises from the simplest mode of stating such circumstances, which give it great credibility.

HUBERT, or PARIS.—'He confessed on 9 August 1569, that upon Wednesday or Thursday before the Sunday of the king's murder, he was in the queen's chamber at Kirk-o-field, with others, awaiting her coming from the king, and that lord Bothwell took him to a more private place. That Paris thanking him for causing him 'to be made a chamber child of the queen's chamber,' Bothwell told him that was not enough, he would do more for him; and after charging him on pain of his life to keep it secret, told him that as the king would be both 'masterful and cruel if he got on his feet over us, lords of this realm, therefore *among us* we have concluded to blow him up with powder within this house.' Paris advised him against it, but Bothwell mentioned the lords who were favorable to it, as before quoted in p. 91; and that the 'lord of Murray will neither hinder us nor help us;' and ordered Paris to take the key of the queen's chamber door.

'He stated, that on the Sunday night, long after supper, Hepburn and Hay brought in the powder, and laid it in the midst of the room. That the queen went towards the abbey to Bastian's wedding. That Bothwell afterwards changed his clothes in her chamber, and taking out Paris and the Taylor, went into the garden; and as they stood by the wall, Hay and Hepburn came to them, and as soon as they had spoken with him, the great thunder clap or explosion took place.' Goodall inserts this from Calderwood's MS. History, vol. 1, p. 137-144.

'On the next day, 10th August, he declared that the queen had sent him from Glasgow with letters to Bothwell and Maitland, and to inquire of the latter if it would be best to lodge the king at Craigmillar or Kirk-o-field, to have good air, for if he lodged at the abbey, the prince might catch his disease. He describes the two familiar messages which he took from the queen to the earl, and from him to her; and that she sent to Bothwell a letter and a ring by a servant of his.

'That the night on which Bothwell had mentioned to him his design of murdering the king, the queen slept at Kirk-o-field. That as he was making the bed for her there under the king's room, Bothwell

such a public and revolting mode of death should have been chosen by the murderers, who could with

bade him not to do so, because he meant to put the powder there, but he did make it. 'The queen said to me, 'Fool that you are, I do not wish my bed to be in that place,' and made him take it away. 'By these words, *I thought in my mind that she knew of the deed*; and thereupon I took the boldness to say to her, that Bothwell has ordered me to take to him the keys of your chamber, because he desired to do something there.' 'Do not talk to me of that at this moment,' said she; 'do in this what you will.' On that night the queen urged him to talk of Bothwell and his wife, and other things, and laid down, and could not sleep, but wrote 'a letter to Bothwell, which Paris took to him about midnight, and brought back his answer, with this message: 'Tell the queen that I will not sleep till I have finished my undertaking, tho I should drag a pike all my life for love of her.' When he related this to her in the morning, she said, laughing, 'Well, Paris! he will never come to that point.'

'That having the keys of the chamber, and being absent with them when the usher Beltoun asked for them, as the queen wished to go into the garden, she was angry; and when Paris returned, asked him why he had taken them away; that he afterwards said to her apart, 'Madam, why did you say before all the world that I had taken the keys of your chamber, when you knew well the why. Ah! said she, Paris! it is all one. Don't mind it; don't mind it.' That he thinks the queen slept in the king's house this Friday also, and sent him again with letters to Bothwell.

'That on the Saturday after dinner, Bothwell bade him take the key of the queen's chamber; he did not wish to do so, but as the queen left the room, *she looked at him, and bade him take it*. In the evening, Bothwell having retired to his chamber with Paris, Mr. de Huntley came and spoke to him in his ear. When he was gone, Bothwell told Paris that Huntley had offered to go with him, but he would not let him.

'On the Monday morning (after the explosion) when he entered the queen's chamber, it was close shut up; her bed was spread with black, as mourning, and candles were burning. Bothwell came and spoke to her secretly under the curtain. Next day she got up, and said to Paris, 'Ne te chaille Je te ferai bon visage. No one will dare to say a word to you.' Anders. 192-202.

On these confessions of Paris I would only remark, that if they had been falsely or factitiously made, as at that time the public mind from other evidence had for two years been indignantly settled against Mary, there seems no sufficient reason why they should not have been made more directly criminatory of her. Forged or false evidence is usually explicit and decisive, but true testimony not going beyond the facts known to the individual, cannot extend further, and is therefore, like these depositions of Paris, often imperfect and not clearly convicting.

The confessions of Bothwell's servants describe several of the minute circumstances attending the perpetration of the deed in which they assisted, and Bothwell's co-operation, but state nothing which implicates the queen.

equal ease have quietly destroyed him in his chamber or in the garden, without the general alarm of an explosion, which on no supposition could be deemed accidental; and which was certain to excite the most general indignation!! Amid the tumult of public feeling, in the morning, every tongue was busy to inquire into the probable authors. Suspicion and rumor ran in all directions; but gradually centered on the individual, who was really the guilty cause, and could not fix on him, without implicating her, who soon more visibly than ever connected him with her state and preference.

Sir William Cecil, with all his means of information from resident agents, could not at first gain satisfactory intelligence;⁹ but at last referred it to Bothwell, with an implication of Mary.¹⁰ The immediate impression at Paris, even among the queen's friends there, who were more likely to have earlier and more intimate knowledge of the subject than the English statesman, was strongly unfavorable to her.¹¹ Nor does the ambassador's mind seem unaf-

Neither Nelson nor Paris directly prove that Mary participated in the crime; but some of the circumstances which they mention lead the mind to infer or to suspect, that if they have been correctly stated by these persons, she was not ignorant that it was intended to be committed.

⁹ On 20 Feb. Cecil wrote cautiously to sir Henry Norris, 'The most suspicion that I can hear is of the earl Bothwell; but yet I would not be the author of any such report, but only do mean to inform you as I hear.' Cabala, 125. He afterwards mentioned, 'The common speech toucheth the earls Bothwell and Huntley, who remain with the queen; but how true the accusations are, I will not take upon me to affirm.' *ib.* 126.

¹⁰ Cecil's dispatch to sir Henry, of 21 March, stated, 'The common fame in Scotland continueth upon the earl of Bothwell to be the principal murderer of the king; and the queen's name is not well spoken of.' *Cab.* 126.

¹¹ The archbishop of Glasgow in his letter to her from Paris, on 9 Mar. would naturally say as little as he could to avoid rousing her displeasure, and yet he ventured to pen this paragraph to her: 'The

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fectured by such ideas; for he returns to her emphatically her own words and pledge, to give a speedy disproof of such imputations, by inflicting exemplary punishment on the criminal actors in the tragedy.¹² He continues to point his expressions so forcibly, that we cannot avoid inferring, that he either believed her to have been concerned in it, or thought that all Europe would be of that opinion.¹³ This was the more remarkable, because his letter was written three weeks after he had received that account of the event in which she had told the tale in her own way, and had therefore furnished him with her own representation of it, to be circulated in the Parisian court. Yet her statement had not

second head of my last dispatch was the discourse shortly of the horrible, mischievous and strange enterprise, and excision done contrar the king's majesty. Of this deed, if I would write to you all that is spoken here; yea, that yourself is gretumlig and wrongously calumnit to be motif principal of the whole; and *all done by your command.*' See his letter in Keith, pref. ix. We must suppose that he gives here the ideas of the first circles of Paris, and among these were the queen's own relations, for he would not have reported mere vulgar slanders to distress her.

¹² 'I can conclude nothing but what your majesty writes to me yourself; that since it has pleased God to conserve you to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that *rather than it be not actually taken*, it appears to me *better* in this world that *ye had lost life and all*. I ask your majesty pardon that I write so far; for I can hear nothing to your prejudice, but I mun constrainedly write the same, that all may come to your knowlege, for the better remedy may be put thereto.' Lett. ib.

¹³ He adds, 'Here it is needful that you forthwith shew now rather than ever before, the great virtue, magnanimity and constancy that God has granted you, by whose grace I hope *ye shall overcome* this most *heavy envy* and displeasure of the committing *hereof*; and conserve that reputation in all godliness we have conquest of long, which can no wise appear more clearly than that you do such justice, that the whole world may declare your innocence; and give testimony forever of that treason that has committed so cruel and ungodly a murder; *whereof there is so much ill spoken*, that I am constrained to ask your mercy, that neither can I or will I make the *rehearsal* thereof, which is *ever odious*. But, alas! madam! *over all Europe* this day, there is no purpose in head so frequent as *of your majesty*, and of the present state of your realm, which is in the *most part interpreted sinisterly*.' ib. Keith, ix.

prevented the conversation of a metropolis, where her nearest relations predominated, from being unfriendly to her.¹⁴ It must have affected his mind, and the highest ranks in France, the more, because accounts, that some sudden plot of danger was known there at the end of January to be preparing to be put into execution at Edinburgh, had then come to his knowlege, and had been by him transmitted to her.¹⁵ The shocking truth which followed, so coincided with part of the previous reports, that no person of common sense could avoid believing it to have been a preconcerted villany.¹⁶

"It was on 11 February that the queen wrote to the archbishop. She thus mentions the catastrophe, 'The matter is horrible, and so strange as we believe the like was never heard of in any country.' She then mentions the circumstances quoted in note 3 of this chapter, and adds, 'It mon be done by force of powder, and appears to have been a myne. By whom it has been done, or in what manner, it appears not as yet. We doubt not but according to the diligence oure counsal has begun already to use, the certaintie of all shall be usid shortlie, and the same being discovered, which we know God will never suffer to be hid, we hope to punish the same with sic rigor as shall serve for example of this crueltie for ages to come. Whoever has taken this wicked enterprys in hand, we assure ourself it was dressed as well for us as for the king, for we lay the most part of all the last week in that same lodging, and was there accompany it with the moist part of the lordis that are in the town, that same night; at midnight, and of very chance tarryed not all night, by reason of sum mask in the abbaye, but we believe it was not chance, but God, to put it in our hede. We despatch this bearer upon the sudden, and therefore write to you the mair shortlie. The rest of your letter we sal answer at mair laser, at tim four or five days by your owne servant. At Edinburgh, the 11th day of February 1567.' 1 Cbal. 318-320.

"On 27 Jan. he wrote from Paris to her: 'For none of the heads precedent, I thought to have dispatched expressly towards your majesty, if by the *ambassador of Spain* I had not been required thereunto; and specially to advertise you to take heed to yourself. I have heard some murmurings in likewise by *others*, that there be *some surprise* to be trafficked in your country; but he would never let me know of no particular, only assured me he had *written* to his master to know if by that way he can try any further, and that he was advertised and counselled to cause me haste towards you herewith. I would beseech your majesty to cause the captains of your guard to be diligent in their office.' Lett. Keith, pref. ix.

¹⁶ Bothwell and his party had also sent to Paris, the day before Mary,

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The description made by the messenger of the news at Berwick on the third day after the transaction,¹⁷ stated the queen's visit to her husband that night,¹⁸ and described the sad incident,¹⁹ tho without glancing at the authors.²⁰

Immediately after the general knowlege of the murder, a reward of two thousand pounds was published for the discovery of the murderers, which was answered six days afterwards, by an anonymous declaration of them.²¹ A new proclamation,

to the queen-mother, their account written the same day of the murder. In this they coolly state, that 'about two hours after midnight the king was blown up; of a hall, two chambers, a cabinet and wardrobe, nothing remained that was not carried away or reduced to powder; not only the roof and the floor, but even the walls to the foundation, so that not a stone remained on a stone. The authors of this wickedness had nearly destroyed the queen and most of the nobles now in her suit, who had been with the king in his chamber till near midnight; and her majesty had nearly remained to lodge there all night. We are making inquiries, and hope to discover who perpetrated it.' Fifteen persons signed this, among whom are, Bothwell, Huntley, Maitland, Argyle, and the archbishop of St. Andrew's. Laing's Hist. v. 2. p. 95.

¹⁷ By the sieur de Clernault, who brought the tidings to Berwick on 12th February. Mr. Chalmers has printed it from the State Paper Office, v. 2 p. 445.

¹⁸ 'She came to see him on *Sunday* evening, the ninth of this month, about seven o'clock, with all the chief lords of her court; and after having been two or three hours with him, she withdrew, to go to the marriage of one of her gentlemen, as she had promised.' Clern. p. 445.

¹⁹ 'About two o'clock after midnight, a very great noise was heard, as if a volley of 26 or 30 cannon had been fired, so that every one was roused; and the said lady having sent to know whence it came, they followed along all the city, and came at last to the king's lodging, which they found entirely razed. Then searching where he could be, they found him sixty or eighty paces off, dead, and stretched out in a garden, also a valet de chambre and a young page.' Clern. ib.

²⁰ 'The thing being thus reported to her, we may conceive in what pain and agony she was found in. It was clearly perceived that this enterprise proceeded from a mine under the earth; but she has not found, and still less knows, who is the author of it.' Clern. ib.

²¹ This bold answer was set up privily on the Tolbooth door, 16th Feb. It declared, 'I affirm that the committers of it were the earl Bothwell, Mr. James Balfour, the parson of Fleak, M. David Chalmers; Black M. John Spers, who was principal deviser of the murder. The queen assenting thereto through the persuasion of the earl

the same day, offered half the sum to 'the setter up of the bill, to come and avow it.'²² The next morning this was replied to, with allusions to more persons;²³ but of this last defiance the government chose to take no notice.²⁴

We turn naturally to consider Mary's conduct after such a catastrophe. We find her, six days after, signing an order for her mourning,²⁵ and on the following evening resting at lord Seaton's, on her road to Dunbar. She travelled accompanied by Bothwell, six other noblemen, and a train of an hundred people.²⁶ After remaining eighteen days at Dunbar, she returned to Edinburgh, and then admitted the English envoy, after her dinner with Murray,²⁷ to an audience, which appears from his description to have been rather theatrically arranged. The scenery was so shrouded, that her countenance was invisible; but the tones of her voice were heard, and they breathed the accents of sadness, a month after the occurrence of their melancholy cause;²⁸

Bothwell, and the witchcraft of the lady Buccleugh.' Buchan. Detect. 2 And. 156; and Cecil's letter in Cabala. p. 126.

²² Ib.

²³ 'I desire the money to be consigned into one evenly man's hand, and I shall compear on Sunday next with foursome with me, and subscribe my first letter and abide thereat. Farther, I desire that Francis, Bastiane, and Joseph the queen's goldsmith, be stayed; and I shall declare what every man did in particular with their accomplices.' ib. 157.

²⁴ Ib. 157.

²⁵ Mr. Chalmers' industry has traced out this warrant, 'subscribed with our hand at Edinburgh, the 15th February,' for ten ells and an half 'of serge of Florence, to be a gown, cloak, mulis, and schuine; seventeen ells and a half of silk camlet, to be a velicotte and a vasquine; and three ells of Ormais taffety to line the bodies and sleeves, &c.' Vol. 1. p. 320.

²⁶ Drury's lett. from Berwick, 17 Feb. 1 Chal. 322.

²⁷ Where he met Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and Maitland. Kilgrew's despatch of 8th March, in Chalmers, p. 324.

²⁸ 'I had no audience before this day. I found the queen's majesty in a dark chamber, so as *I could not see her face*; but by her words she seemed very doleful, and did accept my sovereign's letters and message in very thankful manner.' Lett. 8th March. Chalm. ib.

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yet how could Mary be tranquil? If she was innocent of any participation, she knew that she was suspected of it. If she had incurred this guilt, to no one could the energetic lines of Juvenal, which so many myriads have in every age verified, be more fully and more painfully applicable:²⁹ for, notwithstanding her deviations, Mary had an exciteable sensitivity both of mind and frame which forbade that intellectual serenity, which consistent and persevering virtue can alone ensure.³⁰

The queen had expressed the most determined resolution to discover and punish the perpetrators of the crime,³¹ and had been urged to do so as the only means of vindicating her own innocence.³² Nine days after this becoming resolution, the father of the victim solicited her to assemble her parliament, and 'to take such good order, that the bloody and cruel actors of this deed shall be manifestly

²⁹ 'Yet why must they be thought to scape, who feel
Those rods of scorpions, and those whips of steel,
Which CONSCIENCE shakes; when she, enraged, controls,
And spreads dismaying terror thro' our souls.' *Sat.* 13.

This moral sensitivity seems to be universal; but the mind of each grows up into such a peculiar sensibility of its own, that the degree and effect of the interior impression varies with every individual; yet altho often very slight and scarcely perceptible on many ordinary occasions, it assumes a power on greater exigencies which the stoutest and most hardened have been unable to repress. The most incredulous of its existence have repeatedly found it to be inextinguishable and invincible.

³⁰ Of the authors, Killigrew only could say, 'I find great suspicions, and no proof, nor appearance of apprehensions; yet I am made to believe I shall, ere I depart hence, receive some information.' *Lett. Chalm.* 324.

³¹ Her words in her letter to her ambassadors, on the day after the murder, were those to which he had alluded. She says she had been preserved 'to the end that we may take a rigorous vengeance of that mischievous deed, which, ere it should remain unpunished, we had rather lose life and all.' *Lett.* 11th Feb. in *Keith*, pref. viii.

³² See before, notes 12 and 13.

known.²³ She wrote from Seaton an assent to his request; ²⁴ he answered her almost immediately, by informing her of the two tickets which had been put on the Tolbooth in answer to her proclamations, which charged Bothwell and others with the crime; and desired that the persons therein mentioned might be apprehended, and put in sure keeping, to be tried by the parliament.²⁵ Mary shrunk from this probing request.²⁶ Lennox then enumerated specifically the individuals who had been named, and declared his suspicion of their criminality;²⁷ and the queen assured him that they should be put upon their trial.²⁸ She kept her word so far, that on the fourth day afterwards, her privy council, of which Bothwell was one, appointed the 12th April for the judicial investigation.²⁹ On 11th April, Lennox wrote to her, that he was so ill that he could not travel, and requested the trial to be postponed for a reasonable time.³⁰ This petition became an immediate test of Mary's real mind and feelings, as well as of her judgment. It was seconded by the impressive recommendation of Elizabeth, on the sound and irresistible reason, that the postponement

²³ Letter of earl Lennox, of 20th February to Mary, in Anderson, v. 1, p. 40.

²⁴ Mary's lett. 21st Feb. ib. 42.

²⁵ Lett. of Lennox, 26th Feb. p. 44. He had received her's on the 24th. ib. 43.

²⁶ See her answer of 1st March. She said as to remitting 'the trial to the time of a parliament, we meant not that, but rather would wish that it might be suddenly and without delay tried; for the sooner the better.' And as to the tickets, 'there is so many, that we know not upon what ticket to proceed.' ib. 45, 46.

²⁷ Lett. 17th March, p. 47, 8.

²⁸ Mary's lett. 24th March, p. 49.

²⁹ Official act, 28th March 1567. Anders. p. 50.

³⁰ Letter from Stirling, 11 April, p. 54.

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was necessary, in order to place her above suspicion.⁴¹ The general feeling of all the parties and characters in England was earnest that the penal justice should be strictly and zealously enforced.⁴² The queen, however, braving all conclusions, did not defer the trial. Bothwell attended the court, supported by Morton and Maitland with an imposing force; and as no prosecutor appeared, and no one adduced any evidence, he was necessarily acquitted.⁴³ On such an investigation as a means of discovering or punishing the guilty, it is superfluous to remark. Every one who can observe and reason, will make his own inferences from it. Such

⁴¹ On 8 April, Elizabeth's letter to her in French, expressed—'I understand that an edict has been published by you, that every one who will judicially prove the murderers of your late husband, should come to do it on the 12th of this month. The father and friends of the dead gentleman have asked to request you to prolong the time, because they know that *the guilty persons have combined* to do by force what by right they cannot do. Therefore for the love of yourself, who are most concerned, and for the comfort of the innocent, I cannot but exhort you to grant their request. For if *this be denied*, it would put *you greatly into suspicion*, more than I expect, or think, or would willingly hear of. Exert, madam! such sincerity and prudence in a case which touches you so nearly, that all the world may have reason to deliver you, as innocent, from a crime so enormous. If you do not this, you will be blotted out of the rank of princesses; and become, not without cause, the opprobrium of the vulgar.' Lett. in Pap. Off. Robert. app. 233.'

⁴² The letter from England, on 23d May, strongly expressed the impression in this country: 'There was not one papist or protestant which did not consent that justice should be done, by the queen my sovereign's aid and support, against such as had committed that abominable ill murder in your country. I never knew no matter of state proposed which had so many favorers of all sorts of nations as this had; no man promoted the matter with greater affection than the Spanish ambassador. Sure I am, that no man dare openly be of any other mind, but to affirm that whosoever is guilty of this murder, handfasted with adultery, is unworthy to live.' Rob. app. 237.

⁴³ Keith details the proceedings, p. 375-7. On his death bed, in 1577, he acknowledged that he, with his relations and some of the nobility, were the authors of it, but affirmed the queen to be innocent of it. See the document in Keith's appendix, 144.

acquittals may give legal safety, but never relieve the reputation from the charge which impeaches it.

Three days before this theatrical trial, Murray had left Edinburgh for France.⁴⁴ On 21st April, Mary visited her son at Stirling; and on her return shortly afterwards, was met by Bothwell at the head of eight hundred horsemen; and, with Huntley, Maitland and sir James Melville, was taken to Dunbar Castle.⁴⁵ On 29th April he brought her to Edinburgh;⁴⁶ and then began a suit of divorce against his own wife, to enable him to wed another.⁴⁷ The queen signed the written declaration of the peers in his favor:⁴⁸ and a minister of the church was ordered to publish banns of marriage between Bothwell and the queen. The clergyman hesitated and refused, but at last obeyed, yet marking his official act with his public reprobation of the nuptials.⁴⁹ On 12th May, Mary appeared

⁴⁴ 1 Chal. 330. Melv. 178.

⁴⁵ Keith's History, p. 383. 'Between Linlithgow and Edinburgh, the earl Bothwell was in her road, with a great company, and took her majesty by the bridle.' Melv. 177.

⁴⁶ Ib. 337.

⁴⁷ Keith, 383. 'The divorce was finished in a very few days.' ib. Robertson has printed, in his appendix, the sentence of it. On 29th April 1567, the application was made in his wife's name against him, on a charge of adultery with her servant; and on Saturday 3d May, the divorce was ordered. Rob. app. 234-6.

⁴⁸ This strange instrument is dated 19th April 1567, at Edinburgh, by which they undertook to defend Bothwell against any charge for the murder, and to further his marriage with the queen, in case she should humble herself to it. See it in Anderson, v. 1. p. 107-111. And Mary's underwritten promise on 14th May, not to accuse the subscribers for it. ib. p. 111.

⁴⁹ Craig, the clergyman applied to, when examined about it by the general assembly, stated, that he had refused, because he had not her handwriting, and had heard that she was in captivity. On Wednesday the chief justice brought him her written declaration, that she was not in captivity, and charging him to proclaim the banns. On Friday he publicly mentioned it, with his objections, and again on Sunday, declaring that he abhorred and detested it. For this on the following Tuesday he was called before the state council and rebuked, and on

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in the court of sessions, and made a public declaration of her good mind toward Bothwell.⁵⁰ Creating him duke of Orkney, she two days afterwards entered into a formal contract of marriage with him :⁵¹ and on the next morning the nuptial ceremony was publicly performed in the great hall of the palace, after the sermon ;⁵² and she sent off envoys to France and England to communicate the tidings.⁵³ These events need no comment. They are not calculated to lessen any disadvantageous impression against Mary, which the anterior facts produce on the unprejudiced judgment ; and wherever they are not felt to be unfavorable, no argument or observation will produce the adverse feeling.

Nor can any moral condemnation be necessary, when the result of such transactions became so significantly admonitory both of their character and consequences. The Scottish nobles, who, from common foresight and prudence, could not desire or submit

Wednesday proclaimed the marriage with his further remarks. And. 2. p. 278-82. So that the banns were publicly canvassed for eight days, and were therefore neither secret nor hurried.

⁵⁰ Anderson has printed the record of her personal appearance, dated 12th May, v. 1. p. 87. Nothing could be more public or free. It enumerates the chancellor, five bishops, the provost, five lords, and fourteen other persons as the lords of session then present. The pretext of her acting on compulsion when she could thus make her public appearance and avowal seems highly unreasonable.

⁵¹ Chal. 1. p. 338. Melville mentions, that having received a letter from England, stating the report that the queen was going to marry Bothwell, the murderer of her husband, and that if she did so she would destroy her reputation ; he shewed this to the queen, who read it, but only called Maitland, and told him that it was a device of his to injure Bothwell. 176.

⁵² Melv. 179. The bishop of Orkney performed the service, *ib.* : for which he was afterwards deprived by the act of the assembly. This act is in And. v. 2. p. 284. Keith, 386. So that all supposition of Mary's compulsion or aversion appear to be unfounded.

⁵³ Anderson, v. 1. p. 89-107. They contain long panegyrics on Bothwell.

to have a Bothwell for their matrimonial sovereign, with a queen so pliant to his will as Mary, combined for their mutual safety to dethrone her, that such a man might not wield the power of her regal government; and therefore resolved to crown her infant son, with a guardian regency, as best fitted to sustain the general peace and welfare. Each party prepared their forces, to decide the contest by arms; but on the 6th June, the queen and her new husband found such few supporters, that they retired from the conflict to Borthwick Castle. Surrounded by the confederate forces, Bothwell, perceiving his inferiority, escaped from its walls, while Mary fled, also in man's apparel, to Dunbar Castle. Summoning from thence, on 12th June, her subjects to her succor, two thousand again joined her; with which, after moving to the metropolis without much benefit, on 14th June she marched out of Edinburgh, to try the chance of a desperate effort. On the next day the insurgent nobles, with their divisions under Morton and Athol, met her on Carberry Hill. Bothwell offered a personal battle, to prove his innocence, and challenged the earl of Morton; but the lord of Grange taking up the defiance, Bothwell shrunk from it,⁵⁴ and quitted the field. On his retreat, Mary surrendered herself, in vexation and fear, to the combined chiefs; and was taken, amid the insulting exultation of the multitude, to her capital,⁵⁵ and from thence, on her persisting attachment to Bothwell, was consigned to

⁵⁴ As he did also from Tullibardine and Lyndsay. Melv. 184.

⁵⁵ The detail of all these incidents are ably given in the interesting narratives of Dr. Robertson and Mr. Hume. Keith presents the earlier statement, with the documents; and Mr. Chalmers has reviewed and colored all, and discolored much by his peculiar comments. Melville may be also read as an original narrator. 181-6.

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the care of Douglas, in the castle of Lochleven.⁵⁶ The combined lords pledged themselves to their mutual support in their public objects ;⁵⁷ and for the accomplishment of these, she was in the next month solicited, but in vain, to lend her authority to prosecute the murderer, and to abandon Bothwell for her husband :⁵⁸ thus giving, by her refusal, new countenance to all the former suspicions and prospective fears, and manifesting to all that no compulsion had forced her into his arms.⁵⁹ This pertinacity in misconduct increased the public aversion to her name and government.⁶⁰ The apprehension of Bothwell's

⁵⁶ Melville says, ' The same night it was alleged that her majesty sent a letter to E. Bothwell, calling him her dear heart, whom she would never forget nor abandon for absence. This letter the bearer delivered to the lords, on which they took occasion to send her to Lochleven.' p. 185. The order for her confinement, dated 16 June 1567, ' was signed by Morton, Athol, Mar, Glencarn, Ruthven, Hume, Lyndsay, Sempil, and other barons and gentlemen ' Keith, 403.

⁵⁷ Keith has printed the bond, dated 16 June, by which, ' We, the earls, lords, barons, commissioners of boroughs, and others underwritten, engage to support each other, till the authors of the said cruel murder and ravishing be condignly punished ; the said marriage dissolved ; our sovereign released from the thralldom, bondage and ignominy which she has sustained by occasion of the said earl ; the person of the prince reposed in full surety, and justice restored and uprightly administered.' Keith, 406.

⁵⁸ On 14th July, sir N. Throckmorton wrote from Edinburgh to Elizabeth, ' The lords keep her very straitly, because the queen will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to prosecute the murderer ; nor will consent by any persuasion to abandon the lord Bothwell for her husband ; but avoweth certainly that she will live and die with him.' Lett. in Rob app. 244.

⁵⁹ Her attachment was so strong, that Throckmorton added, ' She saith, that if it were put to her choice to relinquish her crown and kingdom or the lord Bothwell, she would leave her kingdom and dignity to go as a simple damsel with him ; and that she will never consent that he shall fare worse, or have more harm than herself.' ib. Hence he remarks, ' As far as I can perceive, the principal cause of her detention is, that these lords do see the queen being of so fervent affection towards the earl Bothwell as she is.' ib. 244.

⁶⁰ ' The common people do greatly dishonor the queen, and mind seriously either her deprivation or her destruction. The women be most furious and impudent against the queen, and yet the men be mad

servants, and their confessions,⁶¹ did not diminish the popular ferment. Her deposition, and the conducting of the government in the name of her son, became then resolved on;⁶² and after much intreaty, she gave an assent to it, which could not have been voluntary.⁶³ Murray was recalled into Scotland, and settled in the regency, and the infant prince James was crowned.⁶⁴ Bothwell in the meantime had retired from Dunbar to the Orkneys and Shetland, pursued by the lord Grange, by the proclamations of the new government, and by the general execration.⁶⁵ Sailing to Norway, and attempting to capture a trader, the Danish government sent out vessels of war to take him. 'There he was kept in a strait prison, wherein he became mad, and died miserably.'⁶⁶

But a party of her noble friends, after her deluder's expulsion, began to unite in her favor;⁶⁷ and in the beginning of the following May, she was assisted to escape from Lochleven Castle,⁶⁸ and with such forces as she could obtain on her side, under Argyle, endeavored, on 13th May 1568, to move from Hamilton to Dumbarton Castle. The regent met her with a superior army at Langside, in Ren-

enough.' Lett. ib. On 8th July the envoy's dispatch was, 'She will by no means yield to abandon Bothwell for her husband, nor relinquish him, which matter will do her most harm of all, and hardeneth these lords to great severity against her.' Lett. Rob. p. 248.

⁶¹ Throck. lett. 18th July, p. 250.

⁶² Throck. lett. 24th July, p. 251.

⁶³ Melville describes the solicitations, p. 189-192.

⁶⁴ Keith. ⁶⁵ Melv. 186, 7. ⁶⁶ Ib. 186.

⁶⁷ Melville has inserted their counter-bond, p. 195. It is signed by St. Andrews, Argyle, Huntley, Arbroath, Galloway, Ross, Fleming, Herries, and three others p. 196.

⁶⁸ By the aid of George Douglas, the brother of her noble keeper and the regent's half brother: 'the old lady's mother was also thought to be upon the council.' Melv. 199.

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frewshire, and defeated her friends.⁶⁹ Losing her last hope of retrieving her power and splendors, she fled immediately sixty miles without stopping, to escape a re-imprisonment, till she reached an abbey near Kirkcudbright. From thence she wrote to the governor at Carlisle, to know if she might come there in safety; but without waiting for his answer, winged by her fears, she embarked in a small fishing boat for Cumberland, and arrived at Workington, from which she soon passed to Carlisle;⁷⁰ having, from the rapidity of her movements, been obliged to reach the English territory in a state of comparative destitution.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Melv. 200-2.

⁷⁰ She arrived there on the evening of Sunday, 18th May 1568. The news, that strange persons had landed from Scotland at the creek of Workington, drew several gentlemen immediately to the spot, where, finding her to be the queen, they conveyed her respectfully to Cocker-mouth, which belonged to the earl of Northumberland. He first apprised Elizabeth of her arrival. She remained there till the deputy of Carlisle, having collected all the gentlemen of the county, 'conducted her as honorably as the manner of the country would yield,' to the castle of that town. Cecil's paper in Anders. v. 4. p. 1-3. Elizabeth 'sent express commandment to the deputy to treat her with all honor and favor that he could; and commanded the lady Scroop, *sister of the duke of Norfolk*, to repair with other ladies and gentlewomen to attend on her.' *ib.*

⁷¹ Lowther, the deputy governor, on 18th May, reported to Cecil, 'That the Scottish queen's attire was very mean; that she had no other to change; that she had very little money; and that he had himself defrayed the charge of her journey from Cocker-mouth to Carlisle.' MS. Paper Office, cited by Chalm. 1. p. 440. Northumberland claimed her as his prize, having landed within his liberty, and obtained an order from the council at York for her being delivered to him; on this being refused by Lowther, the earl told him that he was a varlet, and too low a man to pretend to such a charge. Chalm. p. 446. From subsequent events it may have been happy for Elizabeth that the varlet so firmly resisted the nobleman.

CHAP. XXIV.

MARY'S RECEPTION—HER RESIDENCE AT CARLISLE AND BOLTON—EXAMINATIONS AT YORK AND WESTMINSTER—PRINCIPLES OF ELIZABETH'S CONDUCT TOWARDS HER AND SCOTLAND.

THE presence of any foreign queen in England, with such unremoved imputations as accompanied Mary, would have at any time embarrassed its government, unless moral conduct had ceased to be an object of public estimation.¹ To receive her with honor, when the tainting accusation had not been disproved, was impossible; and in addition to this personal difficulty, Mary was a princess whose visit to England, from the other circumstances of her previous conduct, could not but be disquieting to Elizabeth, and to those who wished the continuation of the national tranquillity. The Roman Catholic portion of the British islands and of the continent, had been taught to consider her as the rightful queen of the English throne, and Elizabeth as an illegitimate usurper. Mary had maintained the claim, and assumed the royal arms and title accordingly,²

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¹ Elizabeth, on 8th June 1568, desired that it might be stated to her at Carlisle, that the points by which her own mind was much 'touched' were, that she had not regarded 'the avenge of the death of her husband, and the infamy of marrying a person, known not only as the principal murderer, but also having a lawful wife alive.' See the note in Cecil's hand, in *Ander. v. 4. p. 66.*

² See Vol. 3. ch. 18. note 79.

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and had refused to relinquish the right, and never had renounced it. At this juncture, the papal plans were in full activity to overthrow the reformed religion in every country in Europe; and were now directed on both Scotland and England. No event could more advance their progress, than the actual residence of a princess, with such pretensions, in the dominions to which they applied, if she was treated with regal honors, and permitted to have free intercourse with all who chose to have access to her. Such estimation and liberty would be an invitation to disaffection, and give a secret facility to conspiracy, which would excite and nourish it. And altho her depreciated character would repel the honorable of all religions from such an association; yet it would present her as a more convenient head to those who desired the traitorous combination; because it would exhibit her as likely to be but little restrained by any moral principle or delicacy, from joining in such schemes. Hence it became difficult for the English cabinet to determine how such a fugitive queen and kinswoman, seeking an asylum, ought to be treated, with a due regard to the peace and welfare of the nation, and to the security and honor of its reigning queen.³ The great

³ Cecil has left us several state papers in his own handwriting on this perplexing subject. His considerations upon the external and internal dangers to England, when he first heard of her escape from Lochleven, are in Anderson, v. 4. p. 24-26. His notes of the 'Things to be considered,' upon her coming to England in May, are in the same volume, p. 34-38. Those on the dangers, if she passed into France, p. 39, and if she returned to Scotland, p. 42. On her being in England, he remarks, 'If she remain with liberty to practise with whom she will, she will employ herself to increase her party, from her intention to have the crown of England without waiting to succeed, whensoever she shall find her opportunity to seize it. She will increase the boldness of all evil subjects, both in causes of religion and all other.' *ib.* p. 41-2.

attractions of her vivacity and familiar manners increased the danger of her unexpected presence, and preceding competition.

Mary wrote several very earnest letters to Elizabeth, on arriving in England, from whom, without any recollection of her own previous conduct, she expected an instantaneous welcome, and even a speedy auxiliary army to overpower those from whom she had fled.⁴ Lord Scrope and sir Francis Knollys visited her at Carlisle, to refuse her request of passing into France, which greatly disappointed her.⁵ They expressed their sense of the difficulties of the case.⁶ The next day she inveighed against Murray,⁷ till they were forced to remind her of what had occurred to cause his opposition.⁸ In the ensuing

⁴ Some of these are in Anderson, vol. 4. One dated 17 May 1568, from Workington, in Cumberland, on her first landing in England, p. 29; another of 28 May, from Carlisle, in French, p. 46; and of 29 May to Cecil, p. 61.

⁵ They described the interview: 'We found her in her answers to have an eloquent tongue and discreet head; and it seemeth by her doings that she hath stout courage and a liberal heart adjoined therunto. After our delivery of your highness's letters, she fell into some passion, with the water in her eyes, and therewith she drew us with her into her bed-chamber, where she complained to us that your highness did not answer her expectations, of admitting her into your presence forthwith.' Lett. 29 May. And. 4. p. 54.

⁶ 'She cannot be kept so rigorously as a prisoner, with your highness's honor, but with devices of towels or ties at her chamber window, or else, in the night, a body of her agility and spirit may escape soon, being so near the border. And surely to have her carried further into the realm is the high way to a dangerous sedition.' ib. 57.

⁷ 'When she was but nine days old, they had a reverent and obedient care of her; but now, says she, that I am 24 years old, they would exclude me from government, like disobedient rebels.' Lett. 30 May, 58.

⁸ 'The question is, whether your grace deserved to be put from the government or not, for, if your grace should be guilty of any such odious crime as deserveth deposal, then, said I, how should they be blamed that have deposed you? Hereupon her grace beginning to clear herself after her accustomed manner, *the tears yet fell* from her eyes. Then I said, your highness would be the gladdest in the world to see her grace well purged of this crime.' Lett. ib. p. 58, 9. She explicitly affirmed, that both Lyddyngton and lord Morton

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month, sir Francis Knollys drew her character with some additional features, which do not shew her to have been the timid and delicate female, which our young imaginations may have pourtrayed.⁹ She amused herself here as she pleased,¹⁰ and displayed so much of the powers of a vigorous equestrian, as to alarm her cautious superintendents.¹¹ The anxious deliberations of sir William Cecil, upon the

were assenting to the murder of her husband, altho they would now seem to prosecute the same.' ib. 55. But to Middlemore, in June, she said, 'Who can compel me to accuse myself? and yet, if I would say any thing of myself, I would say of myself to her, [Elizabeth,] and to none other.' Her lett. of 14 June, p. 87.

⁹ 'This lady and priacess is a notable woman. She seemeth to regard no ceremonious honor beside the acknowleging of her estate royal. She showeth a disposition to speak much; to be bold; to be pleasant; and to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies, and a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory. She desireth much to hear of hardiness and valiancy; commending by name all approved, hardy men of her country, altho they be her enemies; and she concealeth no cowardice even in her friends. The thing that most she thirsteth after is victory; and it seemeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies diminished either by the sword of her friends, or by the liberal promises and rewards of her purse, or by division and quarrels raised among themselves. So that for victory's sake, pain and peril seem pleasant unto her. Compared with victory, wealth and all things seem to her contemptuous and vile. Now, what is to be done with such a lady and prince, I refer to your judgment.' Lett. to Cecil from Carlisle, 11 June 1568; And. v. 4. p. 71, 2. In another, of 13th June, he mentions her French dowry as bringing her 12,000*l.* a year. p. 79.

¹⁰ Knollys thus described her pastimes: 'Yesterday her grace went out at a postern, to walk on the playing green towards Scotland; and we with twenty-two halberdiers, with divers gentlemen, and other servants, waited upon her. About twenty of her retinue played at football before her for the space of two hours, very strongly, nimbly, and skilfully, without any foul play offered, the smallness of their ball occasioning their fair play.' Lett. 15th June, MS. Brit. Mus. cited by Chalm. p. 448.

¹¹ 'Before yesterday, she has been but twice out of the town: once to the like play of football in the same place, and once she rode out hunting the hare, *she galloping so fast*, upon every occasion, and her whole retinue being so well horsed, that we, upon experience thereof, doubted that upon a set course, some of her friends out of Scotland might invade and assault us upon the sudden, to rescue and take her from us. We mean hereafter, if any such riding pastimes be required that way, so much [to pretend] to fear the endangering of her person by some sudden invasion of her enemies, that she must hold us excused in that behalf.' Lett. ib.

government's right conduct towards her, appears from his own manuscript papers, reviewing the considerations in her favor,¹² and then surveying the adverse circumstances.¹³

¹² On the 20 June 1568, he penned these contrasted views of the reasons in her behalf, and against her :—

‘ Pro Regina Scotorum.

‘ She is to be helped, because she came willingly into the realm upon trust of the queen's majesty.

‘ She trusted upon the queen's majesty's help, because she had in her trouble received many messages to that effect.

‘ She is not lawfully condemned, because she was first taken by her subjects by force, kept in prison, put in fear of life, charged with murder of her husband, and not admitted to answer thereto, neither in her own person, nor by advocate before them which in parliament did condemn her.

‘ She is a queen and monarch, subject to none, nor yet bound by her laws to answer to her subjects, otherwise than her own conscience shall lead her. She offer'd if she may come to the Q. majesty's presence, to acquit herself of the crime objected against her.

‘ No private person coming into the realm for refuge ought to be condemned, if he require to be heard, without hearing.

‘ She offer'd to charge her subjects that have deposed her, with the crime wherewith she is charged.

‘ She alleged great matters against them, as things moving them for their own gain and greatness to proceed as they have done, as that they procured in her minority great possessions for themselves, which she, at her coming to majority, did secretly revoke.’ And. v. 4. p.99.

¹³ His reasons against her were—

‘ Contra Reginam Scotorum.

‘ She procured the murdering of her husband, whom she had constituted king, and so he was a public person, and her superior; and therefore the subjects of the realm, of their duties towards God and their country, which was defamed therewith, were bound to search out the offenders, and punish them.

‘ When they proceeded so to do, the earl Bothwell, the chief murderer, was protected by the queen, and a confederacy made by her solicitation and countenance, with sundry others of the realm, to defend him in all causes and quarrels, so as justice could not proceed against any of the murderers; but contrarywise, the earl Bothwell kept evil company with the queen, led her and trained her to places dishonorable, accompanied with the parties to the murder, who were known pirates, robbers, and such like.

‘ She also procured the earl Bothwell to be by force colorably acquitted, and devised that his indictment was falsely conceived, to farther the judgment to be reputed for true. For the supposal of the crime wherewith he was charged was, that he murdered the king upon the 9th day of [February,] and he was known to be murdered indeed the 10th day.

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Mary remained at Carlisle, till the privy council thought that the liberty and comforts which Elizabeth had determined to allow her,¹⁴ could not be safely continued to her there; and upon lord Scrope's advising a more interior residence to be appointed, on account of the great concourse of her friends who came to her, and in order that her conveniences might not be lessened,¹⁵ the stately mansion of Tut-

' She also procured him to be divorced from his lawful wife, upon a charge of himself that he lived in frequent advoutrie, specially with lady Reress, who also was the principal instrument betwixt the queen and him.

' She after this fained herself to be forcibly taken by him, and carried away, to color her conversation with him. She after this married this principal murderer. She gave him great estates and lands, and that larger than ever she gave to her own husband.

' She gave also to the parties that executed the murder, lands and offices, being persons known of infamy before. She committed all authoritie singularly to him and his companions, who exercised such cruelty, as none of the nobility that were counsel of the realm durst abide about the queen.

' The said earl also did notoriously evil use the queen, keeping her as a prisoner in Dunbar; and though the discords betwixt them both grew very notorious, yet by means of such lewd persons as the said earl had planted about the queen, he always recovered atonements.

' After this, the nobility of the realm assembling themselves to consult how to proceed in punishing of the murder, the earl Bothwell and his complices assembled a force, and carried the queen into the field to invade the nobility, where they meeting, and the queen being humbly requested to let the earl be removed from her, she would not consent, but devised that the said earl should secretly flee.' *And. v. 4. p. 100-2.*

¹⁴ ' It was ordered that she should, with her train, be entertained with all honor and courtesy; and free liberty given to any of her servants or subjects to come to Carlisle and speak with her, and to return into Scotland. Whereupon it followed, that the resort was so great, that Carlisle being a frontier town, and having no special garrison to keep it, in case of any sudden enterprise, it was thought by the lord Scrope to be not without some danger to suffer such multitude of Scottish men to have a free concourse into that town, and thereto to continue.' *Cecil's notes, Anders. 1. p. 5.*

¹⁵ ' Therefore the lord warden, and other of the wiser sort of that frontier, advertised the queen's majesty, that seeing she was so earnestly disposed to show the queen of Scots, amongst other favors, that all her servants and subjects should have such a free access to her as would not be without peril, it might please her majesty to order that the said queen might remove further into the realm, where she might have better air and large provision for her diet, and greater

bury was selected for her future dwelling;¹⁶ but finding her averse to go so far into England, Elizabeth did not insist upon it,¹⁷ and she was taken to lord Scrope's at Bolton Castle, as a half-way distance, in the middle of July,¹⁸ with some reluctance, because she desired either to be restored to her power in Scotland, or to pass into France,¹⁹ where she might obtain military aid to regain it. Neither of these objects were compatible with the welfare of her own country or of England, and therefore her detention was unavoidably continued.

It was on the fifth day after Mary had been placed in the castle of Lochleven, that the servant of Bothwell was taken, on whom that silver box was alleged to have been found, which contained the letters and documents which were afterwards produced as exhibiting deciding evidence of Mary's participation in her husband's catastrophe.²⁰ Three days after

pleasure to travel and recreate herself with some hunting, as the season of the year required, and to have also her servants resort to her as freely as they did at Carlisle, without such peril or mistrust as in frontiers always [even] in times of straitest friendship is thought of and regarded.' Cecil's notes, p. 6.

¹⁶ 'A very honorable house, of best state and pleasure in those north parts, called Tutbury, well to be compared, for largeness of the house and ground of pleasure about it, to any second house of all England.' *ib.* p. 6.

¹⁷ 'She was appointed to come to Tutbury, but the queen finding her great misliking therein, hath forborn the same.' Lett. 13th July, Cabala, p. 138.

¹⁸ 'To which she came about the 16th of June [July] being not half so far from Carlisle as Tutbury was.' Cecil's notes, p. 6. The letters of Cecil in the Cabala show that the month is here erroneously inserted, and that the removal was in July. Cab. p. 138. 'About thirty miles within the land.' *ib.* 139.

¹⁹ Cecil's lett. 13th July. Cabala, 138.

²⁰ Earl Morton stated, that they were found on George Dalgleish, on 20th June 1567. 2 Goodall, p. 91. On the 9th December 1568, he is recorded to have thus sworn to them before the commissioners at Westminster. 'The earl of Morton said, that whereas heretofore he had declared by speech the manner how he came to the little gilt coffer with the letters, sonnets, and contracts of marriage therein

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this incident, Powrie, one of the agents, was examined,²¹ and soon afterward Dalglish;²² and in the course of the same year, others were also interrogated.²³ Their evidence fully charged Bothwell with the deed, and described its performance; but neither of these personally implicated the queen beyond a constructive inference. There was no testimony, beyond the letters, which at that time directly pointed at her, as a concerting or approving accomplice.

The mind of Mary was at first wholly bent on conquering her opponents, till, finding Elizabeth desirous to promote her welfare by peace and reconciliation, and not by battle,²⁴ she requested the English queen not to be her judge, but to send for the Scottish noblemen who were her adversaries, and to require them to account before such English peers as the queen should select, why they had

found, and heretofore exhibited; he had caused the same to be put in writing; which also he produced, subscribed with his hand, and desired to have it read, which being done, he avowed upon his honor and the oath which he already took, the same to be true.' Anders. v. 4. p. 164. They may be seen in G. Buchanan's *Detection*, a very rare book: in the reprint of it in Anderson, v. 2. p. 115; in Goodall's *Exam.* v. 2. p. 1-56; and in Mr. Hugh Campbell's *Love Letters of Mary*, p. 36-53, who has prefixed others published by Simmons in 1726, which have no evidence or appearance of being genuine.

²¹ W. Powrie's depositions made at Edinburgh, 23d June and 3d July 1567, are in Anderson, v. 2. p. 165, 171.

²² Dalglish's examination on 26th June 1567. *ib.* p. 173.

²³ On 13 Sept. 1567, Hay was questioned; Anders. p. 177; and on 8th Dec. Hepburn or Bowton, p. 183. It was not till 10 Aug. 1569, that Hubert or French Paris was interrogated. See his answers, *ib.* p. 192.

²⁴ Cecil so stated to sir Henry Norris, on 25 July: 'The queen of Scots having long labored the queen's majesty, both by messages and letters, to have aid against the lords of Scotland, and by force to restore her to the realm, her majesty could not find it meet in honor to do so; but rather to seek all other good means to compass it with quiet and honor. Lett. Cab. 139.

deposed her.²⁵ Elizabeth approved of this idea, and Murray offered to come himself to England on the occasion.²⁶ She resolved not to become an accuser of Mary, but to hear what was urged against her, and then to act as a spirit of honor should induce her own good judgment to determine.²⁷ No conduct could be more upright on such an emergency, so new, trying, and embarrassing.

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The first use which Mary made of Elizabeth's consent to require the Scottish lords to account for their conduct, was to concert with her friends for a vigorous attempt to surprise and overpower them : altho, at the request of the English government, Murray had suspended hostilities until the important hearing should take place. The effort ended in the defeat of her friends by the regent,²⁸ and thereby

²⁵ So Knollys wrote from Bolton Castle, on 28 July. Letter in 4 And. p. 109. He added, that lord Herries, her most confidential adviser, had 'insolemn manner required my lord Scrope and me to hear him repeat and declare such *message* as he had to say from her.' This was, besides the above proposal, that 'if they should not be able to allege any reason of their doings,' that Elizabeth should 'absolutely set her in her seat regal, and by force of hostility,' on condition that she renounced her present title to the English crown, and leave the league with France, and abandon the mass in Scotland, and receive the common prayer after the form of England. 'This message the said lord Herries repeated seven or eight times in our hearing to this queen; and tho at first she seemed to make some scruple, yet upon further conference with my lord Herries, she said, she would submit her cause unto her highness in thankful manner accordingly.' *ib.* 110.

²⁶ Cecil's lett. Cab. 139.

²⁷ So Cecil stated: 'In this meeting her majesty doth not mean to charge the queen of Scots, but will hear what the lords will allege for themselves to defend all their doings; and upon hearing of all parts, as matters shall in truth fall out, so doth her majesty mean to deal further therein, as honor will lead and move her to do.' Lett. 25 July, Cab. 139.

²⁸ Cecil detailed these facts to Norris, on 27 Aug. Lett. in Cab. 141. She made Argyle her lieutenant in one part, and Huntley in another. As Murray, on the 19th, was holding a parliament, 'without any arms, he heard of their co-operating advance to surprise Stirling and seize the young king, when he broke up the parliament, and marched against them.' *ib.*

in the consolidation of his power, from the ill-timed exhaustion of her last means of opposing it. But during this attempt, she was enjoying her time agreeably to herself at Bolton Castle²⁹, with some intervals of vexation, that Elizabeth should make reproof a part of her admonitory correspondence.³⁰

It was in September 1568 that the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, were appointed by the queen of England to meet the earl of Murray and other Scotch commissioners, to hear their allegations against their deposed sovereign.³¹ The conferences began in the next month.³² The first important documents produced, were the papers concerning her marriage with Bothwell, in a private communication,³³ and soon afterwards the private letters to this earl, which had been found in the silver casket.³⁴ But here the duke of Norfolk became treacherous to the power which employed him.

²⁹ 'On 30th July the Scottish queen was merry, and hunted and passed the time daily in pleasant manner.' Lett. Knollys to Cecil, MS. Paper Off. Chalm. p. 466.

³⁰ On receiving 'a rebuke letter' from Elizabeth, she fell into a great passion, 'crying, that she wished she had broken one of her arms rather than come into England.' Lett. 8 Aug. ib.

³¹ Anders. v. 4. p. 3. Elizabeth's instructions follow, p. 8-25. Mary named the bishop of Ross, lord Herries, and others to attend for her. ib. p. 34.

³² Norfolk's letter of 6 and 4 October, p. 25-32

³³ Melville's lett. 11 Oct. p. 59.

³⁴ Ib. p. 62. The three commissioners thus mention these documents: 'The said letters and ballads discover such inordinate love between her and Bothwell, her loathsomeness and abhorring of her husband that was murdered, in such sort as every good man cannot but detest and abhor the same; and these men here do constantly affirm the said letters and other writings which they produce of her own hand, to be her own hand indeed, and do offer to swear and take their oaths thereupon; the matter contained in them being such as could hardly be invented or devised by any other than by herself. For they discourse of some things which were unknown to any other than to herself and Bothwell, and it is hard to counterfeit so many.' ib. p. 62.

He began a secret intercourse with both Murray and Liddington by separate communications: and seeking to save Mary from the effect of the letters, advised Murray with a betrayal of Elizabeth's confidence, to ask from the English queen an assurance in writing, that she would convict and give sentence if they proved their accusation, before they proceeded to substantiate the written documents against her. The duke knew that Elizabeth did not wish to give such a condemnatory verdict, on account of its future consequences: and persuaded the regent to make it the condition of his public authentication of the epistolary testimony, in order, by this manœuvre, to prevent such deciding evidence from being recorded against her.³⁵ He also began at that time his practices for becoming her next and third husband.³⁶

The regent made this requisition, which, as Norfolk foresaw and meant, stopped the progress of the inquiry. The queen would not so bind herself; and the matter was adjourned from York to Hampton Court. The duke now completed his treachery to his royal mistress, by the secret engagement, into

³⁵ We have the fullest detail of this perfidious conduct, from sir James Melville, Mem. 206-12. Being afterwards discovered, it was made a part of the charge against Norfolk, on his prosecution in 1572. See sir R. Sadler's notes upon it, in his State Papers, v. 2. p. 341-3.

³⁶ These dealings were more fully expressed on his trial in 1572. See State Trials, v. 1. p. 91-3. Norfolk's importance at that time is thus described by Melville: 'The duke was then the greatest subject in Europe, for he ruled the queen and all them that were most familiar with her. He ruled the council, and two contrary factions in England, both Protestants and Papists, with the town of London and whole commons. The great men that were Papists, were all his near kinsmen, whom he entertained with great wisdom and discretion: the Protestants had such proof of his godly life and conversation, that they loved him intirely.' Mem. p. 209.

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which he then entered with the earl of Murray.³⁷ The commissioners held their meeting at Hampton Court in December; but the privately arranged game was there publicly played. 'The duke of Norfolk asked for the accusation. The regent desired again the assurance of the conviction by writing and seal.'³⁸ The written charge was however taken from him, and given in by the manual dexterity of a Scotch prelate, who was no party to the secret contrivance.³⁹ It was in vain for the regent to demand it back again. It had been deliberately prepared and brought, and had been by one of the appointed accusers delivered in, tho contrary to Murray's intention at the moment of its presentation. The court retained it, but declared they were ready to receive any additional matter.⁴⁰ Murray retired with vexation at the accident,⁴¹ which frustrated his

³⁷ For our knowledge of this we are indebted to Melville, with whom and Maitland the regent advised on these private machinations. p. 208. 'In the meantime, the regent, finding the duke of Norfolk's counsel to be true, entered farther with him, and agreed between them, in presence of Liddington, as follows: 'That he [Murray] in no wise should accuse the queen; and the duke should obtain unto him her favor, with a confirmation of the regency; the duke and he to be as sworn brothers, of one religion, shooting continually at one mark, with the mutual intelligence of each other's minds; the one to rule Scotland, and the other to rule England, to the weal of both the princes and their countries.' Melv. Mem. p. 209.

³⁸ Melv. 210.

³⁹ 'The secretary Cecil asked if they had the accusation there; 'Yes,' said Mr. John Wood (with that he plucks it out of his bosom) 'but I will not deliver it until her majesty's hand-writing and seal be delivered to my lord.' Then the bishop of Orkney seized the writing out of John Wood's hands. 'Let me have it; I shall present it,' said he. Master John ran after him, as if he would have it again or even his clothes. Forthwith past the bishop to the council table, and gave in the accusation.' Melv. p. 211.

⁴⁰ Melv. 211.

⁴¹ 'The regent came forth of the council house with the tears in his eyes, and past to his lodgings at Kingston, a mile from the court, where his factious friends had enough to do to comfort him.' Melv. p. 212. On 14th Dec. Cecil wrote to Norris at Paris: 'The regent being here, was driven for his defence to disclose a full fardel of the

refining and private policy; and his conduct was disclosed to the queen.⁴² The letters which had been brought were then sworn to by Morton, and the king's servant Nelson was produced, who took an oath to his deposition.⁴³ The letters were compared with others, which she had sent to Elizabeth, in order to see if the handwriting were the same; when no difference was perceived between them.⁴⁴

naughty matter tending to convict the queen as deviser of the murder, and the earl Bothwell her executor. And now the queen's party finding the burthen so great, refuse to make any answer, and press that their mistress may come in person to answer the matter herself, which is thought not fit to be granted until the *great blot* of the MARRIAGE WITH THE MURDERER, and the evident charges by letters of her own, be somewhat razed out.' Cab. 145.

⁴² The duke's conduct was then disclosed to the queen; 'for the earl of Morton caused a minister, called John Willock, to declare the dealing between the regent and the duke of Norfolk to the earl of Huntington, who caused my lord of Leicester to tell it unto the queen.' Melv. 213. Thus discovered, the duke avowed to Elizabeth, that tho for her time he would never offend, but serve and honor her, yet after her, the queen of Scotland. Albeit she liked not this language, she would not seem to find fault with it for the time.' ib.

⁴³ That all the three English commissioners considered Mary not guiltless, there can be no doubt; the letter of the earl of Sussex, of 22d Oct. 1568, to Cecil, in Lodge's Illust. v. 2. p. 2, sufficiently shews his opinion. Sadler's extracts from her letters, and accompanying remarks, Stat. Pap. vol. 2. p. 237, evince his feeling; and Norfolk intimated a similar impression in his letter of 12th Oct. 1568, to earl Pembroke, 'If the fact shall be thought as detestable and manifest to you, *as for aught we can perceive it seemeth* to us here.' Anders. 4. p. 77.

⁴⁴ The record of this comparison is thus worded: 'At Hampton Court, on 14th December, were produced sundry letters in French, supposed to be written by the queen of Scots' own hand to the earl Bothwell, and therewith also one long sonnet, and a promise of marriage in the name of the said queen with the said earl Bothwell. Of which letters the originals, supposed to be written with the queen's own hand, were then also presently produced, and, being read, were *duly conferred and compared*, for the manner of writing and fashion of orthography, with sundry other letters long since heretofore written and sent by the said queen of Scots to the queen's majesty. Next after there was produced and read a declaration of the earl Morton of the finding of the said letters, as the same was exhibited upon his oath the 9th December; in collation whereof no difference was found. Of all which letters and writings the true copies are contained in the memorial of the acts of the sessions of the 7th and 8th of December.' Anders. 4. p. 173. The same day were read the examinations of Hay,

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The queen's commissioners then shrunk from the inquiry; declined to answer, and refused to have any further conference; but pressed for the queen to admit Mary to her presence, to answer for herself.⁴⁵ Elizabeth refused such a visit, until the accusing allegations were disproved.⁴⁶ The Scottish lady's friends repeated their arraignment of her accusers, as being partners in the guilt,⁴⁷ and the conferences at last closed; and Elizabeth expressed her sentiments on the result in a letter to Mary, stating that she had suspended the judgment, but urging her to answer the degrading charge.⁴⁸ As

Hepburn, and Dalgleish, who had been executed for the murder, and the confession of Crawford, which confirm an incident mentioned in one of the letters. The extracts of these letters, published by sir Walter Scott, in the second volume of his *Sadler's State Papers*, being the notes taken by sir R. Sadler at the time they were read, are of importance, as they tend to shew, by their conformity, that Buchanan has printed the real matter of the original letters thus produced.

⁴⁵ The conduct of Mary's commissioners after Morton had sworn to the capture of the letters, and Nelson to his deposition before the lords. has been justly felt to be unfavorable to her. They 'refused any more conference;' *Ander.* 4. p. 171; *Goodall*, 2. p. 247; but proceeded to accuse the earl Murray and his colleagues. *And. ib.*; *Goodall*, p. 248. When the English lords met again, after the letters had been compared with her other letters to Elizabeth, on 15 December, it is recorded that 'the queen of Scots' commissioners being made privy of this the accusation of her, *have forborne to answer the same, and refused also to have any further conference in this matter*, pressing only to have her come to the presence of the queen, to make her answer, and otherwise to make no answer at all.' *ib.*

⁴⁶ It was then declared on the part of Elizabeth, that 'the crimes wherewith she hath been by common fame burthened, being by many vehement allegations and presumptions upon things now produced made more apparent, she cannot, without manifest blemish of her own honor, in the sight of the world, agree to have the same queen come into her presence, until the said horrible crimes may be by some just and reasonable answer avoided and removed from her.' *And.* 178. *Good.* 259.

⁴⁷ On 25 Dec. the bishop of Ross, lord Herries, and the abbot of Kilwinning declared that 'they themselves, who did accuse her, were the authors and inventers, and some of them executors of the murder.' *Good.* p. 282. At Carberry Hill she had charged this on Morton.

⁴⁸ In this, dated 21 Dec. 1568, the queen writes: 'As we have been very sorry of long time for your mishaps and great troubles, so we find

the general impression was that the full result would have established Mary's criminality, this was apparently the best termination. Enough was disclosed to satisfy every one that Mary had so far misconducted herself, as not to deserve a re-establishment on her throne; and yet her reputation was not so legally and irretrievably destroyed, as to incapacitate or preclude herself or her child from the eventual chance of the English succession. The matter rested in this condition. Murray went back to Scotland, and continued regent until his death: and Mary remained at Bolton Castle, until she was removed the next year to Tutbury, as the privy council had originally intended.⁴⁹ It is probable that all parties,

our sorrows now doubled in beholding such things as are produced to prove yourself cause of all the same. And our grief therein is also increased, in that we did not think, at any time, to have seen or heard such matters of so great appearance and moment to charge and condemn you. Nevertheless, both in friendship, nature and justice, we are *moved to cover these matters*, and stay our judgment.' Elizabeth then recommended her to answer them, and praised the wise conduct of the bishop of Ross in her behalf. Anders. 4. p. 183, 4.

⁴⁹In January 1569, the letter to the countess of Shrewsbury mentions her as being on her journey to Tutbury. Lodge's Illust. v. 2. p. 7.

In the next month we have a sketch of her in Mr. White's letter, after a casual visit at Tutbury. The queen hearing that he was in the castle, sent for him and conversed with him. He says, 'She heard the English Service, with a book of the Psalms in English in her hand, which she shewed me after. When service was done, her grace fell in talk with me of sundry matters, from six to seven of the clock, beginning first to excuse her ill English, declaring herself more willing than apt to learn that language; how she used translations as a mean to attain it, and that Mr. Vice Chamberlain was her good schoolmaster.

'I asked her grace, since the weather did now cut off all exercise abroad, how she passed the time within. She said that all day she wrought with her needle, and that the diversity of the colors made the work seem less tedious, and she continued so long at it, till very pain bade her to give over. And with that, she laid her hand upon her left side, and complained of an old grief newly increased there. Upon this occasion she entered into a pretty disputable comparison between carving, painting, and working with the needle; affirming painting, in her own opinion, for the most commendable quality. With this she closed up her talk, and bidding me farewell, retired into her privy chamber.

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whatever might be their talking language, were secretly satisfied with the result, when each reflected on the consequences which might have followed from an uncompromised investigation. Each of the accusing and defending persons knew what individual share of the criminating transaction they had respectively performed; and as the probability is against all, that every one had more or less participated in the foreknowledge, plan, or preparation of the king's deposition, if not of his destruction; tho Bothwell and his accomplices only were the operating agents in the particular deed that was perpetrated; it was the best event for every one, that no more of the atrocious action was distinctly and judicially exposed to the public eye, than their mutual arraignments. Each denied the reciprocated charges, and all have thus descended to posterity with the attachment of the imputation upon their memory, but with the

'Of Cecil he learnt that she said, the secretary was her enemy; but when her passion was passed, said, that tho he was not her friend, yet she must say that he was an expert wise man; a maintainer of all good laws for the government of this realm, and a faithful servant to his mistress; wishing it might be her luck to get the friendship of so wise a man.'

Mr. White then adds his own opinion of her: 'If I might advise, there should be very few subjects of this land have access to this lady. For besides that she is a goodly personage, she hath an alluring grace, a pretty Scottish speech, and a searching wit, clouded with mildness. Fame might move some to relieve her, and glory joined to gain might stir others to adventure much for her sake. Her hair of itself is black, and yet Mr. Knollys told me that she wears hair of sundry colors.

'In looking upon her cloth of estate I noted this sentence: 'En ma fin, est mon commencement,' which is a riddle I understand not. She hath fifty persons in household, with ten horses. The bishop of Ross lay then three miles off in Burton-upon-Trent, with another Scottish lord.

'My lord of Shrewsbury is very careful of his charge, but the queen over-watches them all, for it is one of the clock at least every night ere she go to bed. The next morning I was up timely and viewing the seat of the house, which stands much like Windsor. I espied two halberd men without the castle wall, searching underneath the queen's bed-chamber window.' Lett. 26 Feb. 1569. Haines' State Papers, 509-12.

advantage of its being unsubstantiated by legal proof ; every one may therefore be vindicated by their friends as perseveringly and as plausibly, as emulous and active ingenuity can gratify itself by attempting.

The conduct of no sovereign and of no minister has been more fully laid open to us than that of Elizabeth and lord Burghley as to Scotland and its queen, up to the termination of this investigation ; and we see by the private and official papers and letters, that it was uniformly governed on these reasonable and patriotic principles ; that there should be no French army in Scotland ; that its religious reformation should be supported ; that its sovereign should be in amity with England ; that its national independence should continue undiminished, but that it should not be made an instrument for invading England, or for subverting its throne, or for endangering its Protestant establishment. The policy of the state secretary and of Elizabeth, were uniformly directed to these wise and equitable objects. With Mary, the English queen desired to be on a friendly footing, provided she discontinued her pretensions to her crown, and held no alarming intercourse with that portion of her subjects who desired a queen of the Romish faith, or with nobles who wished a sovereign whose facility or weakness they could govern to their own purposes. But when the Scottish queen had deviated from her nuptial honor ; had sanctioned conspiracies to depress her husband ; and if not actually engaged in concerting his destruction, yet had indulged passions and formed intimacies which led to it ; and after its perpetration had taken no steps to punish the assassins, but wilfully married,

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about two months afterwards, the principal murderer, and continued to adhere to him, to the sacrifice of her crown: when Mary had become this altered being, thus sadly changed in reputation, habits and moral feelings, and then suddenly came into the dominions of Elizabeth, claiming to be received and honored as a distinguished sovereign; it became imperious on the English cabinet and its illustrious head, to fulfil the antient Roman mandate to its appointed dictator, ‘Take care that the common weal receive no injury.’ A person who would do in Scotland what Mary, in the most forbearing view of her actions, had manifestly done there, must be supposed to be capable of yielding herself in England to such things and people as would most please her inclinations and promote her interests, without the usual restraints of a love for unblemished honor, a desire to preserve an unsuspected reputation, and a resolution to maintain the great principles of social probity. Neither of these qualities, which are our usual pledges to each other for our rectitude of conduct, and the foundations of our mutual confidence, had Mary proved herself to possess. Coming therefore into a country whose throne she had claimed against its present possessor; and with materials of combustion in every part, which foreign agents were striving to inflame, and for whose explosion a regal name and pretensions like Mary’s were peculiarly adapted, and to which such a character as she bore would make her a more favorable assistant; it was impossible that she could be received or treated otherwise than she was, consistently with the public security and with the common judgment of its

administrative guardians. We see by the despatches, that Elizabeth's immediate orders were to treat her with every respect, but that she would not compromise her own safety and personal honor, by receiving her with cordial gratulation and public state in her royal court. As a queen, she felt desirous to protect her against opposing nobles, unless her conduct had been such, that the public feeling would not allow the national force to be used in coercing the Scottish people to re-establish her, against the regency which they had appointed on behalf of her son.

The investigation was intercepted in its progress, after it had become manifest that she could not be acquitted nor justly re-established : and the continuation of her superintended residence in England became, though an undesirable, yet an unavoidable, measure. A severe imprisonment, or worse consequences, would have attended her return to her country ; and to have released her in order to go to France, was to incur the certainty of her returning to her island at the head of a French army, which could not fail to involve all the three countries in a dangerous and vindictive war. It was therefore the most salutary measure for all concerned, that Mary should remain as she was : and the candid moralist and soundest reasoner will not desire to contend that she deserved to be placed in a more favorable position. The ulterior results proved the wisdom of the decision ; Scotland has never since been, as she was always before, the instrument, often reluctant, but too frequently impelled, and the victim of French politics. No national hostilities between her and ourselves, afflicted either as before. Mary's child securely enjoyed his Scottish

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throne, and peacefully succeeded to Elizabeth's, as she had always wished. The Reformation has stood unshaken in both parts of the island; and a happy union has blended the population of each, into one general country of fraternal emulation, respect, kindness, progression, and prosperity. Scotsmen and Englishmen are now real brothers, and assisting friends in art, in arms, in science, in commerce, and in every thing which exalts the human intellect, which adorns our common nature, and which distinguishes its political society. Our national historiography, in each part of our island, no longer rests on individual kings or queens of doubtful character, or of imaginative merit. The translation of James from Holyrood House to Whitehall, began a new history for both countries, of a grander character than either had known before: and we are now partners in all the honor, fame, and power, which wise government, public spirit, high moral character, and peaceful and consistent conduct, can obtain or impart to either.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ One of the most important letters on the subject of Mary's guilt or innocence, appears to me to be that of the king's father, in July 1570, which Dr. Robertson published.

Mary had written from Chatsworth to his wife a letter on 10th July 1570, to know her opinion on the propriety of having James, the kingly infant, brought into England, in which she takes occasion to mention, 'You have not only as it were condemned me wrongfully, but so hated me, &c. hoping *with time*, to have my innocency known to you,' and prays heaven to 'cause you to know my part better than ye do.'

The countess sent this letter to her husband, who returned to his wife this answer:—

'Seeing you have remitted to me to answer the queen, the king's mother's letter sent to you, what can I say, but that I do not marvel to see her write the best she can for herself, to seem to purge her of that whereof many, besides me, are certainly persuaded of the contrary; and I, *not only assured by my own knowledge*, but by HER HAND-WRITING, the confessions of men gone to the death, and other

infallible experience. It will be a *long time* that is able to put a matter so notorious in oblivion; to make black, white; or innocence to appear where the contrary is so well known. The most indifferent, I trust, doubt not of the equity of your and my cause, and of the just occasion of our misliking. Her right duty to you and me, being the parties interested, were [would be] her true confession and unfeigned repentance of that lamentable fact, odious for her to be reported, and sorrowful for us to think of. God is just, and will not in the end be abused; but as he has manifested the truth, so will he punish the iniquity.

Dr. Robertson's remark on this is rational: 'In a private letter to his own wife, Lennox had no occasion to dissemble; and it is plain that he not only thought the queen guilty, but believed the authenticity of her letters to Bothwell.' Dissert.

This letter of Lennox, so decidedly expressing his own conviction, makes a great impression on my own mind. No one was so capable of judging whether the letters were genuine, because he was at Glasgow with his son at the time they were written; and as they contain several little private circumstances, was peculiarly qualified to know if these were true. This was a test which no after forgery could have stood. In the longest letter, she mentioned Lennox five times with peculiar circumstances.

'His father keeps his chamber. I have not seen him.'

'This day his father bled at the mouth and nose. Guess what message that is. I have not yet seen him. He keeps his chamber.'

'The lord of Luse came and met me. He said he was charged to one day of law by the king's father, which should be this day, against his own handwriting, which he has.'

'Four miles ere I came to the town, one gentleman of the *earl of Lennox* came and made his commendations unto me, and excused him that he came not to meet me, by reason that he durst not enterprise the same, because of the rude words that I had spoken to Cunningham.'

'The message of the father in the gate.'

Now, these five notices of Lennox were all on such marking facts relating to himself, as gave him the opportunity of correctly judging whether the letters were her compositions. He knew best whether these allusions to himself were true, and if they were, no distant forger was likely to have known them.

Did his messenger meet her precisely *at the gate*? Did he send him with that apology, and with that remark as to Cunningham, which is nowhere else mentioned? Did he charge the lord of Luse to attend on that particular day, and contrary to his own previous handwriting? Did his mouth and nose bleed on the day she wrote that letter? Did he then keep his chamber, and thereby not see her at that time?

These questions would put the genuineness of the letters to the severest trial; and his own letter to his wife, so fully asserting his conviction of Mary's guilt from her own *handwriting*, is evidence that her letters were not incorrect in these facts; and therefore I feel that his complete impression of her criminality is of the highest degree of evidence of it to us. He knew best what passed between her and his son on those critical days; and therefore, whether the other facts she mentions in the letters, of her conversations with him, and behaviour to him, were true or not. His belief of her guilt, and from her hand-

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writing, is therefore satisfactory evidence to me, that the main letter, containing these allusions, was not a forgery.

On the most impartial review of this contested question, it appears certain that Bothwell and his executed agents were the actual perpetrators of the king's murder. As to the nobles who have been implicated in it, my judgment inclines to think that Maitland, Huntley and Morton were fully privy to Bothwell's intention to destroy the unfortunate victim of their resentment or jealousy, and more or less concerned in it, tho they did not chuse to be among the operating instruments of the catastrophe. I believe that Murray knew of their machinations, but refused to join in them, and yet did nothing to oppose them, and did not apprise the sufferer of the danger or the fate which was impending over him. But tho the lords desired to remove Darnley, they did not intend to make Bothwell their king. Therefore when the queen determined to place him in her bed and throne, they united to expel him. As to Mary, with every wish not to be unfair or uncharitable towards her, I cannot avoid thinking that she brought the king from Glasgow to Edinburgh with a full knowledge and desire that he was to be got rid of by Bothwell and Maitland in some way or other; nor does it seem to me possible that she could have avoided the idea from occasionally occurring to her, that this would be violently done, if violence should be deemed expedient and practicable by Bothwell and his friends. As far, therefore, as the allusions in her celebrated letters, and as her expressions to Paris, in the most temperate and restricted construction of their meaning, imply her privy in the king's destruction, I cannot acquit her memory of this antient and unremoved imputation. But I am unwilling to believe that she knew of the actual mode, time and fact on which the murderous design was at last accomplished. Hence I would infer, that she could safely deny all foreknowledge and immediate participation of the blowing her husband up; tho she was aware that he would be destroyed without much delay in some way or other.

CHAP. XXV.

WAR BETWEEN HUGUENOTS AND CATHOLICS IN FRANCE— ELIZABETH'S OCCUPATION OF HAVRE-DE-GRACE.

THE sentence of extirpation which had been pronounced at Rome against the Protestant Reformation, and the concurring determination of the French and Spanish governments to execute it in their own dominions and elsewhere, brought Elizabeth reluctantly into a union with the Huguenots in France, as afterwards with the Netherlanders; because it became impossible that they should be extinguished, and that her nation and her throne could then be secure.¹ From this inveterate determination of the papacy, the queen of England was living in perpetual jeopardy from its increasing machinations;²

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¹ On all sides we meet with intimations of this Romish crusade against the Protestants. In one of Cecil's papers, in 1568, we find these notes from the secretary to our Spanish resident: 'Mr. Huggins brought news unto my lord ambassador, that the king of Spain was in great likelihood to make peace with the Turk, to aid the king of France, and to persecute with all his power ALL LUTHERANS where-soever they were, and that a commission was looked for very shortly from the pope, to invade ALL LUTHERANS' goods, and an interdiction for all that should meddle with them.' If in reading this, we ask, why did Philip stoop to be the vindictive arm of the papacy against the Reformation, one sentence in these notes forcibly implies the cause. On some request that had been made by the ambassador, the duke of Feria answered, 'THE KING could not grant it, BEING SUBJECT, AS OTHERS, TO THE INQUISITION.' Haines' State Papers, p. 472. By this terrible institution, which the Spanish kings had suffered to grow up, and which Rome had governed, the popes became the masters of the king of Spain; and sought to establish it in other countries, that they might by the same weapon govern their governments, as our third note will show that he subjected sovereigns to it.

² Hence Cecil marked it as one of the reasons, in 1565, why Elizabeth should marry the archduke Charles, not only because 'the

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Paul IV. had exhibited his resolution to urge this warfare against all the dignities of civil society, and to make the inquisition its interior instrument, in the same year in which Elizabeth acceded :³ and his successor, Pius IV. two years afterwards, not only sent his solicitations to the king of Poland to repress the heretical pestilence,⁴ but fixed his pontifical anathema on all the reformers of all descriptions, and in every country, as the last and lasting article of the Catholic profession of faith ;⁵ which therefore must be still a part of it, unless they no longer believe that the pope acting and speaking officially *ex cathedrâ* is infallible.⁶ The popedom

queen of Scots pretendeth title to the crown of England, and so did never foreign prince since the conquest, but as the 10th reason, because 'the pope also, and all his parties, are watching adversaries to the crown.' Haines' State Papers, p. 444. So strongly was the feeling of the courts under the papal influence, then pointed against this queen and England at that time, that even *the duke of Alva* was sharply written to from the king [of Spain] *for having written friendly* of England, that lost and undone kingdom [perdido y acabado reyno.] State Papers quoted in note 1. p. 472. To rebuke an Alva, merely for some favorable expression on England, is as striking an instance of implacable hostility as can be adduced.

³ On 13 Feb. 1558, Paul IV. addressed a brief to the inquisitor general, Valdes, in which he revived all the regulations of the councils and pontiffs, against heretics and schismatics. He commanded him to prosecute them, and to punish them according to the constitution ; above all, to DEPRIVE ALL SUCH PERSONS of their dignities and offices, *whether they were* bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals or legates, barons, counts, marquesses, dukes, PRINCES, KINGS OR EMPERORS.' Llorente, Hist. Inquisit. l. 1. c. 19. p. 185. English ed.

⁴ It was on 22 Feb. 1560, that Pius IV. wrote to Sigismund, 'Repress the pestilence of heretical pravity in your kingdom, expelle et ejice the heretics and their supporters ; even your familiars remove.' Le Plat Concil. Trid. v. 4. p. 618.

⁵ Luther, Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, Calvin. See it quoted in the next chapter, note 25.

⁶ Many of the Catholics of the present day have advanced so far, as to limit the infallibility of the pope to his *ex cathedrâ* acts. And the German and French clergy also maintain the superiority of general councils convened and decreeing with full technicality, to any opposing pontiff ; but when the pope commands and decides coin-

having settled in the mind and faith of the Roman Catholic church, and of its great-princes, this irreconcilable and perpetual hostility against all Protestant systems, governments, and nations, compelled thereby every state which preferred the reformed religion, to feel that they were existing like the antient Christians, under a general ban of intended extermination ; and therefore to seek and form those alliances with each other, which their common danger from one common enemy should, whenever it more actively pressed and threatened them, make expedient or indispensable. On this principle alone began, and for their mutual conservation only were continued, the intercourse and aids of Elizabeth to the denounced Huguenots of France, as soon as these were forced or fell into the position of maintaining, by their defensive sword, their religious belief and their persecuted lives.

The accession of Charles IX. in his tenth year occasioned the government to be in the hands of Catherine, and of her friends. These were principally of the reforming party, to which she then inclined herself,⁷ and this had become more numerous than had been known or anticipated.⁸ The first

cidingly with former councils, and especially in all such things as articles and professions of faith, I believe every Catholic must consider him to be infallible, and obey him as such, or will become a heretic whenever he adopts a contrary opinion.

⁷ Laboureur states, that ' the Catholic party accused her of leaning to the side of heresy ; and that if she was not inclined to it, she feigned it well ; but that she suffered herself to be instructed and governed by the duchess of Montpensier, a princess of great talents, infected with this venom, who died in August 1661 ; and that she was also led to it by the duchess of Savoy and the viscountess Rezes.' Lab. Castel. v. i. p. 283.

⁸ Castlenau's description of its progress is interesting, as that of an adversary and a statesman who was contemporary with what he deli-

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edicts had a peaceful and neutralizing tendency,⁹ and a conference was held on the disputed points.¹⁰

With the new year the royal permission was granted for the exercise of the Protestant religion,¹¹ and a peaceful interval for the fair progress of whatever

neates: 'A great portion of the lords and nobility of the kingdom was of this party, and favored the new religion; as, the king and queen of Navarre; the prince and princess of Condé; the admiral Chastillon. his brother D'Andelot, colonel of all the French infantry, and the cardinal Chastillon. The duke of Nemours, peer of France, and the duke of Longueville, were their friends. The chancellor de l'Hopital was wholly favorable to them, and many bishops, whom the pope excommunicated. Besides these, the other magistrates, minor officers, and people of all ranks, who were inclined to this religion, were in greater numbers than was thought.' p. 69.

To this statement we may add from Laboureur, also an enemy, that 'the *advantage of letters* was on the side of these religionists, who for this reason, and from ignorance, and from the libertine and dissolute life of many even of the highest of the clergy, circulated *the poison* of their bad doctrine.' p. 275. But what must be the true character of that power and system which could seek to destroy such a mass of the most noble, the most intellectual, and of so many of all the other conditions of life, as pestilential heretics?

⁹ For the past, 'une generale abolition.' It was expressly forbidden 'des'injurier ny mal faire sous ombre de religion.' Preachers were not to excite to sedition; neither public nor private assemblies were to be held, and only the Roman religion was to be exercised. The whole was provisionally remitted to a general council. Castlenau, p. 68.

¹⁰ This was 'le Colloque de Poissis,' of which Castlenau, who was one of the active diplomatists of that day, states the issue to have been, that it only occasioned those who heard it, and others, to doubt about their faith. He thinks that discussions favor heresies, and that it is best, like the Mussulman, and the czar of Muscovy, to prohibit all disputations on religion. p. 73. The Romish church afterwards adopted this Mussulman policy, as we have already remarked in our previous note in ch. XV. vol. 3.

¹¹ It was made 17th January 1561, permitting Protestants to exercise their religion outside of towns, and without arms, enjoining all to se comporter modestement. Castel. 75. The parliament awhile resisted it, but after three royal commands agreed to legalize it. The effect was, 'The ministers preached more boldly; some in the fields; others in gardens, or in old halls and buildings, or barns, because they were forbidden to build churches. The curious people flocked thither from all sides. The sermons were in French, and usually began on the abuses of the church, which no prudent Catholic would defend. But they proceeded to invectives, added prayers to their sermons, and then sang the Psalms in French rhymes, with music and fine voices.' p. 76.

should be right and reasonable, was quietly gliding¹² to the mutual improvement of all;¹³ but the French hierarchy were most deeply and personally interested to disturb this social harmony, from its increasing results to themselves.¹⁴ Unfortunate violences at Vassy began a tempest of evil which shook France, and involved other kingdoms in Europe in quarrel, danger and suffering.¹⁵ The reformed party would

¹² Castelnau's criticism on the French reformed clergy is: 'If they had been more grave, and more learned, and of better life, or the greatest part of them, they would have had more followers. But they chose at the outset to blame all the ceremonies of the Roman church, and to administer the sacrament in their fashion, without preserving the moderation which many Protestants observe; as those of England and Germany, who have retained the names of curates, deacons, sub-deans, canons and deans, and wore surplices and long robes, which led the people to an honorable reverence.'

¹³ Castelnau observes, that these opponents induced the Catholic bishops, and other ecclesiastics, to take more care of their flocks and duties; to study the Scriptures, 'à l'envy des ministres Protestans,' and to preach oftener. The jesuit and mendicant orders went thro the towns and villages, and private houses, exhorting every one against the Protestant doctrine, p. 78. Exertions like these must have been serviceable to the general advancement, and neither party ought to have been allowed to go beyond this mental competition. It was unfortunate for human welfare that the sword of violence should have been resorted to.

¹⁴ One single fact, mentioned by Henault, sufficiently implies what consequences would have ensued as to the temporal wealth and power of the French papal church, if reforming ideas had spread wider, or gained more proselytes. 'Charles IX. published fresh letters patent in 1561, to compel all the beneficed clergy in the kingdom to *give in an estimate of the income of their livings*; but these letters were revoked.' Hen. Abridg. p. 413. We here see the real cause of all the Romish hostility to Protestantism. It was because it led to a diminution of the worldly advantages of the possessioned church, that it was so severely attacked by the existing possessors.

¹⁵ The French statesman's account of this event, which brought on all the conflicts that followed, *as the duke of Guise* often told it to him, comprises these circumstances. On 1 March 1562, the duke of Guise went to dine at Vassy, where about 700 Protestants, of all ages, were listening to a sermon in a barn. Some of his officers, curious to hear it, went to the door, when some words began. Those keeping the door threw stones, and called the duke's people papists and idolaters. His followers came up. The congregation came out, and both sides fought. He went from his dinner to appease the tumult, and with his cloak parried the stones thrown at him. The issue was, that several

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not believe it to have been accidental: and as the king of Navarre had been allured to desert them, and to unite with the Guises and the constable,¹⁶ they dreaded the effect of such a menacing coalition, and treasonably surprised and occupied the city of Orleans.¹⁷ On this intemperate violence, an immediate persecution was too eagerly begun at Paris against them,¹⁸ and they unwisely resolved to have recourse to arms;¹⁹ a massacre of their friends by some soldiers at Sens, completed their excitement,²⁰ and the court revoking the edict in their favor, and calling out the gend'armerie,²¹ they burst into insurrection and possessed themselves of many places, astonishing the government by their numbers, power and successes.²² The papal nuncio pressed for their extermination before they became

of the Protestants were killed, and, as he said, to his great regret. p. 82. This is the relation of the chief actor. The representations of the sufferers made it a designed attack, with a large massacre; and terminated all peaceful confidence between the two parties for several generations.

¹⁶ Castelnau, 28. The pope's legate had managed 'fort dextrement' to bring this about. He allured the king with hope that Spain would restore him the kingdom of Navarre if he became Catholic, and with the threat, that if he did not, he would lose the succession to that of France, as Julius II. had deposed the ancestor of his wife. ib. 79.

¹⁷ Castel. 85. This was done by D'Andelot. It contained a great number of Protestants. ib.

¹⁸ Their places of worship, without the walls of Paris, were burnt down. Some ministers were killed, others imprisoned: Many elsewhere were arrested to intimidate others, and several were terrified into conversion. Castel. 85.

¹⁹ They met at Orleans, and chose Condé for their chief, who accepted the office. Besides the nobility before mentioned, Castelnau mentions on their side the count de Rochefoucault, and the noble families of Rohan de Bretagne, de Genlis, de Montgomerie, Grammont, Soubise, Morey, Piennes, and many other lords. p. 86, 7.

²⁰ Ib. 89. This was imputed to the cardinal Lorraine, who was the archbishop of the place. ib.

²¹ Ib. 90. The troops were ordered to be ready by the 15 May, and commissions were issued to levy infantry, and appointing captains.

²² Castel. 90.

stronger;²³ reconciliation became every day less practicable; and the civil warfare raged with alternate success. The king of Navarre fell in besieging Rouen for the Catholic party,²⁴ but the battle of Dreux, tho producing the balancing advantage of the commanders-in-chief of both forces being taken prisoners by their opponents, yet giving by that event the supreme command of the Catholic forces to the abler duke of Guise, occasioned them to derive from it all the fruits and effects of an inspiring and strengthening victory.²⁵

²³ So the queen mother declared. Castel. p.92. He was the cardinal de Ferrara. p. 96. On 22 July 1562, sir N. Throckmorton apprised the lords of the council, from Paris, that the pope 'hath lent these, his champions and friends, 100,000 crowns, and doth monthly pay besides 6000 soldiers.' Forbes' St. Pap. 2. p. 4. Such was the disposition of Spain to the same cause, that sir Thomas Chaloner, on 1 May 1562, wrote from that country, 'They devise how the Guisans may be assisted by them, esteeming for religion's sake, that the prevailment of that side importeth them as the ball of their eye.' Haines' St. Pap. p. 382. Lord Leicester's letter of 30 October intimates, that if Elizabeth had assisted earlier, 'it might have safely defended.' ib. 155.

²⁴ Cust. 106-8. He was wounded 19 October, and died 17 Dec. 1592. ib. The Duke of Guise took the city. Castelnau was there. The English letters, in Forbes' State Papers, 117-127, describe many incidents of this siege. It was taken 26 October. p. 143.

²⁵ See before, p. 16, note 57. The Catholics had 16,000 men, and the Protestants but 12,000 men. Castel. 125. Sir N. Throckmorton described the conflict at length in his despatch to the queen on 3 January. The prince resolved to pass the Dure at Dreux, and the constable and duke of Guise moved to prevent him. The battle began at noon, and lasted till night. The admiral led the vanguard, and defeated the battalions of the constable, who was shot in his lower lip with a pistol, and taken prisoner. The prince then charged the duke's division, and was taken. Our ambassador praised highly the conduct of Guise, 'Surely he behaved himself like a great and valiant captain. He may challenge to himself that day's victory, for his footmen remained lords of the field, and kept their place. He encamped over the dead bodies. Albeit, the admiral, with his force, went not far from thence that night.' Throckmorton saw the battle, and retired to Nogent, but was detained and sent to the duke, with whom he had several conferences, which he describes. Lett. in Forbes, 251-9. After the battle the comparative forces were, 'The admiral had better than 5000 horse, and not past 2000 foot very evil armed. The duke has 3000 horse, and 16,000 footmen.' ib. 259.

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But as the Huguenots suffered, the English government became more alarmed for its national safety.²⁶ Its wishes for a pacification between the contending parties; its anxiety for its own security; and the probable consequence of inflaming all Christendom, if councils of violence and the 'extraordinary exaltation of the house of Guise' to enforce them, should be confirmed in France, were calmly stated to the French envoy.²⁷ But as no conciliating interferences of the English cabinet produced any mitigation of the evil, the queen resolved to grant to the endangered Huguenots, the aid they asked.²⁸ She made a frank and unambiguous statement of her fair objects in this measure, to the Spanish court;²⁹ avowing that she meant to take possession of those harbors in Normandy, from which England could be invaded by the papal party, but declaring her intentions not to retain them beyond

²⁶ In Cecil's private memorial, in July 1562, 'Of the perils growing upon the overthrow of the prince of Condé's cause; we read, 'Whosoever thinketh that relenting in religion will assuage the Gwysian's aspirations, they are far deceived. For two appetites will never be satisfied, but with the thing desired. The desire to have such a kingdom as England and Scotland may make united, and the *cruel appetite of a pope* and his adherents to have his authority re-established fully, without any new danger of attempt.' Forb. State Papers, 2. p. 6.

²⁷ The written reasonings that were prepared for an answer to him are in Forbes, 16-20. A verbal communication of them was made, as we learn from Elizabeth's letter to Cath. de Medicis, of 17 Aug. 1562. *ib.* p. 20. Throckmorton was instructed to express a similar representation to her. See his instructions, p. 22-5. His after letters describe the military movements of the two parties. *ib.* 26-32. 35, 36-44.

²⁸ Her order for troops to march to Portsmouth and Rye, is dated 11 Sept. 1562. Forbes, p. 44. The convention between her and the prince of Condé, of 20 Sept. is in Forbes, p. 48-51.

²⁹ Her letter to the king of Spain was dated 22 Sept. 'We are constrained contrary to our own disposition toward quietness, for the *surety of us, our crown and realm*, to put a reasonable number of our subjects in defensible force; and by that means to preserve *such ports as be next unto us from their possession* [of the house of Guise] without intent of offence to the king.' Forbes, 54.

the period of danger, and the re-delivery of Calais according to the covenanted stipulation.²⁰ She limited her defensive movements strictly to these protecting purposes;²¹ and pledged herself to recal her forces when peace was re-established in France, and the town of Calais should be restored as the treaty specified.²² On these principles she published a declaration of her political motives,²³ and sent a naval armament to Havre de Grace, then called Newhaven, under the earl of Warwick; when the Huguenot chiefs delivered it, as they had agreed, peaceably into their possession.²⁴ This aid to the

²⁰ She added, 'Until we may see these divisions compounded, or at least them of Guise, *whom only* we have cause to doubt, out of arms in the parts of Normandy next to us. And so we mean to direct our actions; as, without any injury or violence to the French king, or any of his subjects, we intend to live in good peace with the said French king, and to save our realm, in this convenient time, our right to Calais with surety.' Forbes, 54.

²¹ 'Our good brother! This is our disposition and intent. We mean to do no person wrong, but to provide and foresee how the apparent dangers to our estate may be diverted.' *ib.* 54.

²² *ib.* 55. 'In so doing, we assure you, that we shall be found most ready to revoke our forces, and to live, as we did before these troubles, in full and perfect rest.' *ib.* This same letter in Latin is in p. 55-7.

²³ See its drafts in English and French, in Forbes, p. 69-80. It was printed also at Rouen. *ib.* 83. Castelnau was at Havre, and briefly describes these incidents. p. 103, 4.

²⁴ The troops were embarked at Portsmouth on 28 Sept. 1562, to sail that day to Havre. Letter of sir A. Poyning. Forbes, p. 81. They sailed early on 3 Oct. but could not land till the evening of the 4th: 'our coming being very joyful to the whole town.' *ib.* 88. 'The first arrival was 4000 men, to be followed by as many more, with 1200 cavalry.' *ib.* 96. Lord Warwick reached it with his supplies on 29 Oct. His letter of 30th, p. 158. He did not find it strong. Fifty Scottish horse had come to offer him their service. 'This nation he counted the best discoverers in the world,' p. 160; or to reconnoitre. Warwick was lord Leicester's brother. His public orders to his troops there were issued on 10 Nov. The first of these was, 'That all captains and soldiers do duly resort to the church to prayer and preaching upon those days that are appointed to the same: namely, upon Wednesday and Friday, betwixt nine and ten in the forenoon; and upon Sunday at the same hour in the forenoon, at three of the clock in the afternoon, except such as be appointed to ward.' Forbes, p. 181.

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Protestant party was the more important, as Spanish forces were assisting their more powerful opponents.³⁵ Attempts for reconciliation failed; and the duke of Guise pursuing his success, besieged Orleans,³⁶ with every probability of taking it, till he was basely assassinated by a young man from Lyons, as he was riding from the camp to the place he lodged at.³⁷ This revolting catastrophe, and the presence of English forces in France in support of the reformers, brought on that peace, which had before been unattainable. The Protestant party obtained, on 19th March, an edict of pacification highly favorable to their cause:³⁸ and the forces of the kingdom were then directed to expel the English from Havre, without the restitution of Calais.³⁹ The place was not found to be long defen-

³⁵ Sir N. Throckmorton, on 14 December, reported that 2500 Spaniards had assisted to force the prince of Condé to raise his siege of Paris. Forbes, p. 126.

³⁶ 'Against the advice of many at the court, who wished him to go into Normandy, and frustrate the admiral's plans.' Castel. p. 135.

³⁷ Throck. lett. of 1 March. He was wounded on 18 February, and died the 24th. Forbes, 343. The man, Poltrot, rode off, but was taken next day; he was about nineteen or twenty years old. The duke, after he felt the blow in his shoulder, called to a gentleman who was passing him in a furred cloak, to give it him because he was hurt, and then rode in all haste as fast as he could towards Paris. Lett. 26 February, p. 339. The murderer, when taken, declared, 'very assuredly, that it was he who shot the pistol with a resolute intent to kill him, moved and solicited thereunto only by his own zeal to revenge the tyranny which the duke had committed against the Christians, and was like to exercise if he might have any long life; and this was, said he, the end provided for all insolent and tyrannical princes.' Forb. p. 343. He had come dressed like a horse soldier on a Spanish jennet, pretending to have a communication of importance to the duke, but instead of a letter, drew from under his long cloak the pistol, and fired it on his shoulder. Warw. lett. p. 345. The Huguenots disavowed the crime, and the admiral declared it to be a wicked action. Castel. p. 145.

³⁸ Hen. Abrid. 415. Castelnau describes and justifies the peace as a wise and needful measure, tho the furious papists opposed it. p. 153.

³⁹ Castelnau describes the siege and its result, p. 154-9. The succors

sible, and was at length surrendered to the French government, and peace was again restored between the two countries.⁴⁰ Elizabeth had fully gained her real object. She had saved the Huguenots, and averted the danger from her own country and its adopted faith. For these points only she had armed, and both Havre and Calais were but minor and subordinate considerations.

that came to keep it for England longer, arrived two days after its capitulation. The French entered it 31 July 1562. *ib.* 160.

⁴⁰ The negotiation was carried on at Troyes, and the final treaty of peace published there on 13 April 1563. 'Avec grande allegresse de leurs magistes et de toute la cour.' Castel. 169.

CHAP. XXVI.

CONTINUED EFFORTS OF THE POPES AGAINST PROTESTANTISM—THE EXERTIONS OF PIUS IV. TO EXTERMINATE IT IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

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THE determination of the popedom, and of the leaders of the hierarchy, to exterminate those opposing opinions which it termed heresies, and those professors and promoters of the diffusing reformation, whom it branded as heretics, descended unabated from pontiff to pontiff during the sixteenth century. The successor of Leo, Adrian VI. in 1522, called upon the electors and princes of Germany, if Luther would not return to the right way, to visit him with the rod of severity.¹ He reminded them, that cancerous ulcers were to be cured by fiery cauteries, and alienated limbs to be entirely cut off from the body.² To prevent the supposition that he spoke only in the metaphors of rhetoric, he assured them that two Greek emperors had taken off heretics by the sword;³ and as their own ancestors had put Huss and Jerome to a due death,⁴ he did not

¹ '*Severitatis virga animadvertis.*' Ep. Had. 6, in Le Plat Monum. v. 2. p. 143. It is dated 25th November 1522.

² '*Aspera erunt et ignita cauteria adhibenda; et abalienata membra ab integro corpore penitus resecanda.*' ib.

³ '*Sic veteres et pii imperatores, Jovinianum et Priscilianum, hæreticos gladio seculi sustulerunt.*' ib.

⁴ '*Sic majores vestri de J. Hussite et Hieronymo P. debitas sumpserunt pœnas.*' ib.

doubt that, if requisite, they 'would imitate these holy and illustrious deeds.'⁶ He desired his authorized agent to mention to the German potentates, that some of their ancestors had even 'with their own hands led Huss to the fire' which destroyed him.⁶ He intreated the Bambergers to consider Luther's doctrines to be 'diabolical;' to have the same horror of them and of their authors as of hell;⁸ and to treat the books which stated them, as poisoned things, which were neither to be read nor listened to.⁹ The language of the next pontiff, Clement VII. two years afterwards to the emperor, is as decided.¹⁰ It stigmatized Luther as a lost and wicked wretch, and averred it to be of great moment that his heresy should be *extirpated*.¹¹

The next pope, Paul III., exhibited the same feelings in his attempt to depose Henry VIII. for his heresy,¹² in his congratulatory letter to Charles V. on his capturing the duke of Saxony;¹³ and in send-

⁶ 'Quorum sancta et præclara gesta, si etiam hac in parte (ubi aliter fieri nequent) fueritis imitati, non dubitamus, quin Divina Clementia ad eundem—sensus et corda vestra inspiret.' ib.

⁶ He instructs his nuncio F. Cheregat, to tell them, that if they did not exert themselves they would degenerate from their progenitors, 'quorum aliqui ipsum J. Huss, propriis manibus, ad ignem duxisse dicuntur.' Instructio Had. in Le Plat, v. 2. p. 146.

⁷ 'Doctrinam istorum perniciosissimam, perfidam, blasphemam, diabolicam.' Breve. Had. ad Bamberg, ib. 151.

⁸ 'Cum suis auctoribus, tanquam infernum horreatis.' ib.

⁹ Ib. 151.

¹⁰ 'Nefarius et perditus Lutherus.' Ep. Clem. to Chas. V. Le Plat, p. 213, dated 27th Jan. 1534.

¹¹ 'Initio magnum momentum agi extirpandæ illius hæresis.' ib. We have already mentioned, in our note in ch. xv. vol. 3. that it was made a systematic policy of the Romish hierarchy, to speak of Protestants and their opinions with these general and reviling invectives.

¹² 'Paolo III. giudicando per queste sue nuove heresie indegno Henrico del nome Christiano, in consistorio publico lo s'communico é privò del titolo regio e di ogni sua potestà.' Oner. Panuin. p. 569.

¹³ He impresses on the emperor that his victory not only represses

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ing to the emperor a military force, under his legate and brother, to act with his army against the Protestants; ¹⁴ which proved a very seasonable assistance in defeating them, ¹⁵ to the great delight of the pope. ¹⁶ The wars in Italy and Germany between France and the emperor, prevented Julius III. from uniting these two great princes in any league to destroy the Reformation, to which both, after all their vacillations, ultimately inclined; ¹⁷ and the accession of Mary in England opened an easier way to its suppression in that country, whose defection had most shaken the papal see. But Paul IV. whose severe and cruel

the 'germina impietatis,' 'but may utterly extirpate all its evils.' That he has now got 'the head and origin of the crime and wickedness' in his power. That Heaven destroyed Pharaoh by slaying him 'extremo exitio,' when he became incorrigible. That the duke was worse than Pharaoh, 'Pharaone deterior,' and was now delivered into his hands expressly to be made to feel, not the laws which reward the good, but those which propound 'the punishment of their crimes to the impious and the nefarious.' Epist. Pauli, dated 30th May 1547. Le Plat, v. 3. p. 644. Charles, however, would not put the duke to death, as the pontiff wished.

¹⁴ 'Havea papa Paulo mandato, per esser guerra contra Lutherani, e per amicitia, tre valorosissime legioni, d'Italiani; e 600 cavalli leggieri; e il cardinale suo fratello legato.' ib. 585.

¹⁵ 'Che giunsero molto in quel bisogno a tempo.' ib.

¹⁶ 'Molto si rallegra di questa vittoria il papa,' and especially because it was a war in favor of religion, and that he had sent succors to it. Onef. Pan. p. 583, 4.

¹⁷ One of the closing acts of the life of Charles V. in its declining imbecility, displays him also in the form of an *exterminator*; and may account in some degree for that character becoming so fully assumed by his son; thus evincing the universality of that system of extirpating the Protestants on which the Catholic hierarchy and its supporters had determined. On his codicil, written *twelve days before his death*, Charles V. after reciting that he had caused many persons to be arrested for Lutheranism, adds, 'particularly desirous to inspire my son with the wish of imitating my conduct, I beg and *command him*, in my quality of father, to labor with all diligence, that the heretics be prosecuted and chastised, *with all the severity* which their crimes deserve, *without permitting any criminal to be excepted*; and without any respect for the intreaties, or rank, or quality of the persons.' Sandoval's Hist. Charles V. Llorente Hist. Inq. p. 173.

mind¹⁸ led him to procure for Rome the misery of the inquisition in that city,¹⁹ roused and supported the English queen to exterminate heresy and heretics in her kingdom by the burnings and persecutions, which she obediently enforced.²⁰ He left imprisoned at his death, in his own capital, many persons of consequence, on the suspicion of heresy, whom he had grievously afflicted :²¹ and whom his successor, Pius IV. (chosen four months afterwards,²²) with less acrimonious feelings in their individual case, or disbelieving the imputation, had the liberality to release.²³ But this pope soon rebuilt that dreaded inquisitorial mansion, which the Roman people had rushed to destroy as soon as they knew that Paul IV. had expired ;²⁴ and made the anathema of Luther, and of all the reformers, and of all that they taught, a part of his required profession of faith.²⁵ From

¹⁸ His Catholic biographer, Onofrio Panunio, so describes him ' in molte delle cose troppo severo per non dir crudo.' Vit. Pont. p. 606.

¹⁹ This trait sufficiently proves the applicability of the preceding epithets, tho his historian admires it too much to make it an illustration of them : ' It was principally he who persuaded Paul III. to institute the tribunal of the inquisition [in Italy,] that they might chastise the Lutheran heretics, whose pestilence had now spread thro all Italy, and was infecting not only the laity, but also many religious persons.' ib. Panunio, however, admits that, being elected to be head of this tribunal, he did exercise the office ' con grande acerbezza.' ib. The tyranny with which he used this merciless institution is evidenced by his putting cardinal Morone into its prison, whom the next pope released, and confidentially employed as his predecessors had done.

²⁰ See before.

²¹ Molte persone d'importanza ch'erano da Paulo IV. state per sospettione d'heresia ; e di carcere e d'altre pene gravementi afflitte.' Onef. Pan. p. 621.

²² Paul. IV. died 18th August 1559, and Pius IV. was ' eletto 29 Dicembre.' Onef. 617.

²³ Onef. 621.

²⁴ See before, ch. 18. vol. 3.

²⁵ The last article of his ' Professio Fidei, in 1560 is, ' ANATHEMA to the heresiarchs of this age ; to Luther, to Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, Calvin, and others, and to all their followers, and to all other heretics.' Le Plat, Mon. Trid. v. 4. p. 650.

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papers and verbal phrases, he proceeded to actual hostilities against them. When the king of France, on preparing to take the field against his subjects who claimed liberty of conscience, solicited the pontiff's pecuniary aid, Pius required the revocation of all his edicts on religion, because they showed some favor to the Huguenots, and that others should be made according to his mind ;²⁶ and he declared that he would contribute to no wars, except those for religion and against heretics.²⁷ He was displeased that the French sovereign should invite Elizabeth and the Protestant princes to send their representatives to the council of Trent, because they might influence it in favor of the Reformation ;²⁸ and we find the important fact, that he was supplying various Catholic states with money, in order to enable them to withstand the Protestant spirit which was rising

²⁶ The French ambassador at Rome, De Lisle, on 29th May 1562, described his interview with the pope. Pius complained of the sum as being excessive, 200,000 crowns; and declared, 'If his majesty wished to avail himself of his aid, he could do so, provided he revoked all his last edicts, which were half Huguenot and half Catholic; and instead of these, there should be some made according to the meaning and opinion of his holiness.' Le Plat, v. 5. p. 189.

²⁷ He said he would not by any means contribute to the expenses of war, *unless* it was made for religion, and *against heretics*, and not against rebels only, who seemed to him to be the only persons comprised in the king's edict.' *ib.*

²⁸ The pope 'refused to give more than 100,000 crowns as a gift, payable in three months, but would lend 100,000 more on good securities at Rome. When the French envoy urged that his king's enterprise would require an extraordinary expense, Pius answered, 'He would not add to it,' and declared that the French minister at the council of Trent seemed to be ambassador from the Huguenots, he was requiring such strange and new things on religion. Among others he had proposed that the queen of England, the Swiss Protestant cantons, and the dukes of Saxony and Wirtemberg, should be invited to the council. These, he said, were his enemies, and rebels, and could not be called or received there, because their intention would be to corrupt it, and to make it Huguenot as far as they could; and, if they could, overpower his authority and forces.' *ib.* 194.

up in so many parts of Europe.²⁹ So he authorised both the French and Spanish kings to take part of the ecclesiastical property, for the purpose of applying it to crush the multiplying reformers.³⁰ Thus Pius IV. fed the wars that were making for the destruction of those, whose reformed opinions were acknowledged, even by their persecutors at that very time, to have arisen from the corruptions of the existing Catholic church;³¹ and who were so numerous in France, that the king felt he could not proceed to take them off by force, without putting his own crown in peril.³² This pontiff had his eye so fixed on military violence, that he sent his auditor into Spain, to persuade Philip to assist the attack on the Huguenots, and to form a league with the papacy

²⁹ The pope added, 'As to the resources of the church, they were not sufficient; his state and patrimony have need of new munitions. The duke of Savoy is asking for aids in money. The day before, an ambassador had come from the Swiss, with the same request. In fine, the church was assailed in so many places, that he must distribute his finances with some measured proportion.' *ib.* 195.

³⁰ On 17th November 1560, sir N. Throckmorton wrote from Orleans: 'M. de Ferme, who went to Rome, is returned with the pope's grant for the taking of 100,000 crowns of the spiritual revenue to be sold. The consideration of this grant, and the like to the king of Spain, is, as I am informed, that the money made thereof be employed against the Protestants and heretics as they call them.' 'The pope hath granted to the said king licence to sell 50,000 crowns of spiritual revenue, the profits whereof will arise to, at the least, two millions of crowns.' *Hard. Stat. Pap.* 1. p. 141, 142.

³¹ Thus, in April 1562, it was a part of the instructions of the government of Charles IX. to its ambassadors at the council, that they shall show 'que les principales causes des troubles de la religion ont pris naissance des abus, que l'on voit au ministere de l'église, par la corruption de la discipline et des mœurs des ministres d'icelle église.' *Instr. in Le Plat*, v. 5. p. 151.

³² 'If it be objected that the king tolerates heresy, they will answer, that 'he found at his accession the diversity of opinions of religion impressed on the minds d'un grand nombre de ses sujets, that he thinks at his age he cannot 'encore les tollir par force, sans mettre sa couronne et son état en trop grand peril.' *ib.* 155.

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benefited the world by those religious meliorations of discipline, system and doctrine, which would have been most congenial with scriptural truth, with the progression of the human intellect, and with the virtues and happiness of individual life. The path was still open to the improvements which every one felt to be desirable, and which no one would have resisted if they had not clashed with their worldly interests and emoluments: for altho the kings of Portugal and Spain talked the language of bigotry,⁴⁰ yet they and the other powers were so sensible that some reformation of their church system was indispensable, that each power presented and urged to the council of Trent its own plans and propositions for effecting it.⁴¹ If the instructions sent by the French government for its consideration, in 1562, by

⁴⁰ Thus Sebastian of Portugal, by his mandate of 28 Sept. 1561, declares the appointment of his ambassador at Trent to be 'for the extirpation of heresies.' *Le Plat*, v. 5. p. 24. And we learn from the despatch of the French ambassador at Venice, in Nov. 1562, that 'on Auzances taking leave, the Catholic king [Philip II.] said to him, that there were men near to his sovereign [Charles IX.] who wished to bring him up in his young age in the religion of the Protestants; and if no one would interfere to hinder this, he would, and very soon; as some desired to embroil all the world under this pretext; but he would anticipate them, and embroil it beforehand.' *Lett. in Du Plat*, p. 571.

⁴¹ Sebastian caused 103 articles of the reforms he desired to be presented to it; *ib.* 78-92; acknowledging that the 'abusum et corruptelam' had occasioned the heresy. p. 79. So the emperor Ferdinand, in 1562, after stating strongly that the 'morum turpitudine in clero,' peculiarly nourished heresy, (p. 235) pressed 14 topics of emendation on the attention of the council, (p. 237-245,) which were afterwards particularized into 57 articles, (p. 264-8,) to which his *arcane literæ* added others. p. 694-703. In Sept. 1562 the Spanish bishops exhibited their 54 *petita circa reformationem*. p. 564-6. About the same time the bishops of Italy exhibited their 77 *postulata circa reformationem generalem*. See these also in *Le Plat*, p. 614-619. Other 'Patres' at the council collected 85 *statuenda* of corrections and improvements (606-14;) and the French ambassadors were zealously pressing their court's projects of melioration. See *Laussac's Letters in Le Plat*, vol. 5.

the cardinal of Lorraine, which comprised substantially most of the corrections which the Protestants desired,⁴² had been adopted; the basis for a fair and permanent conciliation would have been laid, which the wise and good might have made a band of sacred brotherhood and peace for all Christendom: but the pope, instead of welcoming him as an harmonizing ambassador, set episcopal spies upon him,⁴³ and endeavored to find out his weaknesses or master passion, to learn how to govern him to his wishes.⁴⁴ At this moment some of the Guises were friendly to the Reformation;⁴⁵ and the cardinal so far partook the feelings of this part of his family, and of national independence, that he insisted at Trent on several ecclesiastical alterations, and on the retrenchment of the papal power as to the French church establish-

⁴² These are signed both by Charles and his mother, Catherine de Medicis; by Guise, Montmorency, and by François de Lorraine; by l'Hopital and Charles de Bourbon; and order him 'requirer et insister a la reformation de l'église universelle; a ce que le service divin soit pur; *toutes superstitions rescindées et rejetées; les cérémonies corrigées, et toutes autres choses, dont sous espèce de piété le peuple peut être trompé.*' Le Plat, p. 561. Many analogous requisitions are added.

⁴³ The cardinal felt that he was in this state; for on 27 Nov. 1562, he apprised his king, 'The pope sent expressly to me at Bresse the bishop of Montefrascone, and a week ago, the prelate of Viterbo, to be always near me; and, as I believe, to watch my actions.' Le Plat, 5. p. 569.

⁴⁴ De Lisle informed the queen mother, 'The bishop of Viterbo intimates that he has great means of governing the cardinal, and will soon discover all his intentions. Hence the pope sends him to Trent with this hope. One of his ways will be to oppose to him a good number of monks and obstinate theologians, to contradict him; and then, when they have sufficiently provoked him, the bishop will console him, and feign to be extremely displeased with them.' ib. 570.

⁴⁵ Bayle quotes the 'Reponse a l'épître du Card. Lorraine,' which states him to have mentioned, 'that he knew his sister Mad. de Guise was of the reformed religion, and had her son previously instructed in it; that his brother Aumale had favored the Huguenot churches of Burgundy and Champagne, and he had burnt the informations which had been made against the Protestants since the declarations of the peace.' Bayle Dict. v. 2. p. 1434.

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ment;⁴⁶ and to his private confidant he did not hesitate to declare his personal disbelief, even of the pontiff's vicarial dignity, and supreme episcopal authority.⁴⁷—Tho he chose to force others afterwards

⁴⁶ See the French letters and papers in *Le Plat*, vol. 5; and see his 13 articuli, given in by him to the council on 13 March 1563, p. 719-25.

⁴⁷ His confidential letter of 14 January 1563, to Breton, his secretary and agent at Rome, introduces us a little into the interior mind of this sanguinary opponent of the French reformers. 'Go and kiss the feet of his holiness for me, and thank him for his favour to me, on the abbey of Cluny and Marmoustier. I hope that I, and those with me, whom he has obliged, will so acquit themselves for his service and heaven's, that he will have no reason to reproach us. I am so particularly obliged to him, that I will exert all my life to do him and his most humble service.' *Le Plat*, v. 5. p. 653.

Thus far the pope had gratified his personal interest, and thereby secured his support. Yet he goes on to say of the council and of the pontiff: 'I could not have thought that I should have seen such a great contradiction of things good and holy. Heaven is certainly very highly angry with us, and if its displeasure be not appeased, we shall soon see a great schism and ruin in the ministers of the church. There is great need that his holiness should think well about it; for all those who, both here and at Rome, call themselves great defenders of the apostolic see, are under this cloak overturning it; some thinking to get a cardinal's hat, and others by these tumults and vexations to shorten his days, and get a new papacy, instead of retaining the provinces which are shaking, and of recalling those which are lost.' *ib.* 654.

'These disputes will only end in losing France, and thereby the *'peu d'obéissance'* which remains to the see of Rome. Evil will come, but I am innocent of it. I desire to do service to his holiness. I would shed all my blood for the authority of the holy see; but only so far as the truth shall be found there, and that I can do it avec ma conscience. But I am not come here to overthrow a kingdom of France; to lose my reputation and to damn myself. You will put this in Italian, and read it to him. The world is larger than the city. We seek a better and more perfect world, and expect it. They do little good who add one word after another to the glory and authority of the holy see, and yet have alienated a most noble kingdom, and indeed kingdoms, from its obedience.' *ib.* 654.

He then proceeds to the topics at that moment in dispute in the council; and then inserting a marginal note, that his agent is to let the pope see no more of his letter; he adds, 'I confess that I am entirely averse from that opinion, as to say that the pope is the only or true vicar of Christ; for all the bishops and curates are vicarii Christi; as the holy martyrs and pontifical successors of St. Peter have taught. I will never confess, *'si l'église ne le définit,'* that episcopacy is but in one [unus] and that Peter was this one, and from him all: and that the other apostles were not bishops but thro him. I hold these propositions to be false, and in my judgment will assent to none of these things. I cannot admit that the bishops

to admit it or perish, and became the chief instigator of all the Catholic hostilities against the Huguenots his fellow countrymen, and against the Scotch reformers, whom he incited his niece Mary, to her own ruin, to oppose.⁴³

But the pope was unchangeable in his resolutions to resist the supplicated reforms, and in answer to what some were urging, retaliated censure by censure; if they attacked the corruptions of his hierarchy or court, he stigmatised their selfishness.⁴⁴ And we cannot deny the truth to have been, that neither party erred in their reciprocal imputations. The prelates who then remained at Trent, were so favorable to the idea of overwhelming and destroy-

have this place in the church depending from the pope.' Le Plat, v. 5. p. 657.

* We cannot read Brantome's remarks on this cardinal, without feeling that he must have been a persecutor in contradiction to his own convictions. 'He was considered to be very concealed or hypocritical about religion, of which he availed himself to promote his greatness. I have often seen him discoursing on the confession of Augsburg, and half approve it, even la prescher. They said it was more to please the Germans than anything else. I once saw him do so at Rheims, for the holy week, before madame his mother, publicly; ou il le faisoit beau voir.' Brant. Mem. 3. p. 135. But we have his own words, as repeated in the despatch of sir N. Throckmorton to Elizabeth, of 27 February 1560. 'As for the irreligion, I have knowlege, tho I be a man of the church, that *there be many faults therein, and divers abuses*; and were it not to take away the occasion, that men of their own authority would seek to reform things to the prejudice of the king's authority, and avoid rebellion at home; *I could wish things to be reformed*, and put forth within a better state than they be, for I am not so ignorant nor so led with errors that reign, as the world judgeth, but that I see there be many things amiss. Even three days past we have set forth an edict to surcease the punishment of men for religion; and have licensed all men to live according to their conscience, so as they do not openly contrary the law.' Lett. in Forbes' State Pap. 1. p. 337, 8.

* The pontiff's answer begins with stating, that 'The salutem of the church itself few care for; omnes quæ sua sunt quærere non quæ Christi. Omnes conari se ultra suum modum efferre; omnes appetere indebita; omnes contendere esse summos.' He therefore desires all these supplicants, 'ut communi potius totius ecclesiæ utilitati, quam propriæ studeant.' Repons. Pont. in Le Plat, 5. p. 744.

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ing the Protestants, that the bishop of Metz, in January 1563, was allowed and encouraged to deliver to them an exulting oration of fourteen quarto pages, on the victory they had recently obtained over the French Protestants at Dreux;⁵⁰ and to call upon them to interdict the heretics from fire and water, to deprive them of all sacred community, and to devote them to the devil and to all dire evils.⁵¹ In this spirit, altho the French government felt and confessed that the meeting at Trent was but a partial assembly, and not a general council,⁵² and would not receive, and never has admitted its provisions as obligatory decrees, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of its hierarchy;⁵³ yet it chose to combine with the popedom and Spain, to force the Trentine system on all Christian nations: and thus to put all the Protestants of Europe under the awful alternative of believing what they could not believe, and thought their everlasting happiness interested in rejecting, or to be exterminated by the flame as heretics, or by the gibbet and the sword

⁵⁰ See it in Le Plat, v. 1. p. 573-86.

⁵¹ 'Tum vos illis aqua et igni interdicetis; et totius ecclesiæ communis privatis, malis diris, Satanae que addicetis.' ih. p. 586.

⁵² The French king's private instructions to his ambassador, whom he was sending into Spain in 1563, thus express this sentiment: 'Tho there is a grande et notable assemblée at Trent, yet it cannot be called general, because *the half of Christendom* has not appeared at it, and does not approve of it for a free and general council. The kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, England, Scotland, ALL Germany, part of Switzerland, and, to his great regret, a good part of France, resist it; so that tho it should determine good constitutions, they will profit only those who approve of them; but as to those who do not receive them will only increase the divisions which we now behold.' Instruct. à M. D'Oysell. Le Plat, v. 5. p. 792.

⁵³ The documents in Le Plat, show the struggles made with several of the French sovereigns to sanction the decrees of the council of Trent, and their steady refusal; and chiefly upon the ground that some of them were contrary to the liberties of the Gallican church.

as rebels. The direful resolution was made; and Pius IV. began unhesitatingly to execute it, and his successor to enforce it with unrelenting activity, in all its severities, as far as he could inflict them, on Elizabeth and England.⁵⁴

Having formed, in November 1562, a secret league of evil against the Protestants,⁵⁵ Pius IV. soon turned his attention to Elizabeth and to her dominions. His first notice of her was by a mild official letter, about four months after his consecration, inviting her to cast off all evil persuaders, and to obey his councils; for which her great reward would be, that if she did so he would confirm her regal elevation⁵⁶—a boon, whose value was more

⁵⁴ It is difficult to believe that such an iniquitous determination could have been made; yet authorities from all quarters press the conviction upon us. Sir John Melville, then in the confidence of the highest persons, both in France and Scotland, affirms to us, under the year 1566: 'In the meantime there was a French gentleman sent home here, called M. de Villemonte, with a commission to stay the queen from agreeing with the lords Protestants that were banished, because that *all Catholic princes were banded to root them out of all Europe.*' Melv. Mem. 147. This advice to make no such agreement, he ascribes to 'the cardinal de Lorraine, lately come back from the council of Trent, and had caused the king of France to write earnestly to that effect.' *ib.* He thinks that this 'unhappy message hastened forward divers tragical accidents,' because the queen became 'loth to offend her own friends in France; and David [Rizzio] was thought also of opinion not to offend so many confederate Catholic princes, and *especially the pope*, with whom, as was alleged, he had some secret intelligence.' *ib.* 147.

⁵⁵ The French ambassador at Venice thus mentioned it in his despatch: 'They speak here very much of a league between the pope and the duke of Savoy, the duke of Florence and the duke of Urbino, *against the Protestants*; and that the prince of Florence is gone to Rome to swear to it in his father's name, and is going to Spain for the same purpose. The duke of Savoy is at the head of it, to make use of it for the recovery of his country. *They are assembling men and money at Milan.*' Lett. in Du Plat, v. 5. p. 571.

⁵⁶ His letter is dated 5 May 1560: 'You may promise to yourself all things you can desire from us, not only for the salvation of your soul, but also to *establish and confirm your royal dignity by our authority.*' Ep. in Le Plat, Mem. v. 4. p. 623. So that an usurper, as the Vatican called her, ceases to be such, if he submits to the papal supremacy.

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known to himself than to her. This temporary moderation may have arisen from the hope that she would be gratified by his sanction, and dread the mischief of his enmity; or it may have been one of those actions of expediency which the practice at St. Peter's has so often displayed; for at this particular juncture the emperor Ferdinand was not a bigot, tho some strove to make him so;⁵⁷ and his eldest son was becoming a Lutheran, tho every precaution of education and marriage had been taken to preserve him from the contaminating melioration: and Ferdinand anxiously explained to the pope, how the unexpected and undesired alteration had occurred.⁵⁸ As this solicitation was found to be

⁵⁷ The oration, at Trent, of the archbishop of Patracensis and Corcyra, on 26 February 1562, implored him pathetically to defend his mother church; 'vehementer obsecramus; that you, O Ferdinand! be her champion and avenger on all who think otherwise than she does on the evangelical doctrine.' He reminds him how others had used the 'seculari gladio,' and presses his imitation of their severities. Du Plat, v. 1. p. 357.

⁵⁸ On 6th March 1560, the emperor Ferdinand addressed to count Scipio, whom he sent to Pius IV. his secret letter of private instructions: 'If it should happen that the pope should blame us for the religion of our son Maximilian, our ambassador will answer, with modesty, that as to our own person, we are of the Roman religion; and if our son has entered into a different way, and should precipitate himself into heresies, we cannot be censured for it. When he came of the age when reverence to preceptors usually declines, we took care that he should live partly in the court of Charles V. and partly in Spain, as a country which abhors all sects. We afterwards married him to a daughter of Charles, a most holy woman. But he heard a certain preacher whom we and Catholics did not approve; yet this was neither our fault nor his. For there is now in Germany such a small supply of good preachers, who excel both in example and in word, that this preacher was recommended to us for his eloquence.

'We called the cardinal of Trent to our court to oppose him, and destined him to preach, and we heard many Catholic sermons from him. But he had a concubine, and would not remove her. Hence, as he could not remain in our court, he returned home, and our son Maximilian received then the other preacher for himself. We apprehended no harm from this, as he did not seem to be estranged from the Catholic church, except that sometimes he would more freely than usual expatiate on the corrupt state of the church, and on the bad morals of the

ineffective on the queen, who saw more security in her people's attachment, than in a papal bull, he sent a special nuncio as his legate, to persuade her, if she was susceptible of such persuasion,⁵⁹ or to conspire against her, if she was deaf to his allurements;⁶⁰ but as soon as she heard of his advance, she ordered him not to land, and would not permit him to approach her.⁶¹ On another attempt to attract her, the state council, after a solemn deliberation, agreed to refuse him an entrance;⁶² nor was the emperor's interposition more availing,⁶³ tho he prevented the council of Trent from excommunicating her as a heretic.⁶⁴ But the pontiff took advantage

ecclesiastics.' See this curious document in Le Plat's Monum. v. 4. p. 621, 622.

⁵⁹ Ribadineira's Hist. Eccl. Engl. l. 2. p. 250. He ascribes this step to the pope's desire to 'take away from her all dread of losing her sceptre for not being legitimate.' ib.

⁶⁰ These purposes are alluded to in the State Papers printed by lord Hardwicke, in which, among the reasonings of the cabinet ministers, it was said by them, 'It cannot be denied but the last year [1560] when the abbot St. Salute was sent from the said pope, of the same errand and tour to Brussels, where the nuncio now is, about this time also of the year, it was proposed that he should have done his best to have raised a rebellion here in this realm under color of religion. And why hath not this abbot the like sweet errand? There is no reason to be shown; but contrarywise, there is now more reason to prove it likely in this man than was there for the other. Especially such preparations being used beforehand this present year, to prepare the heart of discontented subjects, as have by divers means been used otherwise than the last year, and notoriously known and discovered.' 1 Hardw. 184. This state note mentions the ministers who formed this council, and gave these reasons—being fifteen of the highest characters in England. ib. 180.

⁶¹ Ribad. ib. 250.

⁶² 'Torno a enviar otro nuncio.' ib. Lord Hardwicke has printed from the Advocates' library at Edinburgh, a note of the consultation which was held by the queen's command at Greenwich, 1 May 1561, on the request made by the king of Spain's ambassador, that the abbot of Martinengo having arrived at Brussels as nuncio from Rome, might be admitted into England, with letters from the pope and other princes to the queen. The note states the reasonings of the council of state against permitting his coming. 1 Hardw. 180-6.

⁶³ Ribad. 251.

⁶⁴ Ib.

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of the amplitude of the ocean, to send two of the primitive Jesuits into Ireland, as his legates, to promote his cause and interest there:⁶⁶ besides those whom the general ordered to that Island.⁶⁶ The missionaries acted with all their young enthusiasm and habitual ability, to excite insurrections in the island, till their exertions became dangerous to those whom they had attached to their cause.⁶⁷

The same pope selected and dispatched another Jesuit to Scotland,⁶⁸ for the important purpose of secretly advising and encouraging its queen, Mary, to resist the Reformation, which was continuing to spread from its capital to the Highland mountains and its Western Isles; and to preserve her kingdom

⁶⁶ *Imago*, Soc. p. 215. They were chosen of opposite character: Paschase Broet, remarkable for his serene hilarity, his open candor and steady prudence, with a mildness which induced Ignatius to sur-name him The Angel (p. 290;) and Alphonso Salmeron, 'potens et vehemens,' both in voice and with his pen. *ib.* 291. Salmeron was twice sent to Ireland. *ib.*

⁶⁶ 'Præter eos qui superiorum jussu ivere.' *Imago*, p. 215.

⁶⁷ *Imago*, *ib.* This jesuitical encomium drops the treason; but the state council, in their discussions on the admission of the nuncio on 1 May 1561, thus intimates the real nature of these Irish transactions: 'What an abuse is this, to bear us in hand that no harm is meant by the pope, *when he had already done as much as in him lieth to hurt us!* The pope *even at this instant* hath his legate in Ireland, *who is already joined with certain traitors there; and occupied in stirring a rebellion;* having by open acts deprived the queen of her title there, as much as in him lieth; and why should we not believe that this man would do the like, as much as in him lieth, in this realm?' Hardw. State Papers, 1. p. 184.

⁶⁸ We learn this important fact from the high authority of the *Imago*, p. 215, whose value and rarity Mr. D'Israeli has remarked, in his notes to his 'Despotism, or the Fall of the Jesuits.' Its numerous emblematical prints are in the finest style of the engraving of the day. The work was prepared and published by this order, then so enriched, on the centenary of its foundation, 1640, to display the prosperous history of its first hundred years. Mr. D'Israeli's valuable facts and remarks in his Commentaries on Charles I. ch. 7, 'The Genius of the Papacy,' deserve our attention. This jesuit was Nicolas Goudanus. On 6 March 1561, the pope sent her the letter by his cardinal nuncio, exhorting her to send prelates to his council of Trent, which is printed in *Archæologia*, v. 21. p. 173.

from 'the English conflagration.' He was also to induce her to send to the council at Trent the bishops whom the pontiff wished and recommended. Two Scots, of noble families, accompanied him : Edmund Hay and William Critton, who greatly assisted him in the fulfilment of his legation ;⁶⁹ but the incautious zeal of a Catholic discovered the secret missionary as soon as he had reached Leith : and the cabinet, being informed that a Jesuit legate had arrived to corrupt the queen and overturn the new system, endeavored to discover and apprehend him.⁷⁰ He procured admission, in disguise, to Mary, in a secret hour, who received him with delight, and was animated by him to persist in her antient tenets.⁷¹ But of the bishops mentioned in the pontiff's letters, none would venture to trust themselves with his legate, but the prelate of Dunkeld. He admitted him in the garb of an Italian merchant, and read with tears the papal epistle ; they held the 'secret conclave,'⁷² till the researches of government made his further stay perilous, when, having accomplished the object of his mission, he was conducted by Hay and Critton, with the aid of a French sailor who had been taken up and put to the torture on a supposition of being himself the person, into a boat, and escaped safely to the coast of Flanders, where he landed, and joined his seminary at Louvain.⁷³ Thus the resistance of Mary to the Reformation in Scotland was stimulated

⁶⁹ Imago, p. 867.

⁷⁰ Ib.

⁷¹ 'It is difficult to be told how much joy she felt at seeing and hearing Goudan ; and how much spirit she received from him to defend her faith.' Imago, 868.

⁷² 'Secretiore conclave.' ib. 868.

⁷³ Ib. He died there afterwards in 1565.

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and perpetuated by the secret operation of Pius IV. and his new political missionaries.

Mary expressed her sympathy to the pontiff, by the letters to him and to the cardinal uncle of Lorraine, to which we have already referred.⁷⁴ Having closed the council of Trent in December 1563, Pius IV. died in the same month, two years afterwards, when the tiara was placed in the following January on the head of Pius V.,⁷⁵ who soon became the most active and dangerous enemy that Elizabeth, the Huguenots, and the Protestant Reformation had hitherto encountered. No pope ever showed more painfully what the papacy could resolve, and would attempt, to perpetrate; nor the danger which such implacable and persevering animosity could effect, even in the period of its abated and suspected, tho still politically supported, power. The popedom was then upheld by its friends, as the Eastern crescent is now, not for its moral deserts or religious character, but for its worldly convenience and utilities,

⁷⁴ Dated 30 Jan. 1563, in Le Plat, Monum. Trid. v. 4. p. 660, 661. See before, in this volume, p. 16.

⁷⁵ Pius IV. died, aged sixty-five, in Dec. 1565. Onuf. Pan. p. 625. It is in the unfavorable branch of his character as the persecutor and the disturber of kingdoms, for the sake of his supremacy, that the preceding facts exhibit him to our recollection. But these were the vices of his station, his education, and his hierarchy, and were not his only features. He had many virtues and valuable qualities, and was sincere in his religion, tho mistaken in some essential points, especially in the forgetfulness of the benevolence, liberty, and perfect disinterestedness which it inculcates. His catechism, framed on the system of the Trent divinity, has great beauty in its Latinity, and abounds with passages which I have read with delight, amid many tenets which I regret to see intermingled with so much excellence. But both his age and his church abounded with men who united all that we most like with all that we most shrink from. And the incongruity seems to have arisen from that ever favorite, but ever vain attempt, to unite the mammon we are resolved to pursue, with the divine things which we cannot but admire, and wish also to possess.

to those, who applied their temporal sword to maintain its despotism over the heart, the reason, and the conscience, as long as that despotism promoted their interests. This reciprocity of benefit is every day diminishing in the present state of feelings and relations of Europe: and therefore the popedom will ere long be left to its pleasing dreams of past magnificence: in the insulated inferiority of unlamented decay.

C H A P. XXVII.

HISTORY AND PROJECTS OF PIUS V.—HIS EFFORTS TO DESTROY THE HUGUENOTS IN FRANCE—HIS CONSPIRACY AGAINST ELIZABETH AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION—MARY'S LETTERS TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK—THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S PRACTICES IN THE PAPAL PLOT.

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THE best of men, by adopting wrong principles of action, and by enforcing them with violence, transform themselves, more or less, into the likeness of those evil beings, whom we make our ethical and poetical illustrations of all that is most wicked and abhorrent among intelligent natures. All the virtues of the individual become, in his misdirected activity, but fearful and pernicious vices; by strengthening him in his course of mischief, by multiplying his means of perpetrating it, and by hallowing, both in his own estimation and in that of others, his most censurable conduct. The resolution to exterminate the Protestant Reformation by force, and therefore by human bloodshed, and by all the sufferings which vengeance and power could bring upon human sensitivity, was one of those unfortunate principles, which could not but create a character like that which we call Satanic, and produce a conduct to which a similar epithet is applicable, in every king and pope, in proportion as any one acted zealously upon it. In no one did these mischievous effects become more manifest, and more criminal, than in Pius V., whose real merit, in many important respects, would have

entitled him to the applause of those whose approbation becomes lasting celebrity, if, by making the extirpating determination one of the undeviating rules of his official actions, he had not placed himself among those, whom the human sympathies consign to a reprobation, which must continue as long as memory survives.

The papacy of Pius V. tho short in its chronological length,¹ became unusually extensive and destructive in its operations, from the lamentable principle to which we have adverted. Among these, he distinguished himself by commencing, and acrimoniously pursuing, a personal and deadly warfare against the only maiden queen, that has swayed the English sceptre. Elizabeth was no amazon, and was as inoffensive to this particular pope, as one individual could be to any contemporary member of European society; and yet from his intellectual bigotry and pontifical hostility, Pius V. has the distinguishing notoriety of assailing this illustrious female, who was shedding more lustre on her throne than most of her male predecessors, since the death of Alfred, had imparted to it, with the combined mischiefs of personal conspiracy, of interior rebellion, and of external invasion. Yet Pius V. might allege, that he only put into more strong and unlimited action, the antient principles of his see, which many of his predecessors had exemplified or inculcated,²

¹ His pontificate began 7th January 1566, and ended 1st May 1572.

² The bull of Nicolaus III. dated 3d March 1280, against heretics, contains a summary of the most objectionable severities against them; and as it was a precedent and groundwork of what were afterwards inflicted, may be taken as the specimen of the spirit and practice of the papal hierarchy on this subject, between 1200 and 1600. It is in

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when he began that career of violence and homicide, which blends his memory so inseparably with the reign and biography of the endangered Elizabeth.³

The pride and passion of his mature life was to be a Roman inquisitor.⁴ If experience had not proved that it is possible to be this dreaded and dreadful description of human character, without any visible marks of an atrocious disposition,⁵ we might have inferred from his taste for it, that he was of a fierce and merciless nature. But having so perverted his judgment, and deadened his moral sensibilities, as to select it as his pleasure and as his merit, he exercised this cruel office effectually against those who wished reformation at Como, even tho of episcopal dignity;⁶ and pursuing it afterwards at Pergamo, he was at

the Bullarium, v. 3. part 2. p. 26. Gregory IX. emulated the principle so far as to declare, 'that *not to have built* any churches, monasteries, or pious places, justified a suspicion that the emperor Frederic II. was an heretic.' Labb. Concil. 2. p. 644.

³ So soon after his becoming pope as 29th December 1567, Thobias Eglinus wrote from Italy, that 'persons of *all ranks* were promiscuously subjected to the same imprisonment, tortures, and death.' And on 2d March 1568, his letter was, 'At Rome some are every day burnt, hanged, or beheaded. All the prisons and places of confinement are full. They are obliged to build new ones. That large city cannot furnish gaols for the number of pious persons who are continually apprehended.' M'Crie's Reformation in Italy, p. 272, 3.

⁴ He was of the Ghislieri family, which had become '*debole e ridotta a pochi.*' He came in poverty on foot to Rome a private and destitute Dominican friar; but in fifteen years raised himself to be a bishop, cardinal, and the supreme governor of the inquisition. T. Porcacchi da Castiglione Vite, p. 627.

⁵ Wolf tells us, that 'an inquisitor of Spain, whom I met with in the Propaganda of Rome, said that the members of the inquisition in Spain are very gentlemanlike men, and of a very mild and cool disposition.' Journal, v. 2. p. 38. This description leads me to recollect Mr. Keppel's account of the Arab Moolah Ali: 'One with whom murder and every other crime had long been familiar. Yet there was nothing in his appearance to justify the supposition. His mild eye beamed with intelligence when he spoke; and his mouth was lighted up with so pleasing a smile, that the diabolical matter of his speech was often lost in attending to the pleasing manner of his delivery.' Kepp. Journey from India.

⁶ 'Against its bishop Vittor Loranzo.' Porc. p. 627.

length chosen by Paul IV. with the preference and discernment of a congenial spirit, as the person most adapted to be appointed commissary of the inquisition at Rome. In this station he so fulfilled his patron's wishes, as to become to his then satisfaction, but to his present disgrace, with every honorable and cultivated mind, the 'sommo inquisitore.'

'Catena Vit. 'Summus Inquisitor.' Gabut. 624. Mr. Wolff mentions in his journal, that after his conversations with the learned Jews at Jerusalem, he discovered that, 'an institution like the Catholic inquisition founded by St Dominic, had existed among the Jews in the time of our Lord, and has been sanctioned by the Talmud, and even by the celebrated rabbi Mose Ben Maimon.' See Sanhed. p. 36; and Maimon Hilboth Mamrin. c. 3; Rev. J. Wolff's Journ. v. 1. p. 312. He also remarks, 'A rich Portuguese Jew, called Cohen, told me, that there are Jews in Portugal *who are bishops and Roman Catholic priests*, but in secret observe the Jewish religion' *ib.* p. 82. If these things be true, the Dominican inquisition may have had a very unchristian origin. Renegadoes in all ages have been furious persecutors. It is in Spain that the inquisition has most direfully flourished. Llorente, the secretary of it at Madrid, reckons from its records that 31,912 persons were BURNED by it in Spain before it was suppressed there in 1811; (Hist. Inquis. p. 583;) and 17,669 burnt in effigy. Such the inquisition has been. But it is with great pleasure I find that Pius VII. diminished its iniquities. The Gazettes de France, of 14th April and 22d May 1816, announced on the authority of letters from Rome, that his holiness had abolished the use of *torture* in all the tribunals of the holy office, and had ordered that the procedure of the inquisition was to be similar to that of other tribunals, and to be *made public*; and that in all trials for heresy, the accuser shall be confronted with the accused in the presence of the judges. He also expressed his intention that the trials should be so conducted as to avoid the punishment of death.

On 3d May he confirmed the annulment of the fatal sentence which the inquisition of Ravenna had pronounced against a relapsed Jew, adding these words, which form so remarkable a contrast with his sainted namesake and predecessor, Pius V.: 'The divine law is not of the same nature as that of man, but a law of persuasion and gentleness. Persecution, exile, and imprisonment, are suitable only to false prophets and the apostles of false doctrines.'

To this noble conduct there was only wanted to be added the abolition of the obnoxious institution. A letter from Rome, of 17th January 1817, gave some hopes of this: 'It is reported that the holy office will be reformed this year. The government considers it dangerous to allow a body to exist which is useless, and always armed against the progress of reason.' And in March 1816, we hear of the formal suppression of the inquisition in Portugal. Llorente Hist. Inq. p. 573. Eng. ed. May these improvements continue!

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On the death of Pius IV. he was perceived, by the cardinal consistory, to be the character who would most resolutely enforce the violent plans which had been resolved on against the Reformation; and was chosen suddenly, and almost unanimously, the new pope: by inspiration, in the opinion of his friends;⁸ and the claim may be allowed, if the nature of the influence be named from the character of the actions which he most zealously promoted. For these, he has received the highest exaltation which his successors and church could confer. He has been made a saint.⁹ One day in every year is devoted to the religious celebration of his memory; and the prayer appointed to be used for this purpose in all the Catholic churches and chapels in the world, aptly expresses the merits for which the celestial elevation has been granted.¹⁰ His exertions to exterminate heretics and heresies procured the canonizing

⁸ 'Eletto quasi miracolosamente e fuor d'ogni aspettazione humane, piuttosto da Dio, che dagli uomini.' Pollini Ist. Eccl. p. 455. He was elected on 7th January 1566. Porcacch. p. 627. Yet Gabutius owns that a 'mœror ac pavor ingens plurimos invasit, a great dread and grief affected many, especially in the city, nemine sere sibi non timente *hominis severitatem*; every one fearing for himself the severity of the man.' Vita Pii, p. 629.

⁹ It was not till 140 years after his death, that sufficient official testimonials of miracles alleged to have occurred a century and a half before, were procured for the papal tribunal of beatification. But these having been furnished to its legal satisfaction, Pius was declared by Clement XI. in due form, in 1712, a saint; and the 1st of May in every year, was appointed to be that of the religious worship that was to be paid him.

¹⁰ The prayers appropriated to him in the Roman missal and breviary are, 'Priest and bishop! worker of miracles! O good shepherd of the people! pray for us to the Lord.'

'O God! who didst vouchsafe to choose blessed Pius the fifth, chief bishop, to crush the enemies of the church, and repair divine worship! grant that we may be defended by his patronage, and be so obedient to thy commands, that the snares of all enemies being removed, we may enjoy perpetual peace.'

boon. That his zeal was as honest as it was wrongly directed; and that he persecuted the Lutherans with as much sincerity of heart, as Luther withstood the popedom, there is no just reason to doubt. But he had adopted the great stain of the Catholic church — the firm opinion, that heretics, however virtuous, estimable, pious, learned, or intelligent, were detestable and pernicious reptiles," and were to be crushed as such for the common good; and that all ideas were heresies, and all persons heretics, whom any pope pronounced such; and having interwoven this deranged sentiment with his whole mind and feelings, Pius V. acted upon it with inflexible energy, and to the full stretch of his vast and indefinite influence and powers. He burnt men of talent in his

This is the English of the prayer as printed in 'The Ordinary of the Mass,' by J. P. Coghlan, No. 37, Duke-street, Grosvenor-square, 1799.

It is curious that the same prayer is translated with some softening variations, in 'the Roman Missal for the use of the laity,' by Keating and Brown, London, 1815. In this it stands, 'O God! who wast pleased to raise blessed Pius to the dignity of chief bishop, in order to depress the enemies of Thy church, and to restore the divine worship! Make us by Thy grace so diligent in all that concerneth Thy service, that we may defeat the treacherous designs of our enemies, and rejoice in everlasting peace.'

In this translation we find the word 'crush' softened into 'depress,' an improvement of taste and feeling in sixteen years which cannot but be applauded. Yet the first version was most like its Latin original: 'Deus, qui ad conterendos ecclesiæ tuæ hostes et ad divinum cultum reparandum, beatum Pium quintum, pontificem maximum eligere dignatus es: Fac nos ipsius defendi præsidii; et ita tuis inhærere obsequiis, ut omnium hostium superatis insidiis, perpetua pace lætemur.' Coghlan's ed. p. 356, and Antwerp ed. 1781.

"In the thirteenth century the language was 'Perfidie vipereos filios; tanquam materni uteri corrosores: maleficos vivere non passuri; per quorum scientiam seducentem mundus inficitur; lupi rapaces; angeli pessimi; filii pravitatum; hi colubri; serpentes a cauda feriunt,' &c. Labbe, v. 11. p. 619, 20. In the sixteenth century, Pollini terms the reformers, 'Mostri infernali, and the harpies of the church,' p. 455; 'setta diabolica,' p. 458; and Pius V. calls them in his letters, 'pessariis; communibus hostibus,' p. 86; 'Dei hostes,' p. 63; 'sceleatissimis hominibus,' p. 61; 'sceleratissimorum hominum,' p. 55.

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own dominions;¹³ and devoted himself with a persevering combination of prejudice and principle, to destroy all who did not think, we cannot say as he thought, for we know not his secret mind; but as he and the final decrees of Trent commanded that men should think, or should unvaryingly appear to think, on the doctrines and practice of the papal church.¹³ Five great objects occupied his strong and active mind:—to reform his corrupted court and city, his most laudable purpose; to repress and weaken the Turkish power, a patriotic project, because the aggressions of its arrogant fanaticism were perilous; to destroy the Huguenots in France, and Elizabeth in England; and to subvert the Protestant Reformation, and annihilate its adherents in every part of Europe. He succeeded to a great degree in all these schemes, but the two last. He sturdily enforced the long wanted and much resisted correction of the profligacy immediately around him;¹⁴ and he annihilated, thro don John of Austria,

¹³ One of these was the learned Aonius Palearius, for saying that the inquisition was a poignard which intimidated the enlightened. Fr. Celaria Carnesecchi, and Gui Zaneti, were among his other victims, altho the Venetian government endeavoured to save the latter.

¹⁴ It is gratifying to see an indication that a nobler spirit is actuating that throne which, at the darker period of our present volume, and even afterwards, allowed itself to be goaded by the papacy to actions which defamed its reputation, and injured its prosperity. In the French papers we read, to the true honor of CHARLES X. that, unlike his namesake CHARLES IX., when he reached Meux on 31s. August 1828; 'To the harangue of M. Sabonadiere, *minister of the Protestant faith*, THE KING replied, 'I receive with great pleasure the expression of your sentiments. I rely on the fidelity and devotedness of my *Protestant* subjects; and THEY MAY RELY ON MY PROTECTION.' Engl. Newsp. 6th Sept. 1828. The first pope that should utter such a sentence, would secure to himself immortality in this world; and might, perhaps, find it conducive to the grander extension of his expectant being in its next locality.

¹⁴ He published a severe edict for expelling from the city and papal dominions all the loose women, whose number and petulantia had so increased, that they were occupying the fine houses and public roads

and the fleet which he at last got together under his command, the Ottoman navy, in the celebrated battle in the bay of Lepanto.¹⁵ His exertions in France and England, his own letters¹⁶ and panegyrical biographers sufficiently display.

CHAP.
XXVII.

1571.

In the autumn of 1567, we find him urging the king of Spain to send his forces into France against the Huguenots,¹⁷ promising the French king to send him money and soldiers, tho he had no abundance at his disposal;¹⁸ and intreating the doge of Venice to add also his succors; because if the Protestants should conquer, their tenets would soon enter Italy.¹⁹

of Rome.' The senate and triumvirs opposing him, he threatened to remove his court from the city if they persisted. He at last allowed them to be limited to an obscure corner of the city, and *appointed two or three churches for their use*. 'Illis, vero, duo vel tria templa, quo ad divinam et sacras conciones convenerent, designavit.' Gabutius, Vita, p. 631. A singular adaption of churches and sermons while the mode of life was continued.

¹⁵ When the Ottomans had begun to seek the command of the Mediterranean by their fleets, and had been drawn into it by former papal and French governments, Pius V. counselled, urged, and by his own labors and supplies contributed to produce that union of the Venetian and Spanish squadrons with his own, which, on the 7th October 1571, crushed the Turkish navy in that battle in the bay of Lepanto, in which Cervantes gloried to have had a share. Two hundred Mahomedan gallies, and 30,000 Turks perished or were captured. This victory depressed the Mussulman navy for above two centuries. The Russian destruction of their fleet in the bay of Tchesme in 1781 suppressed its subsequent revival; and the late demolition of the Turkish and Egyptian ships in the bay of Navarino, on 20th October 1827, by sir Edward Codrington, in conjunction with the French and Russian admirals De Rigny and count Heiden, seems to preclude its future restoration, at least in the course of the present generation. The *Lettre de Principi*, vol. 3, contains a contemporary account of the Lepanto conflict.

¹⁶ The letters of Pius V. were collected at Rome, by F. Goubau, secretary of the ambassador of Philip IV., and published by him at Antwerp, in their Latin form, in 1640. De Potter printed a French translation of some of them, in an edition at Brussels, in 1827; and another edition at Paris. My quotations are from the Brussels edition.

¹⁷ Lett. of Pius, of 13 Oct. 1567. Potter, p. 1-3.

¹⁸ Lett. 16 Oct. Potter, p. 4-6.

¹⁹ Lett. 19 Oct. 'Au peril de la France est attaché le peril de l'Italie, car si les enemis de Charles étoient vainqueurs, cet incendie auroit bientot atteint les états Italiens.' ib. 8.

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On the same ground he solicited the duke of Savoy to employ his sword against these 'impious men, these rebels to God and their king,'²⁰ because his states lay the nearest to the contagion of their opinions;²¹ and in the summer of 1568 he congratulated the duke of Alva, that he had obtained a victory in Belgium, for the Catholic faith, against the revolting heretics.²² He repeats, four months afterwards, his exulting compliments and excitations for his achievements in defence of the Holy See and the Catholic truth;²³ and promises to remunerate him for his zealous efforts, by granting the pecuniary benefit he solicited, tho it was an unusual grace.²⁴ He implores the cardinal of Bourbon, at the beginning of the new year, to enforce the measures most proper for 'THE DESTRUCTION' of these enemies;²⁵ and as eagerly intreats the cardinal of Lorraine to prepare, with extreme diligence, whatever is necessary for their attack and defeat.²⁶ He is astonished

²⁰ Lett. 18 Oct. p. 9.

²¹ 'Plus voisine du foyer de ce terrible incendie.' ib. On 16 Nov. he sends this prince 10,000 crowns of gold, in order that he may thereby be better enabled to assist Charles IX. ib. p. 11. He adds, 'We have exhorted the duke of Lorraine to hinder any succors entering France from the German heretics; and we have resolved to excite the princes of Italy to march to the French king all the auxiliary cavalry they can furnish.' p. 12.

²² Lett. to duc. d'Albe, of 26 Aug. 1568: 'Continue as you have begun. Omit nothing to re-establish the Catholic religion in your provinces.' ib. 14.

²³ Lett. 12 Dec. 1568. ib. 15-18.

²⁴ Ib. p. 17. He assures this commander after his own heart, 'There is nothing which can be expected from an affectionate father, as you will find us toward you, which we do not believe to be your due.' ib. p. 18.

²⁵ 'This gives us the right to excite you to exert all your efforts and influence, that they embrace definitively 'le parti le plus propre a operer enfin la destruction des ennemis implacables de Dieu et du roi.' Letter 17 Jan. 1569, p. 23.

²⁶ Ib. p. 27.

that the nefarious prince of Orange should be retained in the kingdom;²⁷ and expresses the pain he feels²⁸ that the king has not confiscated the property of the heretics, as that would retain the doubting in his faith, and deter others from joining their infamous society.²⁹ He commends his own delegate for doing this at Avignon,³⁰ and directs that the estates shall not, when thus forfeited, be given, or in any way come, to the relations of the heretic, even tho they should be good Catholics, that the intimidating lesson may be complete.³¹

In the spring of 1569, the pope sent his troops, under Sforza, into France, to punish, by every infliction of severity, the heretics and their leaders.³² That the prince of Condé, 'the chief of the heretical army,' had been killed at the battle of Jarnac, is the subject of his thanksgivings to heaven;³³ and he exhorts Charles IX. to profit by his victory, so as utterly to *root out* the remains of these enemies;³⁴

²⁷ 'Nefarius ille vocatus Aurangie princeps.' Lett. 17 Jan. 1569, p. 28.

²⁸ 'Non sine dolore miramur factum adhuc non fuisse.' ib.

²⁹ 'Quod valde utile fuisset ad dubios in fide retinendos; cæteros que omnes ab hujusmodi nefaria cum hæreticis societate conjunctione que deterrendos.' ib. 28.

³⁰ Lett. to card. Armagnac. p. 19.

³¹ 'Ne bona hæc propinquis ipsorum aut affinibus, quantumvis bonis et Catholicis, donentur, aut quavis ratione perveniant.' ib. p. 20.

³² Lett. 6 March 1569, to Charles IX. p. 33. 'He is ready to execute all your orders. We wish your majesty to employ him without any restriction. We will take care that they shall never want pay. It will be your business punire hæreticos, eorum que duces, omni severitatis animadversione adhibita; that they may suffer these punishments, quas pro sceleribus meriti sunt, by your executing upon them the justum Dei judicium.' ib. p. 34, 35.

³³ Letter to Charles IX. of 28 March, p. 36. 'Raising the hands to heaven, we have been eager in the humility of our heart to thank the Almighty, who, by giving you this victory, has benignly shed on us such treasures of his mercy.' ib.

³⁴ Ib. 37. 'Ut omnes tanti tamque corroborati mali radices, atque radicum fibras funditus evellus.' ib.

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for unless they were radically extirpated, the evil would re-appear.³⁵ He urges him to have no respect for any persons or things, to induce him to spare those whom he calls the adversaries of God.³⁶ He tells the king, that he can appease heaven only by the severest punishment of such wretches;³⁷ and that if he does not thus destroy them, he will perish by divine vengeance.³⁸ The same topics, with the most unqualified and most unshrinking mercilessness, he urges to Catherine de Medicis, the king's mother. He insists upon her not sparing, for any reasons, these enemies of heaven.³⁹ They must be massacred.⁴⁰ They must be exterminated.⁴¹ He dares even to add, with all the insanity of his self-deluding bigotry, that he prays for it every day.⁴²

He repeats the same exhortations in his subsequent letters.⁴³ He directs them to every accessible and powerful quarter; he desires the king's brother to interfere, to prevent the royal mercy from being

³⁵ Lett. 28 March, p. 36.

³⁶ Ib. 'Nullarum personarum rerumque humanarum respectas; ut Dei hostibus parcas.' ib. 38.

³⁷ 'Non enim aliter Deum placare poteris, quam si Dei injurias sceleratissimorum debita pœna, severissime ulciscaris.' ib. ³⁸ Ib.

³⁹ 'Nullo modo, nullis que de causis hostibus Dei parcendum est.' ib. 42. Lett. 28 March.

⁴⁰ 'AD INTERNECIONEM USQUE.' ib. p. 43.

⁴¹ 'Deletis omnibus.' ib. p. 43.

⁴² Ib.

⁴³ On 13 April 1569, Pius, in little accordance with his assumed official name, wrote to Catherine to treat 'the rebels with a just severity. By this you will give a memorable example to prevent others from defiling themselves with such an abominable iniquity. We have heard that some are laboring with your majesty, that ex eorum hereticorum qui capti sunt numero, some may be liberated, and go away unpunished. It is necessary [oportet] that you take care, omni studio atque industria, *that this be not done*; [quod ne fiat;] and that these wicked wretches suffer their just punishment; [atque homines sceleratissimi justis afficiantur suppliciis.]' ib. p. 46. That a pope should thus insist on a woman's being so mercilessly cruel, would have seemed to be a misconception of female nature, if he had not been writing to Catherine de Medicis.

extended to any who should implore it, and to show himself inexorable to all.⁴⁴ With an infatuation that would almost be incredible, if his own words were not before us, he asserts to the too willing ear of the cardinal Lorraine, and desires him to convince the king, that he cannot *satisfy his REDEEMER*, without this inexorability to all who shall petition him in their behalf;⁴⁵ a combination of ideas so incongruous, that it drives us into the supposition that the New Testament was a book, which if not unknown to Pius V. had at least been either unread or wholly forgotten by him, amid the more pleasing duties of his beloved inquisition. Yet, how natural were such sentiments to the sainted head of an institution which existed solely on such principles! How congenial to a system which interprets the Scriptures by its convenient traditions, and not the traditions by the unalterable and therefore less expedient Scriptures!

No human sympathies seem to have reigned in this pontiff's soul. He solicited the French sovereign to listen neither to the claims of blood or friendship:⁴⁶ and repeats his solicitation, not to forgive those who should petition for his mercy to such offenders.⁴⁷ 'Sin not by indulgence' was the lesson;⁴⁸ and to diminish any necessity for doing so,

⁴⁴ Lett. of 13 April 1669 to duc d'Anjou. 'Debes omnium pro illis rogantium, *preces repudiare* et æque omnibus *inexorabilem te præbere.*' ib. 52.

⁴⁵ 'Cherchez a le conviancre que sa majesté ne pourra satisfaire le redempteur, quam, si *omnibus qui pro sceleratissimis hominibus rogare audebunt, se inexorabilem præbeat.*' Letter to cardinal Lorraine, ib. p. 56.

⁴⁶ 'Qua in re, nullius preces admittere, nihil cujusquam sanguini et propinquitati concedere.' Lett. to Charles IX. ib. 61. ⁴⁷ Ib.

⁴⁸ 'Nihil in ea re indulgentia peccatur.' Lett. to d'Anjou, 26 April, p. 63.

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he sent to Charles all the cavalry and infantry which he could provide, and regrets that his treasury did not enable him to do more.⁴⁰ He inveighs against the time-honored and long-respected admiral of France, de Coligny, as the most execrable of all men,⁴¹ and doubting if he was a human being, because the ablest supporter of the Huguenot cause; and he also discloses the great, the horrible principle, on which he urged his incentives and vituperations; it is, that other Catholic princes will be guided and stimulated by the example of Charles IX. to act in the same manner towards the heretics in their dominions.⁴² Thus the spirit and aims of Pius V. extended to the gigantic effect of exterminating, as soon as possible, all the Protestants in Europe. It was a natural emanation of personal habit, and its connected character, that he should exhort the king to place inquisitors of heresy in every one of his towns.⁴³ It

⁴⁰ Lett. to d'Anjou, 26 April, p. 64.

⁴¹ 'Execrandum illum ac detestabilem hominem.' Yet he is so disposed to make him something more than man, that he adds, 'si modo appellandus est.' Letter to Charles IX. of 12 October, p. 75. Five days afterwards his epithets of him were, 'hominem unum omnium fallacissimum, execrandæ que memoriæ Gasparem de Colignis.' ib. 79. And in another letter he also calls him 'perditionis filio.' p. 81. Abuse is sometimes our highest honor, and it is often greatest when the merit is most felt and most striking. It is a weakness to be disturbed by it.

⁴² 'In persecuting the most bitter enemy of the Catholic religion, you honored the Deity before all the world. But you have done more. You have thereby emboldened other Catholic princes, by your example, to act in the same manner towards the heretics in their states.' Letter to Charles IX. of 12 Oct. p. 76.

⁴³ It is his exulting letter to Charles of 20 Oct. 1569, after his victory at Moncontour, that Pius urges this plan, p. 87; and, while claiming to be the vicar of Him who both sighed and wept, and also died for human sins and errors, also tells this young king, that nothing was more cruel than mercy and pity to these Protestants. 'Nihil est, enim, ea pietate misericordia que crudelius, quæ in impios, et ultima supplicia meritos, confertur.' ib. On 3d Nov. he intreated his legate to urge Charles to pursue the enemies who had escaped, and to avenge himself upon them. p. 92. I am not aware that any other

was an act of consistency that he should intreat the queen mother to inflame her son's mind to the execution of the cruelties he commanded,⁵³ and that he should express the highest indignation and alarm at the idea, that the French government meant to grant a peace to its Protestant subjects,⁵⁴ and should implore the cardinals in France to defeat its accomplishment.⁵⁵

To state of any man, that he is the advocate or author of murder, is to ascribe to him such a lamentable exemplification of human depravity in its most revolting sense, that the mind dislikes, on any evidence, to express, and even to conceive the imputation; and yet the preceding facts press the judgment towards that conclusion: nor is their effect abated, when we observe the directions and wishes of Pius V. as to the French general d'Assier. The pope's conduct on his capture, seems to furnish an additional illustration of what is possible in men of the highest station, when mercy, pity, charity, forgiveness, and benevolence, are superseded by a misconception of sacerdotal duty; which, separating

pope has been so perseveringly exterminating, so insatiable in his desire of extirpating the reformers.

⁵³ 'Inflame the spirit of your son, that he may annihilate the relics of this civil war; that he may apply to the common enemies the punishments they have so justly merited.' Lett. 29 January 1570, p. 103.

⁵⁴ See his letters of 29 January 1570, to Charles, p. 98; to Catherine, of the same date, p. 101; to the duc d'Anjou, the king's brother, p. 106.

⁵⁵ 'Exert all your efforts to overturn these projects of a peace; never suffer France to deal so fatal a blow to the Catholic faith;' is his language, on 14 August 1570, to the cardinal Lorraine. p. 116. He wrote in similar terms to the cardinal of Bourbon, p. 119; and he told the latter, on 23d September, that he could not think of such a peace without shedding tears. p. 121. It had made every thing worse than ever in France. The orthodox faith would now decline every day, from the malignity of the heretics, and the lukewarmness of the Catholics. *ib.* p. 126.

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itself from the moral obligations of life, and extinguishing all human sympathies, seeks to acquire a supposed merit by its unsocial and desolating intolerance.⁵⁶ Wonderful perversion of a religion whose benevolence is, above all others, adapted to make mankind an affectionate family of gentle and generous brothers! Strange contradiction to its clearest and most indissoluble precepts! But the doctrine of preferring the tradition to the record, admits of the holiest laws being deformed by the most nullifying anomalies; by the most superseding contradictions. The will of the sovereign becomes then subjected to the convenience of the viceroy. The vicar, whenever he pleases, may thus displace his master. The worldly benefit of this device has occasioned it to be used in all systems, and in all ages.

As there was no hypocrisy in Pius V. we may anticipate that his transactions as to Elizabeth, were in congruity with his dealings in France. He sent money to assist Mary in Scotland against her Pro-

⁵⁶ It is his friendly biographer, Catena, the secretary of his successor, Sixtus Quintus, who has recorded the following circumstance. In mentioning the victory of the French count in 1569 at Moncontour, Catena states, that they 'made prisoner monsieur d'Assier, a leading Huguenot and general of the infantry, who had offered ten thousand crowns for his ransom.' Catena adds, 'the pontiff being assured of this, was vexed with the count, that he had not observed his command to PUT TO DEATH IMMEDIATELY whatever heretic should fall into his hands.' The Italian is, 'Di che accertato il pontifice si dolce al conte, che non avesse IL COMMANDAMENTO DE LUI osservato D'AMMAZZAR SUBITO qualunque heretico gli fosse venuto alle mani.' Cat. Vita Pio Quinto, p. 85. There can be no mistake in the meaning of the word ammazzare. In the common Italian dictionary, we find it 'ammazzare, to murder.' But it is remarkable, that the right of being himself the *personal* destroyer of heretics was claimed either by or for this pontiff; for before going to the stake, Palearius was compelled to sign a paper, that, like Samuel towards Agag, a pope might with his own hand in some cases put heretics to death: 'Quod ipsemet summus pontifex, in casu aliquo potest, etiam per se, hæreticos, occidere, ut legimus de Samuele.' Pott. Int. xx.

testant subjects,⁵⁷ and dispatched his secret priestly envoy to England, in 1569, to declare privately from him, to certain of the nobility,⁵⁸ that as a heretic, Elizabeth had forfeited all right to her crown, and that they should obey her no longer.⁵⁹ He seconded this by his bull in the ensuing February,⁶⁰ in which, asserting his power to overthrow and to destroy,⁶¹ and declaring this princess to be the slave of wickedness, and but a pretended queen;⁶² he denounces an anathema against her;⁶³ deprives her of her king-

⁵⁷ 'Pour aider la reine d'Ecosse.' Lett. Pius V. of 16th October 1567, p. 5. The bishop of Ross states, that he acted, in 1568, in his officia et obsequia, for propagating the Catholic religion, by the pope's command: 'Pio V. incitante et mandante. Vita, in Anders. l. p. 6. That the bishop's offices were of the most treasonable nature, our subsequent pages will shew.

⁵⁸ Sanders, then a confidential agent of the papacy, has transmitted this fact to us, and calls him Rev. Presbyterum Nicolaum Mortonum, Anglicum. De Visib. Monarchia, l. 7. p. 730. I find the same fact thus mentioned in Natali Conte's contemporary history: 'At the same time his holiness sent Nicolas Morton to England, to publish, by the apostolic authority which he had, to some Catholic lords of the island, queen Elizabeth to be a heretic; for which he deprived her of all jurisdiction over the Catholics, who might, without any punishment, brand her as a heathen, and were not bound to obey her.' N. Conte Hist. v. 2. p. 52. ed. Venice, 1589.

⁵⁹ 'Hereticam esse; ob eamque causam, omni dominio et potestate excedisse; impune que ab illis velut ethicam haberi posse; nec eos illix legibus aut mandatis deincep obedire cogi.' Sand. ib.

⁶⁰ This is dated 5 kal. Martii, or 25 Feb. 1570. It is printed in Cherubini's Bullarum; in Sanders de Schism. 423; in Ribadineira, p. 252; in Camden Eliz. p. 125, and elsewhere. I shall quote it from Sanders, as the Catholic authority most accessible to others.

⁶¹ He states Peter (and therefore every pope as his successor) to have been appointed 'Principem super omnes gentes et omnia regna; qui evellat destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet et edificet.' Sand. Schis. p. 423.

⁶² 'Serva flagitiorum: prætensa Angliæ regina,' ib. 424; with whom the infestissimi of all nations have found a refuge as their asylum.' ib. A noble character to our queen, 'The refuge of the persecuted of every other country.' Pius could scarcely have inscribed to her a more dignifying epithet.

⁶³ 'Declaramus predictam Elizabetham hæreticam et hæreticorum fautricem, ei que adhærentes in prædictis, anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esse que a Christi corporis unitate præcisos.' ib. 426.

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dom;⁶⁴ absolves all her subjects from their obedience;⁶⁵ forbids every one from daring to obey her commands or laws;⁶⁶ and declares that all who should act contrary to these injunctions, should be involved in the same excommunicating severities.⁶⁷

This public document expresses compendiously the spirit and object of his hostilities against her. But his admiring biographer, Catena, who was personally acquainted with him,⁶⁸ supplies us with a more expressive detail of those exertions and machinations to overwhelm this illustrious female, which none but confidential agents could know or impart. What he states, Gabutius, another contemporary panegyrist,⁶⁹ confirms; and their accounts accord

⁶⁴ 'Quinetiam ipsam prætenso regni prædicti jure necnon omni, et quocumque dominio, dignitate, privilegio que *privatam*.' Sand. Schis. p. 426.

⁶⁵ 'Et item proceres, subditos et populos dicti regni ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quo modo cumque juraverunt, a juramento hujusmodi ac omni prorsus dominii fidelitatis et obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos.' ib. 427. 'Et privamus eandem Elizabetham pretenso jure regni.' ib.

⁶⁶ 'Et interdicimus universis et singulis proceribus, subditis populis et aliis prædictis, ne illi ejusve monitis, mandatis et legibus *audeant* obedire.' ib. 427.

⁶⁷ 'Qui secus egerunt, eos *simili anathematis sententia* innodamus.' ib.

⁶⁸ Girolamo Catena was the secretary of the cardinal Alexandrini; and of the Sacra Consulta of the celebrated pope Sixtus Quintus, to whom he addressed his *Life of Pius V.* as narrating what he says Sixtus had seen with his own eyes and approved. In this dedication he thus mentions his authorities for his facts: 'What I write, I have taken partly from the original letters written by the nuncio and the princes themselves, and from the instructions and writings of the pope himself, which have come into my possession; partly from the unwritten relations of those who have managed these affairs. Other things I have seen myself, and learned from the mouth of the pontiff.' Dedic. No history could be founded on more authentic materials. It was printed at Rome in 1587, under the license of the papal court, and under the pontificate of the formidable Sextus V. We may be therefore sure, that, as far as human motives and means could operate, it states nothing untrue of his papal predecessor.

⁶⁹ The life of Pius by Gabutius was approved of by Clement VIII.

with those of the noble Spaniard, who at that time also wrote his life,⁷⁰ and with their coinciding contemporary, the zealous historian of their church, whose book is devoted to the transactions of the English Catholics.⁷¹ Catena thus describes what he frankly and encomiastically calls the Pope's 'conspiracy' against Elizabeth:—⁷²

'Besides the subsidies and provisions which he continually gave to many nobles,⁷³ and to those who had fled that they might not abandon the Catholic faith, Pius suddenly deputed the bishop of Mondovi to be his nuncio in Scotland, with a large sum of money,⁷⁴ that he might expend it for the benefit of the Catholic religion and of queen Mary Stuart,⁷⁵ to whom he gave these pecuniary aids and salutary counsels.'⁷⁶ The precautions of Elizabeth prevented this person from getting further than Paris.⁷⁷

who died 1606, and selected by the Bollandists to be inserted as his authentic biography in their *Acta Sanctorum* for May, v. 1. p. 616.

⁷⁰ This is don Antonio Fuenmayor, whose '*Vida y hechos de Pio V.*' (Life and Actions of Pius,) was printed at Madrid 1595. The authority of this book may be estimated by the author's dedicating it to don Francisco de Reynoso, abbot and lord of Resillos, who was 'master of the hall and camarero secreto' to Pius V. The facts mentioned of this pope, in a friendly book addressed to his secret chamberlain, may be reasonably supposed to be authentic, as no one was likely to be a better judge of their truth or falsehood.

⁷¹ Hier. Pollini is this author. His *Istoria Ecclesiastica* was published at Rome in June 1594, with the permission of Clement VIII. He was a Florentine and a Dominican.

⁷² Catena unhesitatingly applies this term, 'congiura' to the transaction, and refers it to the pontiff's zeal. 'How brightly the zeal of Pius burnt, will be seen in the affairs of England.' p. 112.

⁷³ 'Oltre le souventioni e provisione le quali continuamente dava a molti nobile.' Catena, p. 112.

⁷⁴ 'Dando gli buona somma de denari.' Catena, ib.

⁷⁵ Catena, p. 112.

⁷⁶ 'A cui diede detti aiuti de denari e saltevoli consigli.' p. 112.

⁷⁷ 'Being at Paris, he could not penetrate into Scotland, as was desired by queen Mary.' p. 112. Catena, like the Roman Catholics of that day, and since, calls Mary 'the nearest in blood to Henry VIII.' and 'his *legitimate heir*; because Elizabeth being born of

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‘ Pius then thinking on the one hand to succor the Scottish queen and liberate her, and on the other to restore the religion in England,⁷⁸ and to TAKE OFF at some moment Elizabeth, the sink of so many evils,⁷⁹ deputed some persons in that kingdom to give him an account of the proceedings of the heretics and of the Catholics; and to animate the Catholics to replace their ancient ritual in the kingdom.’⁸⁰

This worthy nuncio obeyed his worthier master’s orders; and ‘ not being allowed to be there in a public character,⁸¹ provided, with every diligence, that Roberto Ridolfi, a Florentine gentleman, who was residing in England under pretence of commerce, should excite the minds of the people to an insurrection, for the DESTRUCTION of Elizabeth.’⁸² ‘ He

Boleyn, who was not a wife, but a concubine, might justly be driven from the throne as a bastard.’ Cat. p. 113.

⁷⁸ ‘ Ora pensando Pio de una parte, de socorre la reina de Scotia e liberarla, e dall’ altra, de restituir la religione in Inghilterre.’ Cat. 113.

⁷⁹ That the papal secretary here gives Paul V. the merit of a planned assassination, will appear from an attention to his precise words: ‘ e di levare a un tempo la sentina di tanti mali Elizabetta,’ who he says ‘ was nourishing with her assistances the dissensions in Christendom.’ p. 113. That by ‘ levare,’ Catena meant to say the pope projected to take her off by death, is confirmed by the analogous language of Gabutius, the other biographer. The Latin words of his account are: ‘ Lapsam in Anglia religionem renovare cogitabat, simul et illam malorum omnium sentinam; seu ut appellabat IPSE, *flagitiorum servam*, DE MEDIO TOLLERE, si minus posset ad sanitatem revocare.’ p. 658. The phrase ‘ de medio tollere,’ is obviously to destroy or to take away by violence; so that the similar narration of Gabutius is, ‘ He meditated to renew the fallen religion in England, and at the same time to take off that sink of all evils, or as *he himself called her*, the servant of wickedness, if she could not be brought back to sanity.’ It is from the pope’s bull that Gabutius has taken this epithet.

⁸⁰ Ib. ‘ DEPUTO alcuni uomini in quel regno—e *animassero* i Catholicici,’ &c. p. 113. So Gab. p. 658.

⁸¹ Cat. ib. 113. Gabut. ib.

⁸² The exact words of the authority are those in the text: ‘ Provide con ogni diligenza che Roberto Ridolfi—movesse gli animi al sollevamento PER DISTRUZIONE d’Elizabette.’ Cat. ib. 113. So Ga-

labored accordingly *in the name* of the holiness of Pius, not only with the Catholics, of whom there were a great number, but with many of the Protestants of the highest rank, who concurred in this from various motives.⁸³

‘While these things were being secretly practised, some disputes arose between Elizabeth and the king of Spain; on which Pius took occasion to urge this monarch to favor the enterprise of the conspirators in England,⁸⁴ as he could not secure his states of Flanders-by any better way than by overthrowing this queen.⁸⁵ He reminded Philip of the obligation of the religion, which ought to be the first thing to excite him to it. The king willingly consenting to it,⁸⁶ it remained for Pius to incline, by his dexterity, the French to favor likewise the scheme.’⁸⁷

‘Ridolfi pursued his machinations so effectually in England, that the greatest part of the nobles entered into a combination, and took the duke of Norfolk for their head, to whom they promised the Scottish queen for his wife;⁸⁸ and in order that this

butius: ‘Incolarum animas ad Elisabethæ PERDITIONEM rebellionem facta, commoveret.’ p. 658.

⁸³ ‘Egli opero in maniera *en nome* della santità di Pio non solamente co Catholicì, de quale v’è gran numero; ma con molti di primieri Protestantì li quali concorrevano a ciò per diversi rispetti.’ Cat. ib. 113. Gabutius says the same, ‘nomine pontificis.’ p. 658. Fuenmayor also states the treasonable agency of Ridolfi: ‘Pio comenzó a levantar los animos de los Ingleses por la industria de Ridolfo, Florentin, que tenia tratado con aquellas agentes.’ Vida Pio V. p. 111.

⁸⁴ ‘De congruati,’ is the phrase of Catena. Gabutius a little more expands his terms: ‘Anglorum in Elizabetham *pis* conspirantium.’ p. 658.

⁸⁵ ‘Con l’abbatimento di quella reina.’ Catena. 113. ‘Quam ea expugnanda regina.’ Gab. 658.

⁸⁶ ‘Alla qual cosa, acconsentendo il rei volentieri.’ Cat. ib.

⁸⁷ ‘Restava a Pio de disporre destramente.’ ib.

⁸⁸ Catena, p. 114. Gabutius asserts the same facts: ‘Ut pars major optimatum in Elizabetham conspiraret.’ p. 658. The queen was

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insurrection might have a more favorable operation, Pius published a bull against Elizabeth, declaring her an heretic, depriving her of her kingdom, releasing her subjects from the oath of allegiance and duties, and excommunicating every one who should afterwards obey her.⁶⁰ The courts of Spain and France objected to that bull being published formally in their dominions, lest it should rouse the queen of England to an immediate war against them.⁶¹ Copies were therefore sent to Ridolfi, to disperse them secretly in England; and he induced one English gentleman to fix one on the bishop of London's door.⁶² The contents so excited the public mind to obey Elizabeth no longer, that if they had found out at the moment a leader, they would have rushed to a sudden revolt.⁶³

‘ Alarmed at such symptoms, Elizabeth immediately armed; and the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland dreading an arrest, without waiting for the co-operation of their companions, or for the foreign aids, raised a rebellion at the head of twelve thousand men, and published a declaration that its object was to re-establish the Catholic religion, and to restore the nation to its antient laws. But they did not move over the kingdom as they ought, when they would have been every where followed, but remained stationary; and by acting thus they failed,

promised to Norfolk for his wife, ‘ *si res feliciter evenisset.*’ Gab. ib.; so that the queen's hand was to be the duke's reward, if he could make this conspiracy effectual against Elizabeth.

⁶⁰ Cat. p. 114. Gab. 658. See before, page 188.

⁶¹ Cat. ib. He calls her the ‘ *rea femina*,’ and Gabutius, with a more hating emphasis, ‘ *pessima femina.*’ 658.

⁶² Cat. 115. Gab. 659. For which this victim of the pope's virulence against his sovereign was tried, condemned, and executed.

⁶³ Cat. p. 115. Gab. 659.

from the want of money: and withdrawing in Scotland, effected nothing by this insurrection.⁸³ But it occasioned the duke of Norfolk to be placed in ward, from suspicion; and some others, with Ridolfi, to be imprisoned; but Elizabeth being unable to find out the secrets of the conspiracy, they were all set at liberty, excepting the duke.⁸⁴

With this narrative of Catena, and its counterpart in Gabutius, the relation of the Spanish biographer of the pontiff substantially corresponds.⁸⁵ The Domi-

⁸³ This is the account of Catena, literally translated, p. 115, and of Gabutius, p. 659.

⁸⁴ Catena, 116. Gabutius, 659.

⁸⁵ Fuenmayor's statement is, that the pontiff, by Ridolfi, 'offered abundant succors of men and money, which excited not only the Catholics, but even the Puritans and Protestants, tho of contrary opinions, that they might satisfy their hatred in the disturbances.' That 'Pius caused the king of Spain to enter into the league, for the greater security of his estates:' that 'he managed to draw into the conspiracy (de meter en la conjuracion) the French Catholics, proposing to them the liberty of a queen, who was once of France, and descended from French blood.' That 'he made the duke of Norfolk the head of the conspiracy (Cabeça de la conjuracion) promising to him, with the marriage of Mary, the kingdom of England, because to her as a great grand-daughter of Henry VII. it belonged, and not to the illegitimate daughter of Henry VIII. who was possessing it.' That 'Ridolfi carried the pope's bull of excommunication and deprivation to England, and dispersed there many copies of it, and that two zealous Catholics fixed it on the doors of the prelate of London.' That Elizabeth 'laid her hands on some of the principal lords and on the duke, but without having more than some little suspicions; but the earl of Northumberland [Northumberland] impatient of more delay, put himself in arms with 12,000 men, fearing to be put under restraint if he waited, and hoping that his example would be followed.' That 'the earl, without fighting any other enemies than hunger and the want of money, retired out of the kingdom, not having produced any other effect than the declaration of his mind and that of his followers.' 'The earl published, that the causes of his movement were the defence of the true religion, and the restitution of the antient system; from which the queen took up the Catholics more openly, and also Ridolfi; but the wonderful secrecy and patience of the conspirators (de los conjurados) preserved him, and nothing was found out against him or others. At this time Pius sent 150,000 ducats for their succor; half for the earl to maintain himself on the frontiers there, and the other part for the duke [Norfolk], whose apprehension raised a great stir.' Fuenmayor, p. 111, 112.

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nican historian is still more diffusely accordant;⁶⁶ and thus all the four contemporary authorities concur to authenticate to us this singular, and we would hope, in the Vatican at least, unusual conspiracy of murder and rebellion, which brought to death and ruin some of the noblest families both in England and Scotland, who were deluded to abet it, and to attempt its execution. We have also the pope's letter to the duke of Alva, urging him to support the English insurgents,⁶⁷ and reminding him how easily

⁶⁶ Pollini describes the pope's sending the bishop of Mondovi with large sums of money to Mary (p. 456,) and that 'he ordered some respectable persons in England, who knew his holy thoughts, (son santi pensieri) to negotiate with the greatest possible secrecy.' p. 457. 'And it pleased his holiness, for the prosecution of this enterprise, to make use of the labor and diligence of M. Roberti Ridolfi, a Florentine gentleman, who living at London *under color* of mercantile occupations, and desiring to employ his time in the service of the holy see, exerted himself singularly to the satisfaction of the pontiff, but secretly, in moving and raising into insurrection the minds of this nation; negotiating with dexterity on the part of our lord, this most important undertaking, and of the greatest danger; *treating* not only with Catholics, but also *with many* heretics among the principal Protestants, who from divers causes would easily rise up against that queen.' p. 458. 'This plot appearing to have in every part the good foundation of a happy success, the pontiff exerted himself more than ever to advance it, and solicited the king Philip to give aid to the good Catholics of England; persuading also the court of France to do the same.' p. 458. 'The signor Ridolfi had so dexterously managed the affair, that the greater part of the nobility united together, and chose the duke of Norfolk for their head, and intended, with the knowledge and consent of both parties, to give him the queen of Scotland for his wife, not that they were in love with each other, as some credulous writers say, but that the plot might have the greater success.' p. 459. He then describes Felton and a Spanish chaplain of Tarragona, fixing up the pontiff's bull (p. 456;) and the rebellion of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland with 12,000 men; but that many other Catholics did not join them, because the excommunication of Pius V. had not been *juridically and solemnly* published; whence it did not appear to them that they were absolved from their allegiance: And 'Pius soon after dying, they did not know that the plot would be renewed by his successor, Gregory XIII.' p. 466. He mentions the arrest of the duke of Norfolk, Ridolfi, and others, and the liberation of all but the duke. p. 467.

⁶⁷ This letter to duke Alva is dated from Rome, 4 Feb 1570 Lett. Pie V. p. 130. He tells his 'dear son' that he is 'receiving every

he might do it,⁹⁸ and that they would fail if he did not assist them.⁹⁹ Another letter of the pontiff's appears among those which have been printed,¹⁰⁰ in which he himself recognises the stimulating activity of Ridolfi, with the co-operation of the French ambassador, to make the nobility oppose their queen, and stop the progress of the Reformation in France;¹⁰¹ and what is still more striking to us, the perfidious and traitorous management of a part of Elizabeth's cabinet and nobility in parliament, to prevent her from aiding the French Protestants in their struggles, in the expectation and condition that Charles IX. would on his part support them in making Mary of Scotland, as their lawful sovereign, the queen of England,¹⁰² which his ambassador, in

day the most detailed and certain news of the movement excited in England by the Catholics of that kingdom against the heretics, and *contra illam, quæ se pro Angliæ regina gerit.* ib. He will not even in a private letter call her queen, tho she was at least queen de facto.

⁹⁸ 'The nearness of England enables you, in the country where you are commanding [Flanders,] in a thousand ways to give succors to the English Catholics. We intreat your nobleness with all the earnestness we can use, to neglect nothing for that purpose, and to try every means to contribute to preserve the force of the faithful, and to augment and to sustain it.' ib. 131.

⁹⁹ 'If they remain unassisted by those who can succor them, it is to be feared that they will be overwhelmed by their enemies, or will disperse of themselves; but if they be supported, we may hope that they will succeed in re-establishing the Catholic religion in England.' ib. 131.

¹⁰⁰ This epistle is dated from Rome, under the fisherman's seal, 15 Dec. 1571, and is addressed to Catherine de Medicis, the queen-mother. p. 133-141.

¹⁰¹ He intreats her not to be diverted from the good intentions she has shewn of assisting the English nobility, and the partisans of the queen [Mary.] 'In the sole view of saving her and the other Catholics, many noblemen of England, at the instigation of the bishop of Motta, and at the request of Robert Ridolfi, have opposed themselves to the perverse projects of that perfidious woman [Elizabeth,] and sometimes openly, sometimes secretly, have succeeded in keeping France from being devoured by such a dreadful conflagration.' Lett. p. 134, 5.

¹⁰² 'The best witness of what we advance is the bishop of Motta, to whom Ridolfi announced, on the part of the principal great men, that the French king might repose entirely on their good dispositions toward

his name, had promised them.¹⁰³ The pope remonstrates against their being abandoned by the French king, and urges him to discuss leisurely the best means of transferring the crown from Elizabeth to Mary.¹⁰⁴ Pius promises to send without delay the succors which he was to contribute, and strenuously solicits his bargained co-operation.¹⁰⁵

We have not the correspondence of the duke of Norfolk with the Scottish queen; by marriage with whom he was, thro the success of this conspiracy, to

him; that they would use all their exertions as they really had done, that she, who is called queen of England, should not shew herself the declared enemy of France; that they counteracted her whenever she had shewn an intention of doing so, and would have resisted her attempt by the most vigorous measures. For this they had required only one condition, and this was, that the French king should on his side equally succor them, and take up without reserve the cause of the queen of Scots, *their lawful sovereign.*' Lett. p. 135.

¹⁰³ 'This promise,' adds Pius, 'had been made and announced to the English nobility, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, by the bishop of Motta. They were told that they should be aided in all their enterprises; at first, by favoring their projects to excite troubles in the state, and then by sending 2000 men into Scotland. They had been urged to organize an army in England, as a beginning of the execution of these designs; but this had been abandoned when the king had gained his end, and had made peace with the admiral.' ib. 136. Cecil notices in his diary, that the bishop of Rheims was sent by the French king, in September 1568, to move Elizabeth not to intermeddle between him and his subjects. Murdon, p. 765. I have found the actual notice of this bishop of Motta, in Cecil's dispatches to Norris. On 28 Oct. 1568, he wrote, 'I hear that LA MOT is on his way at Calais to come hither.' Cabala, 144. So on 16 November 1568: 'On Sunday last, LA MOT was presented by M. de la Forest, the former ambassador.' ib. 144. This fixes the chronology of what Pius mentioned.

¹⁰⁴ 'You ought to fulfil firmly those engagements for which you have given pledges. If you satisfy the great on this point, you may afterwards discuss at leisure by what means the queen of Scotland may be most easily made to succeed to this kingdom, and to conclude with her *an offensive alliance*, to the great advantage of the Catholic religion.' Lett. ib. 140.

¹⁰⁵ 'We will not suffer the succors that depend upon us to be in the least retarded; and we have already assembled a great part of them. We have nothing more to wait for but the prompt execution of your majesty's intentions. The bishop of St. Papoul will confer with you verbally on the sequel, and will treat more largely, in our name, with your majesty on this subject, and on every other that concerns the interests of the kingdom.' ib. 140.

displace the royal mistress, who was consulting and trusting him as one of her chief cabinet ministers, and to put himself on her throne. But some letters to him from Mary at this juncture have come down to us. They contain many intimations, which corroborate what we have already stated; but also declare that the duke had, since he had been put in restraint, discovered danger enough to be springing around him, from his treacherous tho carefully concealed plottings, to make him more cautious and backward than his tempting and eager lady.¹⁰⁶

At the end of January 1570, she expressed her own courageous spirit, and her desire to be governed by him.¹⁰⁷ She evinces that a mutual contract had passed between them,¹⁰⁸ and uses the

¹⁰⁶ Lord Hardwicke has printed them in his State Papers, from a transcript in Dr. Forbes' collection, vol. 1. p. 189-195. That Mary at this time, 1750, had soliciting agents from all the conspiring and hostile powers against Elizabeth, is acknowledged by her confidential ambassador, the bishop of Ross. 'The queen my mistress had written oft times during the winter preceding, and *had sent sundry special gentlemen* and servants of her own to the princes beyond the seas; and especially sir George Berkley, her master of household, to the king of France; Mr. John Hamilton to the duke of Alva, for advertising the king of Spain; and Mr. Henry Ker, one of her secretaries, to Rome, who, with the assistance of the bishop of Dunblane, did likewise accomplish his message to the pope.' Ross' Negot. And. 3. p. 93. He says Hamilton remained two years with Alva, p. 122, and then accompanied 'two of his well-experimented captains, a Spaniard and an Italian, to espy the country, and take experience of the ports, havens, roads, and best landing places upon the sea coast; and on the other part, he had caused search diligently the coast of England right against Flanders.' ib. 123.

¹⁰⁷ 'Mine own lord! I wrote to you before, to know your pleasure, if I should seek to make any enterprise. If it please you, I care not for my danger. But I wish you would seek to do the like, for if you and I could escape both, we should find friends enough; and for your lands, I hope they should not be lost; for, being free and honorably bound together, you might make such good offers for the countries, and the queen of England, as they should not refuse.' Hardw. p. 190.

¹⁰⁸ 'Our fault were not shameful. *You have promised* to be mine, and I, yours. I believe the queen of England and country should like of it. By means of friends, therefore you have sought your

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language of very deferring, but of rather strong affection.¹⁰⁹ About the middle of March she seeks to rouse his hesitating or receding mind, by an assurance of her devotedness to him;¹¹⁰ she notices the bishop of Ross as her adviser,¹¹¹ and induces our suspicions of Pembroke's fidelity to Elizabeth, by the manner in which she mentions his death,¹¹² and she intimates how much the duke had done already for her.¹¹³ In May we learn that he had resumed his correspondence with her.¹¹⁴ She avows

liberty, and satisfaction of your conscience; meaning, that you *promised me*, you could not leave me.' Hardw. 190.

¹⁰⁹ 'If you think the danger great, do as you think best, and let me know what you please that I do; for I will ever be, for your sake, perpetual prisoner, or put my life in peril for your weal and mine. As you please, command me; for I will, for all the world, follow your commands, so that you be not in danger for me in so doing. I will either, if I were out, by humble submission, tho all my friends were against it, or by other ways, work for our liberties so long as I live. Let me know your mind, and whether you are not offended at me; for I fear you are, *seeing that I do hear no news from you*. I pray God preserve you, and keep us both from deceitful friends. This last of January [1570.] Your own faithful to death—Queen of Scots. My Norfolk!' Hard. 190.

¹¹⁰ 'Mine own good lord! I have forborne this long time to write to you, in respect of the dangers of writing *which you seemed to fear*. But I must remember you of your own times, as occasion serves; and let you know the continuance of my truth to you, which I see, by this last, looks much detested. But *if you mind not to shrink at the matter*, I will die and live with you. Your fortune shall be mine. Therefore let me know in all things your mind.' Lett. 19 March. Hard. p. 191.

¹¹¹ 'The bishop of Ross writes to me, that I should make the offers to the queen of England now in my letter, which I write generally, because I would enter into nothing till I knew your pleasure, which I shall now follow.' ib. 191.

¹¹² 'I have heard that God hath taken your *dear friend* Pembroke, whereof *I am heartily sorry*.' ib.

¹¹³ 'Let not that nor other matters trouble you to your heart; for else you will leave all your friends and me, *for whose cause you have done so much already*, that I trust you will preserve to you to a happier meeting, in despite of all such railers; wherein I suspect Huntington for such like talk. I have prayed God to preserve you, and grant us both his grace. *And then, let them, like blasphemers feel*.' ib. 191.

¹¹⁴ 'I have received my own good, constant lord! your comfortable writings, which are to me as welcome as ever thing was; for the hopes

the grief she had felt on the news of Northumberland's failure,¹¹⁵ and warmly asserts her attachment.¹¹⁶ In the middle of June, in a letter less ardent, she represents the bishop of Ross to him as her confidential assistant,¹¹⁷ and refers him to this prelate for further business.¹¹⁸ We find afterwards that the intercourse was still kept up, thro the agency of Borthwick.¹¹⁹ She acknowledges again her obligations to him,¹²⁰ stimulates him also by affectionate assurances,¹²¹ admits the reception of

I see you are in to have some better fortune than you had yet, thro all your friends favor.' Lett. 17 May. Hardw. p. 192.

¹¹⁵ 'The earl of Shrewsbury came one night so merry to me, shewing that the earl of Northumberland had been in rebellion, and was rendered to the earl of Sussex; which I have since found false, but, at the sudden, *such fear for friends cumbering me, I wept so*, that I was all swollen three days after.' ib. 192.

¹¹⁶ 'I trust to write by one of my gentlemen shortly more surely. I pray you, think and hold me in your grace as your own, who daily shall pray to God to send you happy and hasty deliverance of all troubles, not doubting but that *you would not then enjoy alone* all your felicities, not remembering *your own faithful to death*, who shall not have any advancement or rest without you. Your own queen.' ib. 192.

¹¹⁷ 'My good lord! It has not been small comfort to me to have the means to discover at length *with our trusty servant the bishop of Ross*, that I might more plainly discover in all matters, nor betray it; both for the better intelligence of the state there to me, and of my heart to him, but especially for the better intelligence betwixt us two.' Lett. 14 June 1570, from Chatsworth. These allusions have an obscurity which we cannot now elucidate.

¹¹⁸ 'Therefore command him as for yourself, and as your trusty servant, and *believe him of all that he will assure you in my name*, that is, in effect, that I will be true and obedient to you, as I have promised, as long as I live.' ib. 193.

¹¹⁹ 'Sunday, I received a writing by Borthwick from you, whereby I perceive the satisfaction you have of my plain dealing with you, as I must do of my duty.' Letter from Wingfield late at night, this 24th. ib. 194.

¹²⁰ 'Considering how much I am beholden to you, *many ways*, I am glad that the grant of my good will is so agreeable to you.' ib.

¹²¹ 'Albeit I know myself to be so unworthy to be so well liked of one of such wisdom and good qualities, yet do I think my hap great in that; yea, much greater than my desert. Therefore, I will be about to use myself so, that so far as God shall give me grace, you shall never have cause to diminish your good conceit and favor of

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another letter from him,¹²² and discovers to us the important facts so perilous to Elizabeth, that she was then in correspondence with the duke of Alva; that the bishop of Ross was privy to it, and that thro him the duke of Norfolk was also consulted upon it.¹²³ Something of consequence and anxiety for her benefit was expected by her in the summer, and she hopes he will not be betrayed.¹²⁴

The communications between Ridolfi and the French ambassador, and the precise share of the latter in the papal conspiracy, cannot be ascertained, because his confidential dispatches on this subject have not been published. But some intimations appear in the letters of Charles IX. and of his mother to their ambassador, de la Mothe Fenelon, which deserve our passing notice.¹²⁵

me, while I shall esteem and respect you in all my doings, so long as I live, as you would wish your own to do.' Hardw. 194.

¹²² 'This day I received a letter from you by the bearer, whereby I perceive the thought you take of my health, which is much better than it was at his departing, but not yet very strong, nor quit of the *soreness of my side*. It causes me to be more heavy and pensive than I would or need to be.' ib. 194.

¹²³ 'I write to the bishop of Ross *what I hear from the duke of Alva*, governor of the Netherlands. Let me *know your pleasure* at length, in writing, *which I shall answer*.' ib. 194. We see the nature of her connexions with Alva, from the letter of Charles IX. to his ambassador, on 28th December 1570. 'I observe by your's that the lord Seton, who is gone to the duke of Alva, will be able to obtain so much of the secours which he required from him on the part of the queen of Scots, his mistress, and the means which Seton proposed to the duke to conduct the said secours so apropos, and to such places where, he said, they would be well received by the Scots, as you inform me.' Murray's MS.

¹²⁴ 'But and *this summer past*, I hope by good all the year. God preserve you from all traitors, and make your friends true and constant.' ib. 195.

¹²⁵ I quote these letters of Charles from the copies in the hands of Mr. Murray, to whom I am indebted for the perusal of them. He purchased them of a French gentleman. They are the same which De Potter mentions to have been in the possession of M. Barrere. Lett. Pic V. Introd. p. 26.

In the summer of 1569, the French king was apprised of the intended marriage of Norfolk and Mary,¹²⁶ altho Elizabeth was then wholly ignorant of the design; and he earnestly desired his representative in London to exert himself in every way to promote it, but as from himself, and to keep it a profound secret that the French government was urging it,¹²⁷ and so to manage his own dealings in it, that his interference might remain entirely unknown.¹²⁸

About a month afterwards we perceive allusions of Charles, to a commotion preparing in England,¹²⁹ to a league between the Catholic powers, suspected by Cecil to be forming against it,¹³⁰ and to the

¹²⁶ It was on 27 July 1569, that Charles IX. wrote from St. Germain: 'I am informed that the queen of Scotland is much advanced in the project of a marriage with the duke of Norfolk, and that they hope the things may be brought to some good end; which I much more desire than that it should be made with the bastard of Spain, as I know has been treated about.' MS. Murray.

¹²⁷ 'I beg you that zealously, but as of yourself and without making it known the least in the world, that I have written any thing to you upon it, you will do all that is possible to induce the queen of Scots to think well of this marriage; and so favor it by every means in your power, that it may be conducted to a good effect.' ib. MS.

¹²⁸ 'Above all, take care to handle it so secretly that you may not be discovered by any one: and that it does not come to be known that any thing has been mentioned to you about it from this side.' ib. MS. He mentions that he had raised new levies of 8000 Swiss, besides 50 French ensigns, and that Philip was sending him 4000 Spaniards against the Huguenot army, and 'the foreign forces with which they threaten me.' ib. MS.

¹²⁹ 'I have well considered the ample memoir which you have sent me of the state of things au delà [in England], which altho they seem some little prepared for a commotion.' Lett. from Amboise, 19th Aug. 1569. MS. ib.

¹³⁰ 'The opinion which they have got into their head of the league, which they say to be certain between the emperor, the king of Spain, and myself, as the secretary Cecil has been endeavoring to prove to you, by his reasons mentioned in your memoir, and which leads my good sister to a perpetual mistrust that I mean to attack her, of which I do not see any appearance: but rather that she has her eye open to draw from the misfortunes of my kingdom some advantage in her pretensions.' ib. MS.

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French ministers dealings with English lords,¹²¹ with an order that he should promote the projected marriage;¹²² but mixed with great uneasiness lest his Huguenot subjects should obtain succor from Elizabeth or in her country.¹²³ But the king's next letter authenticates the intimation made by the pope to him,¹²⁴ that some of the state counsellors of Elizabeth were corruptly and traitorously busy to keep her from supporting the French Protestants; and shews that they were, as he stated, in communication with the French ambassador and court on that subject,¹²⁵ at the precise time when the Huguenots

¹²¹ 'I approve of what you have had with the lords beyond.' MS. Murray.

¹²² 'I recommend to you the affair in my last despatch. *Employ yourself in it so actively that the marriage may be completed, using all the best and most dexterous means.*' Lett. ib. MS.

¹²³ He directed Fenelon to urge Elizabeth to 'deny favor in her kingdom to my rebels: and as to the money which they are borrowing there on the jewels of the queen of Navarre.' ib.

¹²⁴ See before, the letter of Pius V. quoted in notes 102, 103.

¹²⁵ On 16 August Charles wrote, 'You think that I should write to thank *some lords beyond for their good offices*, in keeping peace between me and the queen. As to the letters, I will send them to you to assist you by them as much as you shall wisely judge to be expedient for the good of my service.' (*Pour vous en aider, autant que vous jugerez sagement che apropos pour le bien de mon service.*) Lett. MS. ib. This important despatch gives us the time of their treasonable conduct, August 1569. We find from the queen mother's letter of the 15 Aug. that at this critical time the Huguenots had been a fortnight besieging Poitiers. That the duke of Guise had entered it with 1200 gentlemen, to assist in its defence, and had made the finest sallies that had ever issued from a besieged place; and that by the 20th, there would be 5000 French chevaliers collected, 'whom they mean to employ in giving une bonne bataille, to put us at the end of our evils.' MS. ib. So that at no period could the secret treacherous machinations in her cabinet, to keep Elizabeth neutral, be more important to the successes of the papal party in France, nor more disadvantageous to the Huguenots. We learn also from a letter of Charles, dated 30 August, that his ministers of the 15th had noticed the earnest solicitations which the Huguenots were making to Elizabeth for her assistance. The king adds, 'Oppose them always. They have now besieged Poitiers above a month. They have found so much resistance that they are despairing of taking it by force, and mean to reduce it from want of food. But it is well provided, and in four or five days my army of seven

were combating for their existence and safety, and when the vigorous co-operation of England would have secured for the Reformation a permanent establishment in that fine country; when Elizabeth's decided aid would have given voice, heart, and intellectual freedom to some of the noblest minds, who only sought personal safety, by a just and sincere accommodation, to avow and cultivate their purer faith.

In September exertions for the queen of Scots were resolved upon,¹³⁶ and the French ambassador became active in the secret transactions connected with her, and to procure her liberation:¹³⁷ and was in direct

or eight thousand horse, and fifteen or sixteen thousand foot, shall approach them so near as to make them raise the siege.'

Thus the establishment of the reformed religion in France hung on this eventful moment; but the treason purchased by Pius V. and his agent Ridolfi, prevailed. Elizabeth was counselled against sending any effective succors, and from that moment the Protestant cause declined in France. All the money, troops and means which Pius could procure, were put in action against them; and he deprived them, by the secret treachery of these English lords, of the effectual, and of the only, friend, that could have defeated his oppressive plans. Her judgment was paralyzed by some false advisers in whom she was confiding.

¹³⁶ On 1st September 1569, there is, among Mr. Murray's MS. the copy of a letter to the Card. de Lorraine, unsigned, but apparently from the ambassador, in which he mentions, 'With the equity of the cause of the queen of Scots, I see there is joined such a great interest of the reputation of the king, and of the honor of her crown, and also for the good of her affairs on her side, that I should ill discharge my duty if I did not *employ myself with all my power* in her restoration. In this I shall obey their majesties' commands. There is great need that their majesties correspond de delà, with what I may treat of thereupon.' MS. ib.

¹³⁷ On 6th September, Cath. de Medicis' letter was, 'We are glad to see by yours of the 26th, that there is more hope for the arrangement of the affairs of the queen of Scots than in your preceding. It will not be forgotten in order to continually favor them, to hold the same language to the ambassador of England here, which you express there to my good sister.' MS. ib. On 14th September Charles wrote, 'By your despatch of the 5th, I see the new accrochements qui sont dressés à la reine d'Ecosse. As they are always finding some novelty to postpone the conclusion of her affairs, you will not cease to urge it, as you have well done thus far: and so much the more livelily, as they seem to be putting things off to a length too tedious.' He announces that the

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correspondence with her, expressing his regret that she had been transferred to Tutberry, as if it had caused some severe disappointment.¹³⁸ In the next month we see again the irretrievable detriment to the French reformers, by Elizabeth's assisting arm being withheld. Left to their own private resources, when the French government had such supplies from the chief part of the papal world, the Catholic army gained over them that ruinous victory at Montcontour, which electrified Pius V. with so much transport.¹³⁹ The correspondence contains one incidental allusion to Ridolfi, as if this Frenchman had been concerned with him, and was interested in his having been unknown while in Flanders;¹⁴⁰ but the letters do not furnish any further lights on the French ambassador's share and practices in the conspiracy of Pius; yet the preceding traits are evidence, that he

siege of Poitiers had been raised, and that the Huguenot forces had retreated, 'followed by my army.' Lett. MS. Murray.

¹³⁸ This is a letter from him to her, dated 27th September 1600, beginning, 'Madame! I have been *wonderfully* troubled to hear that they have *thus suddenly* transported your majesty to Tutberry, and that the queen of England has been persuaded by those who love not your welfare.' MS. ib. As if the treacherous counsels of others had failed on this point against more honest advice. He mentions the bishop of Ross as making remonstrances to Elizabeth on behalf of Mary. MS. ib.

¹³⁹ See his congratulating letters of 20th October 1600, to Charles IX. p. 84; of 19th October, to the duke of Florence, who was aiding the king with the papal forces, p. 89; and of 3d November, to his legate, p. 91. Charles thus announced it to his minister in England, on 4th October: 'Yesterday the duc d'Anjou forced my enemies to a battle, which he gained, *with a great effusion of their blood*, and is following his victory. The duke of Guise is wounded by an *harquebuss* in the foot; no great thing.' On 7th October he calls it '*une belle et heureuse victoire*.' MS. ib.

¹⁴⁰ On 20 January 1672, Remondouet wrote to Fenelon from Brussels, 'Ridolf has not been for some time in this quarter, that I know of, having gone from it to Italy above two months, as I have heard. He was well hidden in this city a month, without its being known who he was. Be assured that he lived very secretly at Antwerp.' Murray's MS.

was busily employed in it at London and Westminster, and too efficaciously for the accomplishment of that part of it, which sought the depression or extinction of the French Reformation.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ The strange fact mentioned both in the letters of Pius V. and of Charles IX. that some of Elizabeth's counsellors were traitorously influencing her to conduct that favored the plannings of these potentates, reminds me of sir William Cecil's complaint of his want of influence, and of other advice being taken in the first part of this reign. On 22d Dec. 1561, he thus intimates it to his friend, sir N. Throckmorton: 'I might lament my place that I hold, being, to outward appearance, because of frequentation with her majesty, of much credit; and [but] indeed of none at all. My only remedy is, to leave the place; my grief is, to see likelihood of such successors as I am sure shall or will destroy all my good purposes. I may not write, but yet I may lament.' He then complains, that he had been forced to sell at that time 150*l.* of his lands; and that to pay the debts which still burthened him, he was proceeding to sell his office in the Common Pleas. He then adds this indication how his counsels were disregarded:

'I have carried in my head, with care, means how her majesty should from time to time conduct her affairs. I see so little proof of my travails, by reason her majesty alloweth not of them, that I have left all to the wide world. I do only keep an account for a show, but inwardly I meddle not, leaving things to work in a course, as the clock is left when the barrel is wound up. It is time to end these complaints to you who cannot remedy them; but yet because you wrote to me divers times of matters worthy your consideration, thinking that you have bestowed them well on me, *in hopes that I will fashion and put them forth*, when you see that *I have no comfort so to do*, I thought it not inconvenient to note thus much to you of my imperfection.' Letter in Hardw. State Papers, v. 1. p. 178. If we pity the French Protestants who were sacrificed by the treachery of those who succeeded in turning Elizabeth's mind from giving them effectual succor at the fluctuating and turning moment of the balance, when a decided interposition would have rescued both them and their cause from the powerful combinations which were overwhelming it; yet it is a consolation to find as we advance, that Elizabeth discovered the value of Cecil's fidelity and wisdom in time enough to save England, herself, and the Protestant succession in this country and in Scotland, by making him afterwards her guiding counsellor. He would have preserved the Reformation also in France if he had been her ruling prime minister in the year 1569. But being then successfully counteracted by others, the Guises obtained triumphs which his foreseeing policy and vigorous firmness might have prevented.

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THE QUEEN INTERROGATES NORFOLK—THE EARLS OF WEST-MORELAND AND NORTHUMBERLAND REVOLT—PROGRESS OF THE CONSPIRACY—MARY'S PARTICIPATION IN IT—DANGER OF ELIZABETH.

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WHILE the pontiff, the French ambassador and his sovereign, the duke of Alva and the king of Spain, Mary and her adherents, the English traitor nobles and the Catholic party in the island, were thus in active conspiracy for the destruction or deposition of Elizabeth, she was living in her usual manner, and attending to all her royal duties, in ignorance of the danger and treachery which were surrounding her, and which were penetrating even into her private chambers. In May 1569, ideas of her being in some danger had spread to Hamburgh, but were treated with contempt.¹ Spain was thought to be favorable;² and the character of Elizabeth was transcending the highest reputation which any English sovereign had reached.³ The only intima-

¹ On 25 May 1569, Kylligrew wrote to Cecil from Hamburgh, that the Spaniards 'be no ways able to annoy her highness, if all be sure at home; whereof there is vain talk abroad to small effect.' Haynes' State Papers, p. 516.

² The same envoy remarked, 'It is said the duke of Alva hath commission from the king, his master, to appease this jar with England, till better opportunity may serve them. You know the Spaniard will not yield till he be at death's door.' ib. 516.

³ Such is the statement of this foreign minister, writing from the Elbe: 'I think the queen's majesty be more feared and honored this day of ALL countries, what religion soever they be of, than ever any of her predecessors before her was.' Haynes, 516.

tion she received of something unusual being on foot, was the information that the duke of Norfolk was projecting a marriage with the Scottish queen; and that the earl of Murray, in Scotland, was favoring it.⁴ This disquieted her; because, whoever had Mary's hand, would also have her pretensions to the throne as the materials of his ambition, and as a dangerous nucleus of domestic intrigue; but it was not known or supposed to be connected with any external confederacy. She desired explanations from Murray on this subject, 'while her noble officer at Berwick sent her his suspicions that it had been long in agitation,⁵ and was connected with something formidable.'⁶

Tho nothing but vague apprehensions could be yet traced, Elizabeth deemed it important to guard more vigilantly her royal competitor, without knowing that conspiracy was at that moment seeking to place her on the English throne; and as Shrewsbury was unwell, lord Huntingdon was sent to Tutberry Castle, to add his superintendence.⁷ They were

⁴ This occasioned Cecil, on 9 September, to order Drury to state to the Scottish princess, 'that the queen hath of late found it very strange to hear it affirmed that she should labor to compass this marriage,' and yet not notify it to her. Haynes, 521.

⁵ H. Carey was sent, 21 September, to desire 'that the said earl should advertise us what he hath anywise done therein, and who in our realm have moved him therein.' Instr. ib. 525.

⁶ Lord Hunadon wrote, on 18 Sept. to the secretary, that he was 'right glad that her majesty doth so much mislike of the marriage, wishing her so to continue; for, truly, I fear that whosoever were the first beginners thereof, they meant neither faithfully to her majesty nor friendly to him, what pretence soever is now made. I may not write what I know; but sure I am, that, as the matter hath been long a brewing, so hath there been strange dealing, which I doubt not but will shortly appear.' Haynes, p. 522.

⁷ Murden has printed the queen's letters, of 22d Sept. to these two earls on this subject, p. 525, 6. The latter, in 25, reported Shrews-

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ordered to search carefully for her secret correspondence; but she had previously burnt all but two ciphers, which they transmitted to the cabinet.⁸

The sensation, from the undefined hints which got abroad, that something unknown was in agitation, occasioned the queen to send for those noblemen to court, to whom any doubtful circumstances applied. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, the lord Lumley, and her own lord high-steward, the earl of Pembroke, were the first she summoned.⁹ Norfolk, instead of attending her at Windsor as she desired, pleaded an ague as his excuse for delaying immediate obedience for four days;¹⁰ but inconsistently with his pretext of a disability from indisposition, went off into Norfolk to his castle at Kenninghall, from whence he addressed to the queen an epistle, half excuse, half complaint;¹¹ and to the

bury's dislike to have a partner in this charge. 'I perceive also non facile patitur æqualem.' p. 530.

⁸ Lett. 27 Sept. p. 532. Lett. 29 Sept. p. 537. 'At Wingfield, one day, she consumed with fire very many writings.' *ib.* Elizabeth, on 1 October, answered them, 'We see it very likely that either you dealt not with such coffers, as wherein her writings were, or else that she has burned them all, as you guess. But you shall do well to require of her the letters which were sent to her about Easter last, signed by the earls of Pembroke and Leicester, which they both confess they sent to her by the bishop of Ross.' Haynes, 539.

⁹ Her letters to Arundel and Lumley are in Haynes, p. 529, 530. In August some insurgent movement was attempted in Suffolk, for Cecil then informed Norris 'a lewd varlet motioned a number of light persons to have made a rout, in manner of rebellion, to have spoiled the richer sort; but the matter was discovered.' Cabala, 155.

¹⁰ Dating from Howard House, 22 Sept. he informed Leicester and Cecil, 'At my coming hither I found myself disposed to an ague, to avoid which I took a medicine yesterday, whereof I am afraid to go into the air so soon; but *within four days* I will not fail to come to the court accordingly.' Haynes, 527.

¹¹ His apology for withdrawing was, that hearing of her displeasure, he 'thought no way so good,' to give 'a token of my sorrowful heart.' His complaint was of her mistrust. When we recollect Catena's disclosure concerning this duke's secret conspiracy with the pope and

secretary, another promise to be with them in the ensuing week.¹² His object probably was to ascertain, thro his friends, how far his practices had become known, before he ventured to undergo any questioning about them, that he might shape his answers accordingly. Elizabeth answered his palpable evasion and manifest inconsistency, by a peremptory command for his immediate attendance, and censuring his apprehensions of any danger from her if he knew there was no cause.¹³ He still lingered.¹⁴ He was too conscious how much he was really implicated, not to dread a possible discovery from the researches of the awakened cabinet.¹⁵ But

Ridolfi, we cannot but feel that he was playing the part both of a pathetic and of a solemn hypocrite to Elizabeth. 'A nipping to my heart! That I, which *knew my own faithful fidelity* to your majesty, should now become a suspected person! I, your poor subject, who never, I take the Almighty God to witness, had ever one only thought against your highness, your crown, or dignity!' Lett. 24 Sept. from Kenynghall. Haynes, 528. How easy some minds can combine the most sacred protestations with conscious untruth!

¹² It is singular, that to such a man as Cecil he should declare he was too ill to go from London to Windsor, and then travel more than double the distance to Kenynghall. Yet he again states from Norfolk, 'I have had this night a fit of an ague. So soon as I may, without peril of further sickness, which I trust her highness would not wish me to increase by over sudden journey, I shall wait upon her majesty, and that before Monday or Tuesday next at farthest. Kenyng. Sept.' Haynes, 528.

¹³ 'This we command you to do upon your allegiance; and as you mean to have any favor showed you *by us, who never* intended to minister any thing to you, but as you should in truth deserve.' Lett. 25 Sept. 1569. Haynes, 529.

¹⁴ Cecil wrote to him on the 28th Sept. recommending him, as a friend, to come. *ib.* 533. And on 3d October thus spoke of him to sir H. Norris: 'He is now on his way, whereof I am glad—whom of all subjects I *honored and loved above the rest*; and surely found in him always matter so deserving.' Cabala, 157.

¹⁵ His letter, on the first of the preceding July, to earl Murray, contains some passages which, tho unintelligible without Catena's account, become comprehensible when connected with it, and confirms its accuracy. In this he mentions his union with Mary as a certain tho a secret thing. 'To return to that you desire to be satisfied of—my marriage with the queen your sister—I must deal plainly with your lordship, as

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the queen would allow no hesitation,¹⁶ and he submitted himself to the interrogation. The government had, however, detected nothing but his intended marriage with Mary;¹⁷ all beyond this was only a vague mistrust of something brooding, which no specific information occurred to elucidate. Yet it was thought expedient for the diminution of the obscure danger, to commit the duke to the Tower.¹⁸ Elizabeth then little knew from what an impending peril she unconsciously released herself by this cautionary confinement. The arrest of this main leader

my only friend; that I have proceeded so far therein as I, with conscience, can neither revoke that that I have done; nor never do mean, while I do live, to go back from this that is done.' A further paragraph visibly alludes to the pope's plan of Mary's being put on the throne of England, and thereby uniting the two crowns, and restoring popery. 'My very earnest request to you is, that you will proceed herein with such expedition, as the enemies to this good purpose against the *uniting of this land into one kingdom* in time coming, and the maintenance of God's true religion, may not have opportunity, thro delay given them, to hinder our pretended determination.' These 'enemies,' which he says, 'will be of no small number,' were Elizabeth and her Protestant nobles and people. Another sentence is a comment on Catena's assertion, that '*molti di primieri Protestanti concorrevano,*' in this conspiracy, and that the '*maggior parti di nobili si congiunsero insieme, et per lor capo il duca de Norfolk presero.*' p. 114. For the duke writes, 'You shall not want the furtherance in this enterprize *of the most part of the noblemen* of this realm; whose faithful friendship in this cause, and all my other actions, I have to my contentment sufficiently proved.' Haynes, p. 520. The coincidence of the two passages is so exact, that they would almost seem to be transcripts of each other; but that this was impossible.

¹⁶ See her more determined letter of 28 September 1569, in Haynes, 553. On 1 October, she informed Shrewsbury: 'As for the duke of Norfolk, we understand certainly this day, that he is coming quietly hitherward, wherein he has chosen the better way to shew his obedience, for otherwise the world should have seen some effects of that authority which God hath given us.' Haynes, 538.

¹⁷ This was all that the cabinet mentioned in the official letter they sent to the counties, to quiet the alarm that was spreading on the news of his arrest. See it in Haynes, p. 531.

¹⁸ Haynes, 540. The duke wrote from the Tower, on 19 Oct. to the council, intreating their favor. Haynes, 551.

and intended king, disconcerted for that time the formidable conspiracy.

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The other lords obeyed their summons; were interrogated, and gave their individual answers;¹⁹ but altho future evidence shewed that they were then concerned in the unknown plots, yet their secret dealings were still undiscovered, and nothing was elicited from them beyond the intended marriage.²⁰ The conspirators, as the king of Spain had remarked, were so faithful and guarded, that no further information was obtained.²¹ The bishop of Ross, a principal in the hatching treason, was also as ineffectually questioned.²² Northumberland and Westmoreland were then sent for;²³ but, instead of attending, happily for Elizabeth, from the apprehensions of their own consciousness of guilt, were hurried by their personal alarms, and by the contrivances and persuasions of others, either too frightened, or too

¹⁹ See the questions in Haynes, 534, 5; and the answer of Pembroke, p. 535-541, of Lumley, p. 536.

²⁰ Lumley was questioned on 29 Sept. if he had not been at the Spanish ambassador's, but he baffled this inquiry, by admitting that he had been only once, and for 'the recovery of a debt of 1,100*l.* which the lady Cecilie oweth unto him;' and that Ridolfi was privy to it, 'as a party to the debt.' Haynes, p. 537.

²¹ The examination of Pembroke, who was the lord high steward, leads us to recollect Catena's intimation, that an 'intendimento' had been established, 'nel palagio e guardia d'Elizabetta.' p. 118. We learn from Cecil's letter of 3 Oct. 'The queen hath been also grievously offended with lord Leicester; but considering that he hath revealed all that he saith he knoweth of himself, her majesty spareth her displeasure the more towards him.' Cabala, 157.

²² The examinations of this prelate, and of sir Nicholas Throckmorton, on 10 Oct. shew that the government had then traced nothing beyond the project of the marriage. They are printed in Haynes, 541-8. Nor was more obtained from Cantrel, the duke of Norfolk's servant. ib. 548-550.

²³ The queen's letters to them are dated 10 Nov. 1569, from Windsor Castle, Haynes, 552; and on 14 Nov. she desired from some vague perception that cautionary measures were become necessary, the earl of Cumberland to make himself ready 'to withstand and suppress all unloyal attempts of any person in those parts.' ib. 553.

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sanguine to judge soundly of the wisest conduct, into an instantaneous revolt.²⁴

They had secretly concerted that forces from Scotland, and also from the duke of Alva, should have met them at Hartlepool, when the preparations for their insurrection should be complete.²⁵ But being stimulated by the papal emissaries,²⁶ they rushed from that undermining hypocrisy, which is always dangerous, by spreading conspiracy in its unseen paths, with more treacherous effect; and advanced to Durham in daring and palpable rebellion.²⁷ The suddenness and audacity of the explosion implied such a confident certainty in the means of its support, that the queen and her friends could not at first measure the possible extent and progress of its consequences.²⁸ She had, with provident sagacity,

²⁴ Northumberland was roused by a fictitious disturbance in the dead of the night, by some too eager partisans, and led to believe that a party was advancing to apprehend him. 'The earl, trembling, rose out of his bed, and withdrew himself to his lodge, and the next night to Branspeth, an house of the earl of Westmoreland, where many, not ignorant of the matter, were assembled already.' Camden, *Eliz.* p. 114.

²⁵ Camden, 114. Lord Westmoreland informed the spy constable, 'that the duke of Alva had in readiness all the ships he had made of late, and had stayed all others that came within his reach, in order to carry men and horses into England. The earl knew this to be true, because Scotchmen had come to Leith, where ships had been thus detained, and who had stolen away on foot, and sailed from other places.' *Const. Lett.* 12 January 1570. Sadler, p. 112.

²⁶ Camden says, 'Nicholas Morton, priest, stoutly thrusting them forward.' p. 114. We shewed from Sanders, in note 58 of the foregoing chapter, that Pius V. had sent this man to England, to incite the nobility to a revolt.

²⁷ Here they tore the Bible in pieces, overthrew the communion table, and called upon the people to take their parts in behalf of the Romish religion. Elizabeth's letter in Haynes, 555. She also remarks that one of these earls 'has already so wastefully spoiled his own patrimony, as he will not let to spoil and consume all other men's that he may come by.' 556. But this previous dilapidation of his estate, which made him more accessible to a corrupt conspiracy, unfitted him to support his rebellion.

²⁸ We see this in the language of Elizabeth to her northern general:

made Windsor Castle her residence while she prosecuted her inquiries ; and as soon as the unknown peril had taken this visible shape, after duly weighing the measures which her northern commander had advised,²⁰ she issued those orders to him for suppressing the rebellious movements, which united vigor, resolution, and mercy.²⁰ The lord-lieutenants of the other English counties were also instructed to put the whole force of their able men, both horse and foot, in readiness to move upon an hour's warning, to extinguish any insurrectionary commotion.²¹ The rebel earls sent their protestation or manifesto to the earl of Derby, which is remarkable for its declaring that their undertaking had been devised by the duke of Norfolk, the earls Arundel and Pembroke, and by divers of the antient nobility of

'The doubt that you have conceived of the stedfastness of our subjects of that county, that are to go with you on this service, seemeth somewhat strange unto us.' She directs him therefore to chuse such as are most likely to be faithful, and to forbear using the service of other.' Haynes, 557.

²⁰ She says to Sussex, 'You put us in remembrance on the one side, what may be hoped for by granting pardon unto the earls and their partakers ; and on the other, what may be doubted of by hazarding of battle against desperate men.' *ib.* 557.

²¹ 'And truly as we have been always of our own nature inclined to mercy, and have shewed and continued the same from the first beginning of our reign, peradventure, in further degree than might well stand with the surety of our estate and person, yet, in a matter that toucheth us so near, we can in no wise find it convenient to grant pardon unto those that do not humbly and earnestly sue for the same ; and we doubt not but you can consider that it standeth not with our honor to pardon the earls, and their principal adherents, without farther deliberation ; but for the mean sort, that have not been principal doers in the rebellion, we have already authorised you to grant our pardon, as you shall, by your discretion, think convenient.' *Eliz.* letter to Sussex, November 1569. Haynes, 557.

²² Haynes has printed these official letters of 20th November, p. 559, 560 ; and to the lord admiral and earl Shrewsbury, p. 561. The numbers ordered out from 12 of the counties were, horse 1,312, and 10,000 foot, to assemble between 8th and 12th December. p. 562, 3.

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the realm ;³² and that they meant to place the issue on the sword.³³ Thus dangerously put forward as a confederating traitor, when he was not prepared to co-operate successfully, the duke chose to prefer his safety to his honor, by a denial of his participation.³⁴ He was closely questioned on his intended marriage with Mary, which was the only feature of the conspiracy which the cabinet had detected :³⁵ but he persisted to declare, that his only object in it was to prevent a papist prince from obtaining her.³⁶ His confessions disclosed some secret dealings ; but all treasonable machinations were carefully concealed.³⁷

³² Haynes, 565. They state their object to be, 'to make known to all persons, to whom, of mere right, the true succession of this crown appertaineth,' meaning to Mary, considering, like the Romanists, Elizabeth to be the queen only *de facto*, and not of mere right.

³³ After inveighing against the queen's ministers, they add, 'Their unjust and ambitious policies and practices can, by no submission of our part be avoided, but only by the sword.' *ib.*

³⁴ His letter to the queen, of 3d December, is in Haynes, 567. The vice-chamberlain, by her command, shewed him a copy of Northumberland's proclamation, which implicated him. On this he answers, 'I assure your majesty of my poor honesty, that I never dealt with any of those rebellious persons. I hope I shall not be so unhappy to be the first that shall taste the extremity of your highness's displeasure, which hath taken more of my wretched carcass than I think your majesty's pitiful heart would require. Yet, I assure your highness, the heart in my body never had yet any undutiful thought to your majesty's person nor realm.' *ib.* We can only place the duke's denial against the express charge of the two papal secretaries, and of the English earls, and the circumstances that will be hereafter noticed. Pembroke from Wilton, and Arundel from Nonsuch, on 5th December, equally disowned it. Hay. 568, 9. The government could then make no further discovery : and on 14th December apprised Pembroke, that the queen would admit him again to her presence as lord steward, a wise and courageous act to recover and preserve him if he had deviated. He died at Hampton-court, the 16th of the ensuing March. Stowe, 669.

³⁵ On 12th December he wrote to the queen, 'Now that I see how unpleasant this matter of the queen of Scots is unto your majesty, I never intend to deal further therein ;' but he declined 'marriage any other where,' on the ground of 'ill health.' Haynes 571.

³⁶ See his lett. 15th December, in Haynes, 572.

³⁷ The charges made against him, on the 20th January 1570, on this

Precipitate as this rebellion was in the time of its occurrence, yet from the extent and effect of the preceding plots, it was not at first ascertainable, how wide its tempestuous range and disasters would spread. By the last week of November, they had advanced to Sherborn and Tadcaster, and commanded the roads between Doncaster and York.³⁹ Lord Hunsdon, a zealous friend of the existing government, crossed the Humber to Hull, where Sadler and Sussex joined him, and they proceeded together to the northern metropolis.⁴⁰ The advanced force of the rebels did not seem formidable.⁴¹ The peril lay in the uncertainty, who would rise and co-operate with them, and who would refuse or hesitate to act against them. For, even the lord-lieutenant's brother had associated himself with them.⁴²

By this alarming fact, the sincerity of Sussex himself, the descendant of the notorious minister of Richard III. became a subject of doubt and anxiety: but the able and faithful sir Ralph Sadler confidentially vouched to the queen for his zealous fidelity.⁴³

subject, and his answers, are in Haynes, p. 575-7. They state that he had confessed that he had written to her ten or twelve letters in cipher, and sent her a ring; and that he had received letters from her in cipher, p. 575; and had also sent secretly to the rebel earls and others, for their allowance of it.

³⁹ Letter sir R. Sadler, of 23d November 1569. Sadler's Papers, v. 2, p. 36, 7. So that lord Darcy could not move from Doncaster to reinforce Sadler as he wished, nor sir Th. Gargrave from Pomfret Castle. ⁴⁰ Ib. 37, 41, 2.

⁴¹ Sadler described them on 23d November, as 'about 3,000 men, of which 700 are horse. The horse are well appointed. The footmen are for the most part unarmed, and a number of them very raskalls; such as by force and sinister means the heads of the rebels have drawn to them.' Sadl. p. 38.

⁴² This was Egremont Ratcliff. Ib. 43.

⁴³ Lett. 42. The express 'assured her that nothing was more grievous to him than his brother's traitorous dealing.' p. 43.

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It was still more disquieting to discover indications, that the insurrection had been long preparing,⁴³ and that the majority of the gentlemen of the country, while pretending a desire to repress it, were secret favorers of it.⁴⁴ The insurgents soon became too formidable to be hastily attacked:⁴⁵ and an army that could be depended upon was raised in the southern counties, to be placed under the earl of Warwick, and of Clinton the lord admiral, both to subdue the revolting, and to deter the disaffected;⁴⁶ while a selected body was also collected for the immediate protection of the sovereign.⁴⁷

As lord Clinton reached Lincoln, he found all the country thro which he passed peaceful and loyal, and animated against the revoltors,⁴⁸ who also per-

⁴³ Sir Ralph remarked from York, on 28th November, 'A great number of them, servants and tenants to the other gentlemen, be pistolliers, furnished with shot; which argueth that this matter hath long beforehand been prepared by the said rebels.' ib. 43.

⁴⁴ Sadler made this important discrimination: 'I find the gentlemen of this county, tho *the most part* of them *be well affected* to the cause which the rebels make the color of their rebellion; yet, in *outward show* well affected to serve your majesty truly against them. I see no such cause that I may be utterly void of suspicion toward them. Therefore it is wisdom to be furnished with such force as your majesty may be assured of, which will enforce them to serve truly, tho they had meaning to the contrary.' ib. 43.

⁴⁵ 'The force assembled here for your majesty, is 2,500 foot, and 500 horse, which is not able to encounter the force of the rebels, being about 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse, very well appointed. It is wise, therefore, for my lord Sussex to forbear, until such time as he may be able to take the field with some security.' ib. 43.

⁴⁶ Cecil's lett. of 26th November, p. 40.

⁴⁷ 'The queen will have an army about her person of 15,000 men by 10th December, whereof my lord of Pembroke shall be general.' Cecil's lett. p. 41.

⁴⁸ So lord Clinton wrote to Sadler on 26th November, from Lincoln: 'Not only in these parts, but in the whole realm, all is quiet and good obedience to the queen, and every man bent to serve her to death with all that they have, and detest and mislike this rebellion. Every man provideth himself to serve her highness against all rebels.' Sadl. Pap. p. 45. And on 27th he used the same language which he repeated

ceiving the same truth, deemed it wise to recede from their daring advance.⁴⁹ Their hope now began to rest solely on the Spanish force which they expected for their support. Hence they rested at Raby, and had taken the port of Hartlepool, for the double purpose of receiving their foreign allies, or of escaping by sea if they should be disappointed of their succor.⁵⁰ The Spanish general Vitelli was waiting at this time in London, to take the command of such as might arrive:⁵¹ and Sadler still found that the provincial levies in the northern countries could not be trusted, and that it was only upon the army which should advance from the south, that any reliance could be securely placed.⁵² He repeated this emphatically in fuller detail,⁵³ and draws briefly

on 6th December, after a communication to the same effect from the court. p. 53.

⁴⁹ The lords of the council received at Windsor, the news of this retreat, on the 28th November (ib. p. 46;) and lord Derby, who had received letters of solicitation to join the rebellion, immediately transmitted them to the government. Clinton's lett. 6th December, p. 54.

⁵⁰ On 2d December, Sadler reported: 'The rebels are now at Raby; but they have gotten Hartlepool, and put 300 men in it to keep it for them.' p. 52. This success arose from the suspicious negligence of the 200 men, whom the lord lieutenant had sent to secure it. ib. This made Cecil write with some anxiety on 5th December from Windsor, 'I fear Hartlepool will breed some longer trouble.' p. 53.

⁵¹ Camden, p. 113. It was not till the 20th December that he was ordered out of the kingdom. Cecil's State Diary. Murd. p. 768.

⁵² On 2d December his dispatch was, that with a further supply of 3,000 men 'out of the south, we shall be able to bring this matter to a good end without any danger. My lord lieutenant thinketh with a less force to do it: but for my part, having no great trust in our northern force which we have here, I desire to have the greater force out of the south, whereunto we may trust.' p. 51.

⁵³ Four days afterwards, on mentioning to Cecil his perception that the queen would hardly believe that her good subjects of that country would not be able to match with the power of the rebels, he subjoins, 'But surely, sir! if it may please her majesty to consider of it, it is easy to find the cause thereof; for there be not in all this country ten gentlemen that favor her majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion; and the common people be ignorant, full of superstition, and altogether blinded with the old popish doctrine; and therefore do so much favor

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but forcibly, that melancholy feature which attends all civil warfare, of national relationships being divided against each other, which Shakespear so impressively depicts in his historical dramas.⁵⁴

Vitelli still remained in London expecting his Spanish friends: but these, acting with their national characteristic of slow movement, and therefore always too late for every purpose which requires celerity of execution, their delay created doubts of their real intention, and exhausted the pecuniary funds of the revolting chiefs. Apprehension created hesitation, which, as privations unrelieved came on, produced that dispiriting vexation, which is ruinous to every hazardous enterprise. Altho by the middle of December, the admiral was still not efficient to attack;⁵⁵ yet the earl Westmoreland began to despond.⁵⁶ Desertion and repentance slowly lessened his force,

the cause, which the rebels make the color of their rebellion, that tho their persons be here with us, their hearts, for the most part, be with the rebels. And, no doubt, they had wholly rebelled, if at the beginning my lord lieutenant had not both wisely and stoutly handled the matter.' Lett. 6 December, p. 54.

⁵⁴ Sadler added, 'This I have found to be most true, and therefore have good cause to doubt, lest, if we should go to the field with this northern force only, they would fight but faintly in the quarrel; for as I wrote to you before, if the father be on the one side, the son is on the other; one brother is with us and the other with the rebels; whereof you may conceive what trust is in them.' *ib.* 55.

⁵⁵ His account on 12th Dec. was, 'We are come this night to Pomfret, and will go to Wetherby to-morrow. I never saw so weary horses, and rarely so furnished men on them, as are come out of divers countries, and serve under Warwick and me. Except we have one day or two to rest our horses, and put our harness men in order, and fit their armor on them, as great a number of them as is come this night, I fear we shall have a weak service of them.' *Sadl. Pap.* p. 61.

⁵⁶ His language from Brandspeeth, on 14th December, to a pretended partisan, who, meaning to be a spy, asked for safe conduct. 'I thank you for your gentle offer, and *find my fortune is now to have need of friends*. I pray you [to be] such a friend as nature should [induce] you to be. I promise you of my honor to come safe and to go safe. This letter shall be your warrant.' *ib.* p. 162.

when his resources could not find wages to supply the temptations of pecuniary bounty.⁵⁷ Awhile the continued belief that other noblemen, part of the advancing army of Elizabeth, would revolt to their side, upheld the confidence of many;⁵⁸ and they still found such congenial feelings in the northern population, as to preserve the imposing appearance of superior numbers. But the want of money and subsistence, and the absence of an enterprising and determined spirit, adequate to an undertaking which can never have any other alternative than speedy ruin or immediate victory in their leaders, soon afterwards broke up the insurgent force without the need of fighting.⁵⁹ By Christmas-day they had fled northward from Durham, and were dispersing and concealing themselves like defeated men, who had forfeited their lives by their mingled crime and folly:⁶⁰

⁵⁷ This spy, as he went, reported to Sadler, 'I have met his soldiers coming from him by two, four, six, and dozens, complaining for more money; and that they would be hanged at home, ere they returned to serve again without wages.' Constable's letter, *ib.* 64. This man was one of lord Leicester's servants. *ib.* 109.

⁵⁸ This same man's account of their expectations, points to some of the secretly disaffected noblemen to whom our notes have alluded before. 'They make their full account that my lord president, the earl of Cumberland, earl Rutland, and lord Dacres, with all their forces and Horsey, will, at his shot, turn to take their part.' *ib.* 64.

⁵⁹ On 15th Dec. Sadler reported: 'The rebels understanding that we be on the way towards them, do now gather all the forces they can make, and I learn that all Cleveland, Allertonsshire, Richmondshire, and the bishopric, are all wholly gone unto them; such is their affection to the cause of religion, by means whereof they are grown to the force of great numbers, but yet confused, without order, armor, or weapon.' p. 67. Sadler thought he was 'able enough to deal with them, yet because my lord Warwick and the admiral desire to be at this service, we do stay for them. They being 12,000 men.' He adds, 'I know not how they will be victualled, the people of this country being so hollow hearted, and so unwilling to bring victuals to the camp.' *ib.*

⁶⁰ Lett. of 24th December. He gives this woful picture of what such conduct usually ends in: 'The rebel earls and principal confederates lurk and hide themselves in the woods and deserts of Lyddesdale. The

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leaving the great mass of the people, whom they had excited to treason, in a state of legal guilt and of expected punishment.⁶¹ The earls, and some of the chief gentry, fled into Scotland and found a friendly reception among the border clans.⁶² The Scottish regent Murray rode with the cavalry guard to Jedworth, to seize them, and obtained Northumberland after a short struggle.⁶³ Westmoreland experienced a steady protection from the laird of Farnihurst,⁶⁴ and the countess of Northumberland from lord Hume.⁶⁵ She was invited by the English commanders to surrender herself to the queen's mercy.⁶⁶ A private solicitation was made to West-

earls have changed their names and apparel, and ride like the outlaws of Lyddesdale.' ib. 71.

⁶¹ On 4th January 1570, the bishop of Durham declared to Cecil, 'The country is in great misery. The sheriff writes, that he cannot do justice by any juries of such as be untouched in this rebellion, until they be either acquitted by law or pardoned by the queen. *The number of offenders is so great, that few innocent are left to try the guilty.* If the forfeited lands be bestowed on such as be strangers, and will not dwell here, the people will be without heads, the country desert, and no number of freeholders to do justice by juries, nor to serve in the wars.' Laud's MS. in sir Walter Scott's add. to Sadler, p. 95.

⁶² Sadler's lett. of 9th Jan. p. 100.

⁶³ Ib. and note from the History of James VI. Murray conveyed him to Lochleven Castle. Sadl. Pap. 111.

⁶⁴ He told Constable 'how greatly he was beholden to the laird that friendlily defended him from the regent, all the while he lay in Jedworth; how near he was sought for, and how straitly he escaped. It was strange. The regent assembled 800 horse and foot to search the house of Farnihurst, but these deserted him as he advanced to it.' Sadl. 111.

⁶⁵ 'The same night after midnight she rode from Farnihurst to Hume Castle. The laird of Farnihurst rode with her to within half a mile of it.' ib. 111.

⁶⁶ 'Lord Hunsden wrote to assure her, she should have all the friendship he could shew her, and willed her not to think that the queen's majesty, *who was never cruel to any*, would begin to shew her cruelty upon her, being a gentlewoman. Howbeit he would not promise her pardon until he understood the queen's pleasure therein.' Const. lett. 120. This lady went to the continent, and very anxiously labored for her husband's release. In January 1572 we find her negotiating about it from Mechlin, by her letters in Murden, 186, 187; and from one of the

moreland of the same tendency, which brought out his feelings of regret when too late to restore him to what he had fallen from.⁶⁷ He owned his folly, and asked for better advice.⁶⁸ He was recommended to petition only for his life, and to leave every other benefit to future mercy. He promised to do so,⁶⁹ but, changing his mind, escaped with difficulty abroad, and there continued in treasonable dealings, amid suffering and disgrace.⁷⁰ He died at last a

28th Jan. we find that 10,000 crowns had been obtained; of which 6,000 were from the king of Spain, and 4,000 from the pope, to be conveyed to Scotland and disbursed by lord Hume. She states herself as following only the advice of *Sanders*, who was gone to Rome, and praises *Dr. Allen* with the terms, 'the most singular man in my opinion.' Murden, 191.

⁶⁷ The spy, or agent acting as such, of Leicester, got access to him, and seems to have given him good advice in the interview, which he thus describes: 'I prayed my lord to consider the miserable state that he had brought himself to, and to seek out the best way how to recover himself again, and not to run wilfully upon his utter destruction, to the overthrow of his house, which had been of honorable and great antiquity, and never spotted till now. He looked at me, and the tears overhauled his cheeks abundantly. I could not forbear weeping, to see him suddenly fall to repentance. Neither of us could speak to one another of a long time. At last he wiped his cheeks, and prayed me to follow him. He went to his chamber in the tower, and commanded his men forth, and locked the door himself.' p. 120.

⁶⁸ Thus he began: 'I must confess I have as lewdly overshot myself as any man could do; nevertheless, I pray you let me have your counsel what way you think were likeliest for me to obtain my pardon and favor from the queen.' ib. 120.

⁶⁹ Ib. 121.

⁷⁰ His faithful countess was a very favorable picture of female nature, and of connubial attachment. The earl had given Constable 'a little ring from his finger, and prayed him to deliver it to her, for all his care was for her and her children.' p. 121. The agent got access to her: 'I kissed my lord's ring and gave it to her. She was passing joyful. She told me sir John Constable had been with her from the lord lieutenant, and willed her to write to my lord to make his humble submission to the queen. She did so, and had delivered it to sir John unsealed. She desired me to pray my lord not to be offended with her for so doing. She thought it his best so to do, both to win again the favor of his God, and of his native prince, and all his lands and goods again, which otherways were utterly lost.—She shewed herself to be the faithful servant of God; a dutiful subject to the queen; and an obedient, careful and loving wife to her husband. For ripeness of wit, readiness of memory, and plain and pithy utterance of her words, I have talked with many, but never with her like.' Const. Lett. 12th January, p. 136.

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miserable exile.⁷¹ The earl of Northumberland was demanded of the Scottish regent at Stirling, who answered, that he must consult the nobility.⁷² Four days after this application, as Murray was passing thro the streets of Linlithgow, he was shot from a private house.⁷³ As the papal conspiracy against Elizabeth had roused treason and violence, without remorse of bloodshed, into activity in so many parts of the island, it is reasonable to suspect all assassinations and commotions which had important political results, to be among the ramifications or natural produce of such disorganizing plots. If their authors do not directly plan such atrocities, yet what they avowedly contrive, excites and teaches the spirit both to conceive and perpetrate them. But most acts of villany disappoint their projectors in their issue; and if the present crime had any higher source than the individual who committed it, the result of its successful achievement was no exception to our general experience of the inutility of such iniquity.

⁷¹ In 1584. Camden. This lady was sister to the duke of Norfolk.

⁷² On 20th January 1570, sir Harry Gates reported to earl Sussex, 'We repaired to the regent. I delivered the queen's letter, and declared her thankful acceptation of his great good will in pursuing her rebels. I also required the earl to be delivered unto me, and the rest of the rebels to the warders of the marches. He said he should send for certain of the nobility, and we should receive answer.' Lett. in Lodge's Ill. v. 2, p. 30.

⁷³ One Hamilton had stationed himself there with the deliberate purpose of assassinating him. Cecil's letter in Cabala, p. 160; and his diary in Murd. p. 169; but dating it 22d instead of 23d January. Lydington's letter, of 28th January, to Cecil, on this event, is in Haynes, 578; and the supplication of the earl Lennox and his wife to Elizabeth, stating the murder, and requesting her 'to take in hand the protection and defence of the young king.' p. 577. On 3d February, Cecil wrote to Norris: 'It is commonly reported that the Hamiltons were the workers of the murder. The murderer was a near kinsman of the duke. The spare horses on which he escaped belonged to the abbot of Arbroath, the duke's second son, and he was received into the duke's house.' Cab. 161.

For the reformation in Scotland soon appeared to be not at all linked with the fate of Murray, and therefore did not decline when he expired.

The duke of Alva had put himself into a condition of assisting all English insurgents, whenever he thought proper. He had, as if looking forward to their movements, placed the two countries in such a state of hostility, that he might without any charge of dishonorable perfidy, conduct to England an invading force. Some Spanish vessels, with money from Italian merchants to Flanders, having been rescued from the French by the English navy, took shelter in our ports, and the money was landed, to be conveyed over the island to Antwerp.⁷⁴ Elizabeth assured the Spanish ambassador that 'the ships, with the money, should be safely preserved.'⁷⁵ But a fortnight after this promise had been made, Alva chose to order all English persons and goods in Flanders to be arrested.⁷⁶ The queen published her proclamation of complaint on this unexpected outrage,⁷⁷ which the Spanish minister answered;⁷⁸ and Alva embraced the opportunity of sending an agent to London, with the pretext of discussing the

⁷⁴ Camden, 102. The sum mentioned is 60,000 ducats. Marg. note, ib.

⁷⁵ Cecil's Diary, Murd. 766. He marks this assurance to have been given on 14th December 1568.

⁷⁶ Cecil's Diary, ib. On 29th December this was executed at Antwerp. On the same day, the queen had assured the ambassador that he should be reasonably satisfied within three or four days; but he sent his secretary to Flanders immediately, 'who cruelly caused all Englishmen to be imprisoned at Bruges, and every town where he passed.' Cecil, ib. 766. In his letter to Norris at Paris, of 3d Jan. 1569, Cecil mentioned: 'If it shall prove merchants property, we may be bolder to take the use of it upon good bonds for an interest.' Lett. Cabala, 146.

⁷⁷ On 6 January 1569. Lett. Cab. 146.

⁷⁸ His answer made on 10th Jan. ib.

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subject.⁷⁹ He was attended to, but not allowed to confer privately with the Spanish ambassador, as he desired;⁸⁰ and as the government was ignorant of the secret conspiracy that was weaving to overthrow it, he was suffered to remain in the island till the beginning of March.⁸¹ The duke then authorized ships of war to be armed against England.⁸² The Spanish diplomatist continued an unfriendly discussion, which kept the relations of peace and friendship in that state of suspension which exactly suited the preparing insurrections.⁸³ The marquis Vitelli was sent by Alva to England, to be ready to advise and command; and he was also suffered to be two months in and about London before he was dismissed: so little was the cabinet aware of the real objects to which his presence and his intentions were directed.⁸⁴ But during this masquing negotiation

⁷⁹ Cecil notes, that on 22d Jan. M. D'Assonville came from the duke of Alva to London. p. 766. On 26th he refused to attend the council. On 29th he went; and a month afterwards Cecil and another of the ministers conferred with him at sir Thomas Gresham's.

⁸⁰ Cecil's lett. 30th Jan. p. 148. That he might know 'how unmeet a man he is to be a minister for amity here.' ib.

⁸¹ He received his final answer on 26th February, and on 8th March passed out of the island at Dover. ib. 767. The answer was, that 'when the king himself should send one sufficiently authorised to redress the injuries done by the duke of Alva, he should be reasonably satisfied. Seeing that the duke *began to arrest first*, it was reason that they should also begin the release.' Lett. 17th March, Cabala, 149.

⁸² His ordonnance to this effect was dated 31st March 1567. Cecil's notes, 767.

⁸³ On 17th April the Spanish demands were delivered in; on 11th, these were answered; and on 15th, the queen's reply to the duke of Alva appeared. On 20th May, Cecil's entry is, 'Offer made to the Spanish ambassador, that certain Italians, Flemings, and Spaniards might view the goods arrested, and *preserve them*; which he utterly refused.' ib. 767.

⁸⁴ On 16th Oct. he arrived at Dover. On 29th was treating with the English ministers at Ditton Park. On 25th Nov. was at Colnbrook; and on 20th Dec. was dismissed, to return to the duke. Cecil's notes. Murd. 768.

about an inferior point, Alva, the pope, and the Romish agents were prosecuting their plots with Mary, Norfolk, and the English nobility and Catholic leaders, so skilfully and so secretly, that altho Cecil had received an obscure hint that an Italian was coming to the island with evil designs;⁸⁵ yet neither his sagacity, nor Walsingham's famed scrutinizing vigilance, nor the eagle eye of Elizabeth, could discern the concealed conspiracy, nor detect its agents. Ridolfi was for a short time arrested, and examined by Walsingham;⁸⁶ but nothing disquieting was discovered. Cecil's mind became tranquillized, as no matter of alarm had resulted from the examinations of the arrested peers.⁸⁷ He became satisfied that there was no danger.⁸⁸ Both Norfolk and the nobility seemed quite submissive, and assumed a loyal demeanor.⁸⁹ Their arrests had obviously stunned these individuals, and deterred all those, whom their priests had not infatuated into more desperate resolutions; and the state secretary

⁸⁵ This was from sir Henry Norris, our ambassador at Paris; to whom Cecil wrote on 13 August 1569, 'I do lye in wait for the Italian, of whom you lately made mention in your letters, that is sent hither to attempt his devilish conclusions.' Cabala, 155.

⁸⁶ 'Oct. 13. Rob. Ridolfi committed to M. Fr. Walsingham.' Cecil's Diary, p. 788.

⁸⁷ On 10 Oct. Cecil expressed to Norris, 'All the realm is as yet as it hath been, and no doubt of the contrary. The duke of Norfolk is yet in custody, and so are the earl of Arundel and lord Lumley; but the lord steward only keepeth his chamber in the court; and I trust shall shortly do well.' Cabala, 157.

⁸⁸ His too confident dispatch of 26 October was, 'Assure yourself that I have no cause to doubt, but that all things are and will continue quiet.'

⁸⁹ 'The duke doth humbly accept the queen's dealings with him. I know of none that are thought to have favored his part, but either plainly alter their opinions, and follow the queen's; or, if they do not so inwardly, yet outwardly they yield to serve and follow her majesty's order.' Cab. 158.

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neither anticipated the sudden insurrection of the two earls, nor thought it of any consequence, when he first heard of its occurrence :⁹⁰ so cautiously and so dexterously was every spring of the great confederacy laid and spread, and so strict and steady was the fidelity of all who became parties to it. The government derived, from the rebellion, the satisfaction of finding that the great body of the people were attached to their sovereign ;⁹¹ tho some circumstances soon occurred, which implied that it was connected with something that might still be formidable, into which they had not yet penetrated.⁹²

Their operations remaining thus undiscovered, the pope and his agents were encouraged to renew their exertions for effectuating their objects. His own friends must again be our historical authorities for what concerns his share of these dark transactions, as they only can sufficiently authenticate those

⁹⁰ It is in his letter of 13 Oct. to earl Shrewsbury, that he thus shewed how little he knew of the mines that were forming to overthrow himself, his sovereign, and the Reformation. ' You may hear of a fond rumor stirred up here, about the sixth of this month, in the north riding and the bishopric, of a rising that should be. But *it was a vain smoke*, without any spark of any account.' Lodge's Illust. v. 2, p. 26. He had no notion then that it was such a spark, that no one in the country could be trusted to suppress it.

⁹¹ Cecil expressed this : ' The queen has had a notable trial of her whole realm and subjects in this time, wherein she hath had service readily of all sorts, without respect of religion.' Lett. 24 Dec. Cab. 159.

⁹² The state secretary's dispatch of 7 Jan. 1570, expressed this : ' We have discovered some tokens, and we hear of some words uttered by the earl of Northumberland, that maketh us to think that this rebellion *had more branches*, both of our own and of strangers, than did appear. I trust the same will be found out, tho perchance, when all known in secret manner, all may not be notified.' Cab. 159. The insurrection of Leonard Dacres, in February, who had left Elizabeth during the revolt of the earls, with the most loyal assurances, was one of those incidents which made it uncertain for some time who would be permanently faithful.

facts, on which no adversary could be deemed a satisfactory evidence.

The Italian biographers state, that Pius furnished Ridolfi with one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and proceeded to prepare a greater sum to complete the enterprise.⁹² A portion of this was given to some, that they might maintain themselves on the Scottish borders; a part to the duke of Norfolk;⁹⁴ and donations to others, who had not been discovered, to confirm them in the plot. Rumors of it spreading thro the kingdom, Elizabeth, under various pretexts, invited these partisans to her court; but they refused to go, declaring openly that they could not obey her, while the interdict of the bull continued.⁹⁵ As the scheme had now obtained every due foundation, in order to fix the mode of its execution, they sent Ridolfi to Pius, to inform him that every thing as to them was ready; that they had undertaken the enterprise in his name, for the sake of the religion, and to put the Scottish queen in possession of the throne, on marrying her to the duke of Norfolk. They desired him to move the king of Spain to send them the aid they asked.⁹⁶

'The pope highly praised their arrangement,⁹⁷ and refuted the objections which the duke of Alva had written to him against the undertaking, when

⁹² 'In tanto avea dato ordine al Ridolfi che si valesse di cento cinquanti mila scudi: e andava preparando maggior somma per fornir l'impresa.' Catena, p. 116. Gabutius, 659.

⁹⁴ 'Ne diede una quantita loro, per che si mantenessero a quelle frontiere di Scotie, altra al duca di Nortfolc.' Catena, 116. 'Aliam partem Nortfolico duci, aliam vero aliis conjuratis occultis ut in sententia persisterent, impendit.' Gab. 659.

⁹⁵ Cat. ib.

⁹⁶ Cat. ib. Gabutius, 659.

⁹⁷ 'Pro ottimamente compreso l'ordine e lodatolo.' Cat. 116. Gab. p. 659.

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Ridolfi, in his way thro Flanders, had held a conference with him.⁹⁸

‘The pope urged the duke of Norfolk to be of good courage, and assured him, that he would not fail him in his succor;⁹⁹ and, at the same time, sent Ridolfi as his envoy, with his commission and briefs, to the kings of Spain and Portugal, to produce their co-operation.¹⁰⁰ Pius urged Philip to give speedily the required assistance, and offered, not only all his own power, but to go in person, and to pawn all the property of the apostolic see, even its chalices and crosses, and his own garments, to support the undertaking.¹⁰¹ He recommended the Spanish king to land in England, from Flanders, a military force, under Chiappa Vitelli.¹⁰² Philip dispatched a courier express, commanding the invasion to be made;¹⁰³ and the pope remitted to Flanders a large supply of money to accelerate the invasion.’¹⁰⁴

When Alva received these orders to employ Vitelli on this enterprise,¹⁰⁵ he hesitated to obey them; he did not chuse that this marquis should have the honor of such a brilliant expedition, which

⁹⁸ Catena, 116.

⁹⁹ ‘Scrisse al duca de Nortfolc, che stesse di buono animo; certificandolo che di niun soccorso gli avrebbe mancato.’ Caten. 117. Gab. 659, to the same purpose.

¹⁰⁰ Cat. ib. 117. Gab. 659.

¹⁰¹ ‘Offerendo il papa non solo tutto ’l poter suo; ma bisognando per conseguire un tanto beneficio a tutta la Christianita, d’andare in persona; impegnar tutte le sostanze della sede apostolice e calici e cruci ed i proprii vestimenti.’ Caten. 117.

¹⁰² Cat. 117.

¹⁰³ Cat. 117. Gab. 659.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Pio, per la via di Fiandro reme ssa rossa provisione di denari.’ Caten. 117.

¹⁰⁵ We have noticed before, the presence in England of Chiappa Vitelli, the marquis of Ceton, and his dismissal in December 1509.

promised to be so successful;¹⁰⁶ and he suggested to his king, that if he sent such an army to England, the French would seize the moment to overrun Flanders, as they were not likely to suffer Spain to obtain the command of the English crown.¹⁰⁷ Against this chance the pope could give no security; Philip received his caution, but resolved to risk the attempt, and repeated his orders that it should be made, whatever difficulties might occur, that his English friends might be assisted; and he also sent, by Ridolfi, the pecuniary means for its performance.¹⁰⁸ This peremptory mandate allowed no evasion. But its effects were unexpectedly frustrated, by private intelligence being at this juncture communicated to Elizabeth of the intended attack.¹⁰⁹ The duke of Norfolk was immediately arrested, and such measures taken, that the formidable conspiracy was effectually disconcerted. The pope was grieved beyond measure at this failure;¹¹⁰ nor did Philip less regret it, who declared to Catena's master and the pope's nephew, cardinal Alexandrino,¹¹¹ that a finer and better arranged plan had never been made. Never had greater union and secresy been seen among any conspirators; during such a long interval, no discovery had arisen from them. The facilities were great. The sudden passage of one night

¹⁰⁶ Alva, instead of Vitelli, proposed his own son to be the commander, but the king and his council refused their assent. Caten. 117.

¹⁰⁷ Cat. ib.

¹⁰⁸ Cat. 117.

¹⁰⁹ 'Che fosse in tanta avisata Elizabetta di tutto 'l trattato da persona, il cui nome si taci fuori del regno.' Caten. 118.

¹¹⁰ 'Se *oltre modo* il papa ne fu dolente, non e da domandare.' Catena, p. 118. Gabutius says, the pontiff's grief can be scarcely expressed by words. p. 659.

¹¹¹ 'E'l re Catholico ne pianse alla presenza del card. Alessandrino, dicendogli.' ib. 118. So Gabutius, 659.

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and a day from Flanders, of three thousand arquebussiers, disembarking at the convened time near London, would have been quite sufficient, from the understanding that had been established in the Tower, at the Palace, and with the guards of Elizabeth,¹¹² and from the numbers who were prepared to co-operate, to have fully accomplished the intended effect. The Scottish queen would then have been liberated, and made queen of England as the legitimate heir, and the Catholic religion would have been re-established in it.¹¹³ Ireland was to have been revolutionized,¹¹⁴ and, by an expedition planned, the English navy burnt which were floating in the Thames.¹¹⁵

Such was the king of Spain's belief, from the machinations which the pope had so elaborately pursued. Who the party was that, from foreign parts, so unexpectedly communicated the plot, at the critical moment of its approaching explosion, the papal secretary purposely avoids mentioning, and by his compulsory silence implies that it was some great character, whose displeasure he was afraid to provoke by revealing the counteraction.¹¹⁶

¹¹² This intimation, that the conspiracy had even reached to Elizabeth's household, shews the great peril in which, without knowing it, she was daily living. 'E nella torre della citta, e nel palagio, e guardia d'Elizabetta era intendimento tale.' Catena, 118.

¹¹³ Catena, 118.

¹¹⁴ 'Thomas Stuckley, a noble Englishman, from the practices which he had carried on in Ireland, and taking there an armament, with 3,000 soldiers, granted him by the Spanish king, would in a few weeks have caused all the island to have revolted, alla devozione de Catholici.' Catena, 118.

¹¹⁵ Sending thence one of his pilots, with two ships and two armed saure ad abruscian, tutti i navali nella riviera della Tamisia.' Catena, 118.

¹¹⁶ His remarkable words are, 'by a person, fuori del regno il cui nome si tace,' 'on whose name we are silent.' p.118. As he declares

It is probable that this secret communication, to which Elizabeth may have owed her life, and the kingdom its preservation from another Marian reign, was that information which sir Henry Norris received from the provost marshal privately, near Paris, and dispatched in cipher to sir William Cecil.¹¹⁷ This was not immediately acted upon,

all the conspirators in England to have been faithful, and places the person out of the kingdom, we must look to France or Spain for the betrayer of the iniquity; and a passage in the Memoirs of sir James Melville seems to be connected with this secret, and enables us to infer, on the authority of Mary, that it was Catherine de Medicis, who, from national jealousy of her niece, uniting both the English and Scottish crowns in herself if Elizabeth should perish by the conspiracy, made to Elizabeth the invaluable disclosure. He says, 'The cardinal [de Lorraine] shewed the queen's mother how hurtful to the crown of France would the union of the isle of Britain be; and thought *meet that she should advertise the queen of England* to take order thereunto; which the *queen mother FAILED NOT TO DO*. This the queen [Mary] *told me herself*, complaining of the cardinal's unkindly dealing.' Memoirs, p. 230. On this happy betrayal Melville adds, 'Therefore I said that there was no help to be looked for out of France.' ib.

¹¹⁷ The coincidence did not strike me till some time after the preceding note was written, and as this History was printing; but the time and circumstances so tally, that I cannot doubt it to have been the revealing intimation mentioned and lamented by the papal biographers. It is dated from Paris, 'In haste, this 7th July 1568. The sixth of this present, about nine of the clock in the morning, I was advertised that one would speak with me, without the town betwixt Paris and Shal-lenton, whither if I should come, he would declare that which was of importance, and that *touch'd the queen's majesty very near*: which I did perform, and went to him forthwith. And afore I had overtaken him, finding me coming, he sent away two archers which he had in his company, *himself being provost marshal*.

'He wished I should advertise that the queen's majesty *did hold the wolf that would devour her*. And that it is conspired betwixt the king of Spain, THE POPE, and the French king, THAT THE QUEEN SHOULD BE DESTROYED, whereby the queen of Scots might succeed her majesty. Here your honor may see their fruits, whereby the trees are known. He further said, *that there is an Italian*, who is much conversant, and of cheerful counsel, *with the earl of Arundel*, as also with the Spanish ambassador, that being privily taken, could disclose much of the treason that is to be wrought against the queen's majesty.

'The Italian is he to whom *the duke of Alva doth send* his letters of the conspiracy against the queen's majesty, as he affirmeth. The French king hath sent them captain De la Garde, with speed to prepare six galleys to aid their enterprise; wherefore he wishes that the queen's

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from the want of those more marking particulars, which the ambassador was urged, but tried in vain at that time, to obtain:¹¹⁸ yet it remained the 'alta

majesty's ships were in time upon the seas, which would keep them in such fear that they would soon leave the enterprise.

'Thus having advertised your honor of his conference had with me, whereof he desired the queen's majesty might be advertised; which having now sent to your honor, I refer it to be related as to your wisdom shall be thought most expedient, both to the preservation of her majesty, and weal of our countries.' Lett. in Haynes' State Papers, p. 466.

This secret communication from an official person like the provost marshal, of matters which could be known only to the highest authority, and yet in opposition to the king's knowledge, cannot be referred with equal probability to any other person than Catherine de Medicis, and this idea corresponds with the intimation of Mary to Melville, mentioned in the preceding note. Thus Elizabeth was indebted for her life to two persons the least likely of all to be careful for her safety. But the political paradox is not inexplicable. Mary's conduct in marrying Bothwell, and now taking Norfolk to please the pope and herself, and confederating with Spaniards, evinced a self-will in herself; and a concert with others, which would leave the cardinal Lorraine no hope of governing her; and if he did not, her aggrandizement would, under Spanish direction, be injurious to France. The same reason, with Catherine's former female jealousy and dislike of Mary, while queen of France, will sufficiently explain her interfering to save a royal heretic, who, tho heretic, was a prudent queen, that desired to live at peace with her neighbors, if not endangered by them.

¹¹⁸ The letter of Cecil's to Norris, in the Cabala of 13th July 1568, (p. 138,) must have been the answer to this dispatch of Norris. 'Yesterday, Mr. Bridges came to the court; the queen herself seeing him, and knowing that you would not have sent him but with matter of some importance, commanded me forthwith to decypher your letter; which I did, and shewed her majesty. She comfortably and constantly seemed not to fear any such devilish practice: but yet she is earnest in the farther discovery of the matter, and liketh well of your advertisement. But she marvelleth that you did not advise more particularly of more special means, to know the [cipher,] for as he is described to be of the chiefest [cipher meaning counsel,] with the [cipher, apparently for the earl Arundel,] as also with [cipher for Spanish ambassador], we cannot truly hit on no man: for as there be four or five that do some time accompany the earl; so are there men of that nation: but they do resort to the ambassador; wherefore it is necessary that you speak again with the party that gave you this intelligence. If the matter be true, and shall be discovered by his means, you may promise him reward of the queen, as a princess of honor. I earnestly require you to use all the speed you can herein, and advertise as plentifully as you can to the satisfaction of her majesty: for tho her highness's words have comfort, yet it cannot be but she will rest perplexed until more certainty be had.' Cabala, 138. On 25th July he expressed his desire for further information: 'I long much to hear touching the matter of our Italian,

mente repostum;’ the important recollection in Cecil’s mind ; a guiding and warning light, which as further incidents arose, at length, before it was too late, enabled him to fix on the individual to whom it applied, and to defeat the long trained and widely spread conspiracy.

The participation of Mary in this conspiracy and rebellion was the chief additional fact which became at that time known to Elizabeth. In February 1570, she announced it in her dispatch to her ambassador at Paris, to be communicated to the French court.¹¹⁹

whereof the queen is more careful to hear than she doth here express.’ Cab. 139. He regrets that the queen will not adventure some money upon it: ‘She will in no wise hear of any such offers, which she thinketh are chargeable without fruit.’ ib.

We learn from Cecil’s letter of 3d August, that Norris had ‘very diligently and circumspectly travelled in the great dangerous matter,’ but could ‘come to no more understanding therein.’ ib. 140. The provost had told all that he was directed to intimate, and his high employer chose to reveal no more.

On 10th August he again expressed his anxiety upon it: ‘Touching the [cipher,] whereof you have often writ, order is taken to deal with [cipher] at Paris; and surely methinks still, since the informers will not be known of the particulars with more certainty, that these things are intended to bring us into their play: but yet no diligence is to be omitted.’ Cab. 140. His researches and uneasiness were then un-availing. No more was communicated; and he and the queen were left with the mysterious warning to abide the peril, or to extricate themselves from it as well as they might be able. Catherine had mentioned all that her conscience, caprice or policy then chose to disclose. Elizabeth, not aware of the reality and magnitude of the plot, seems to have treated it with courageous contempt. But Cecil’s watchfulness never afterward slept till he at last got hold of one of the agents. In the meantime it is probable that his inquiries alarmed the conspirators, and procrastinated the explosion, and hampered the progress of the plot.

¹¹⁹ ‘She by her insinuations entered into such an intelligence with certain of our noblemen in the north part of our realm, as they now, since Michaelmas, burst out into an open rebellion; making their outward show of intent to change the state of religion, contrary to the laws of our realm; but in very deed, as is manifestly it is to us more known, and truly discovered, their meaning was chiefly to set up her, not only in her own country but in this our realm.’ Lett. 23d Feb. 1570, in Digges, p. 15. Mary’s conversation with Melville, mentioned in the preceding note, fully implies her privity in the plot.

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Thro what channel the queen discovered these traitorous dealings of her formidable rival has not been mentioned; but two months afterwards the examination of one of Northumberland's confidential retainers¹²⁰ disclosed, that while Mary was at Bolton in September, the earl had sent her a copy of Elizabeth's circular letter to the peers to attend and hear the cause of the accused queen,¹²¹ and afterwards a message, that she should have his service in any thing that he could do for her;¹²² that jewels were mutually given, and a correspondence carried on between them;¹²³ that the earl inquired as to the fidelity of her agents;¹²⁴ and that in the January preceding his insurrection, as she was passing from Bolton to Tutberry Castle, she sent him a ring of enamelled gold, with a request that he would remember his promise;¹²⁵ and that after inquiring how

¹²⁰ This was Hamelyng, who was examined on 18th April 1570. The notes of his information, signed by lord Burleigh, are in Haynes, p. 594.

¹²¹ Hamelyng's Exam. p. 595.

¹²² Ib. 594; and also 'to tell her that he had a goodly gelding for her.' This was 'within three weeks after the queen first came to Bolton.' The next day 'he was brought to the queen, as being a hunting in the park, who wished him to thank the earl, but she lacked no horse, and would not have any thing of him, from doubt of suspicion.' ib.

¹²³ Within a day after, the lord Stirling did deliver to him a ring, with a diamond, for the earl, and a pair of beads of gold and perfume for the countess, which were sent by THE POPE to the queen, and a letter from her to the earl. In one or two days he returned to the queen, with a letter and a jewel of gold, and a ring of gold with a table diamond from the countess, which the queen said should never go off her ring finger.' Hamelyng, p. 595. 'Within a week after, she caused Levinston's wife to deliver to him a fair tire of lawn for the head, with all things thereto belonging, to be carried to the countess, with a letter to the earl; whereunto he carried answer to the queen by letters from the earl.' ib.

¹²⁴ 'He was willed by the earl to demand of the queen if she was sure of the Nortons or no. And she said, that she was fully assured of them. The earl willed the queen to beware how she trusted Christopher Lassells.' Hamelyng, 595.

¹²⁵ 'In the way betwixt Rippon and Weatherby.' ib. 594.

many horsemen would be able to take her by force from lord Shrewsbury's care,¹²⁶ he was preparing to have carried her off to Wingfield, as she was on the road to Sheffield Castle, when he was disappointed by her removal.¹²⁷ But a little before his actual rebellion, when the earl of Westmoreland had joined him, and both the earls were holding secret discussions,¹²⁸ letters to them in ciphers were brought from her,¹²⁹ which conveyed her promise of pecuniary and military support, with her advice to defer awhile their revolt.¹³⁰ An agent from the duke of Norfolk arrived there also with the same counsel, from an apprehension of its consequences to himself.¹³¹ These facts confirm the veracity of the Italian biographers, that both Mary and Norfolk concurred in the great papal confederacy, of which this insurrection was an important part, but a premature explosion; and yet Norfolk persisted in denying to

¹²⁶ Hamelyng, 595.

¹²⁷ Hamelyng, 595. 'Whereupon the earl being advertised by a letter, that she was removed, the earl sent Hamelyng therewith to L. Dacres at Hartlesey, who chafed sore at it, and said, 'If he had dealt herein with the countess as he did with the earl, it had not missed.' *ib.* She was at Bolton Castle from the middle of July 1568 to 28th Jan. 1569. Cabala, 138, 9. 148.

¹²⁸ 'He went a little before the rising to L. Dacres to Hartlesey, to meet the earl at Shepton Moor, where with him met there the earl of Westmoreland and four others. They continued almost three hours under a hedge.' Ham. 595.

¹²⁹ 'When the earls were upon a moor within three miles of Brancepeth, there came to the earls one young bishop from the queen, with letters in ciphers.' *ib.* 495.

¹³⁰ 'Of which Bishop told this Hamelyng, that where the earls had demanded of the queen thirty thousand crowns, they should have a greater sum, and that they should lack no men; but she advised them to *stay for a time* for rising, and yet to keep themselves strong.' Ham. 596.

¹³¹ 'Having come to the two earls in Topcliff Park, from the duke of Norfolk, willing them not to rise, for if they did, the duke should be in danger.' *ib.* 596. This examination is signed, 'Written by me, W. Burghley.'

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Elizabeth all treasonable dealings, with an extraordinary insensibility to the falsehood and hypocrisy of such pusillanimous asseverations.¹³² Hamelyng's arrest may have alarmed Mary for the consequences of his disclosure, as in the same month in which he was examined, she was suddenly anxious for a personal interview with Elizabeth, that she might reveal something which she would disclose to no inferior person.¹³³ This interview was declined, probably because Elizabeth, not aware how much the Scottish queen had it in her power to discover, looked upon it as a mere pretext to be in London, and there to become the central object and focus of those dangerous factions, which the discontented with the existing reign, are always eager to form with the next successor.

The secret intelligence received, and the alarming

¹³² 'If I be a traitor, I desire no favor. I defy all others malices against me therein. I doubt not but to justify my truth and fidelity, whosoever dare say the contrary, being her majesty's true and loyal subject and faithful servant.' Haynes, 597. See his letter of 15 July 1570; and his submission of 23 June, acknowledging only his pursuit of the marriage, and promising to abandon it. In this he says, 'I trust to make it apparent to the world, how humble a servant and loyal subject your majesty hath of me.' ib. 597.

¹³³ On 10 April 1570, lord Shrewsbury wrote to Cecil: 'Touching the late talk of the queen of Scots unto me, I have exhorted her with full confidence to open and reveal her mind plainly unto her majesty by some secret letter. But truly I cannot see that she will be persuaded to do so by letters. Her desire is still to reveal unto her majesty's self in her own presence, that which, she saith, she will not else to any living.' Haynes, 593. The earl added this emphatic paragraph: 'Sir! at the ensealing of this letter, this queen came unto me, and required me to signify unto you, that if it would please the queen's majesty to grant her leave to come unto her, she would reveal in secret such matter as should be to her majesty's weal, and to herself also, which she will not utter to no creature else. She said her desire was to come in a coach, not like any estate, but in secret manner unknown, as her majesty would appoint.' ib. 594. Either this was a plan of Mary's to be intercepted by her friends on the road, or she meant to sacrifice them for her own benefit, by discovering to Elizabeth the papal conspiracy.

aspect of the times, shook the soul of the wise and thoughtful sir William Cecil. He knew the tendency of the great lords to combine against the crown, that they might reinstate the peerage in the power from which the house of Tudor had depressed it. He saw the disposition of the chief foreign powers to attack England, because its successful Reformation which their hierarchies and aristocracies dreaded, was operating as a stimulating example for their own people to imitate. He was fully aware of the unforgiving revenge, fanaticism, and hatred of the curtailed and disappointed popedom, and he doubted the virtuous, patriotic, and steady loyalty of England's general populace. In the spring of 1570, he expressed his fear of Elizabeth's assassination,¹³⁴ and he penned those meditations on the state of public affairs, just before Murray's assassination, which have survived to us;¹³⁵ he considered the object of Elizabeth's enemies;¹³⁶ he recapitulated the dangers

¹³⁴ On 22d March, he wrote to Norris—'Her majesty is not much troubled with the opinion of danger; nevertheless, I and others cannot but be *greatly fearful for her*, and do, and will do all that in us lies to understand the attempts.' He adds, with three ciphers, 'As for [cipher] many here, and the most of this council, think the peril no less, but rather greater, if [cipher] should [cipher]'. *ib.* These ciphers seem to be, 'If the queen of Scots should come here,' as she was then urging to be allowed to come to Elizabeth.

¹³⁵ He entitled it, 'A short Memorial of the state of the Realm.' It is printed from his MS. by Haynes, 570. It begins, 'The perils are many, great and imminent; great in respect of the persons and matters.' The persons he marks to be 'the queen, as the sufferer; the pope, the kings of France and Spain, as authors and workers, and their associates; and the queen of Scots, as the instrument whereby the matters were attempted' against Elizabeth. *ib.* p. 579.

¹³⁶ He states these or the matters to be, 'the recovery of the pope's tyranny; the eviction of the crown of England from the queen, to set it on the head of the queen of Scots.' He then reviews the means to exalt Mary; and her strength, from the opinion of her title—from the favor of the strongest monarchies of Christendom—from the secret and great numbers of discontented subjects who were gaping for a change

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of the government;¹³⁷ he noted the apparent remedies.¹³⁸ But it is manifest that his apprehensions predominated over his hopes, especially if a foreign invasion should ensue.¹³⁹

From a more princely spirit, from a greater vigor of character, from less knowlege, from a smaller range of thought, from a kinder confidence in her subjects, and from a more supporting piety, Elizabeth, tho she felt the peril of the crisis, yet looked on it without intimidation or despondency; and resolved to appeal to the good sense and the honest feelings of her people. She addressed them by a

by her means, and to be rewarded by her—and from the desire of many to have Scotland and England under one sovereign. Haynes, 580.

¹³⁷ He considered Elizabeth's weakness to be growing 'upon lack of marriage, of children, and of foreign alliances, from long peace, and the weakness of her frontiers; from ignorance of martial knowlege in the subjects; lack of meet captains and trained soldiers; the new rebellion in Ireland; over-much boldness from her soft government; the unkindness of France and Spain; the want of treasure; the excess of the ordinary charges; the poverty of the nobility and gentlemen of service; the wealth being in the meaner sort; lack of mariners and munition.' ib. 580. To these dangers he adds the decay of morals and religion. But he considers the greatest perils to be two: 'The determination general of the two monarchies, next neighbors to England, to subvert not only their own subjects, but also all others refusing the tyranny of Rome; and their earnest desire to have the queen of Scots possess this crown of England.' ib. 585.

¹³⁸ These he entitles 'A Memorial of remedies against the conspiracy of the pope, and the two monarchies.' He enumerates twenty-six, of which, the substance is, the cultivation of foreign alliances; the promotion of religion; the suppression of seditious books; the support of earl Murray; vigilance over the favorers of Mary's title; reform of the lawyers of the realm; military and naval provisions; and attention to commerce. Haynes, p. 588.

¹³⁹ 'The realm has become so feeble by long peace, that it were a fearful thing to imagine, if the enemies were at hand to assail the realm, of what force the resistance would be.' ib. 582. He thinks these perils were approaching, because 'these two monarchies, which always in former ages were wont to be at variance, are now accorded, and inflamed with displeasure against the queen and her crown.' ib. 584. 'But,' he adds, 'this discourse is so uncomfortable to the writer or hearer having his heart filled with English blood, that it seemeth better to end here at this time, lest the evils may seem desperate, and so no courage left to remember and provide remedies.' ib. 585.

public declaration,¹⁴⁰ which displays so much of that force and animation, which many of her letters and speeches exhibit, as to induce a belief that it was her own dictation.

She calls their attention to the fact, that from the time of her accession, for 'eleven full years of her reign,' the tranquillity of the nation had never been disturbed; a truth most condemnatory to that pope who wilfully stirred up the mischief.¹⁴¹ She expresses her gratitude to heaven for the long continuance of the general blessing;¹⁴² and her joy and thankfulness to her people, that the 'secret practices of malicious persons,'¹⁴³ notwithstanding their boastful expectations, had been repressed by the general loyalty;¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ The reader will find it in Haynes, p. 589-593.

¹⁴¹ Haynes, p. 589. 'As the like hath not been seen in these our kingdoms in many ages until this last year, that an unnatural commotion in the north was by certain lewd practices of some few secretly stirred up.' *ib.*

¹⁴² She adds, 'We ought also to consider both how the interruption of the course of so universal, long, and continued inward peace, hath happened, and how also, by God's favor and assistance, it may be provided, that the like occasions hereafter be not ministered by seditious persons, whose nature cannot, nor as yet doth cease to imagine and contrive secret means to make alteration of the quietness whereunto of His goodness our realm is now again restored.' *ib.* 589.

¹⁴³ 'Who had, cunningly and with colorable untruths, first inveigled two of our nobility, with a false fear of our indignation towards them, even when indeed we did certainly and very well favor and allow of them: next abused another sort, and greater number, with false persuasions of some general severity intended by us and our ministers against them, in respect of opinions in religion, when no such thing did appear, or even anywise by us meant or thought of; and lastly, inticed the vulgar and common sort to fancy some novelties and changes of laws and rulers as the ordinary highway to all sensual and unruly liberty, which commonly the ignorant covet, tho it hath ever been, and will be, most of all to their own destruction.' *ib.* 589.

¹⁴⁴ 'For that when most vaunts were vainly made by our rebels, that great numbers, both of our nobles and commons were confederates, and would take part with them, there was good proof made, not only of the constancy of all the rest of our nobility, both by their deeds and words, but of the readiness of all other our subjects to serve us with

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and to prevent all future misconstructions of her actions, she proceeds to state 'the principles on which she had conducted her government, and by which she meant to continue it.'¹⁴⁵

Her first principle was, that truly royal one, to rule by affection, and not by force;¹⁴⁶ and therefore she had made disinterested clemency her invariable guide—a virtue new to the cabinets of Europe at that time, and signally avoided by those of Rome, Spain and France, as their sanguinary severities against the Reformation were every day demonstrating.¹⁴⁷ Her second principle was, a steady administration of legal justice,¹⁴⁸ and the abstinence

their lives against that small portion of the rest that were stirred to rebel.' *ib.* 589.

¹⁴⁵ 'We will that it be briefly understood, both what our former intentions have been in our government; that contrary to the untrue reports invented and secretly scattered by traitorous persons, and what course we intend to hold towards all persons, except, by contrary behaviour and contempt, we shall be induced to make alteration therein.' *ib.* 590.

¹⁴⁶ 'First, we do all persons to understand that of our own natural disposition, we have been always desirous to have the obedience of all our subjects of all sorts, both high and low, by love and not by compulsion; by their own yielding, and not by our exacting; allowing that which was well said by a wise prince of the Greeks, 'that king to be in most surety, who so ruled over his subjects as a father over children.''' *ib.* 590.

¹⁴⁷ 'And therefore, we may boldly say, that there is no one example in our whole dominions to be produced, that we ever, by any means, sought the life, the blood, the goods, the houses, estates or lands of any person in any state or degree; nor yet procured or suffered any division or discord to be stirred betwixt our nobility, or betwixt one estate or other, for our own avenge, profit or pleasure.' *ib.* 590. The queen continues with a wise modesty: 'Matters, not otherwise to be remembered by ourselves, than with humble thanks to acknowledge these blessings to be the mere gift of God: and therewith to declare the rare felicity of our times, and to retain the continuance of our subjects love towards us, to the honor of Almighty God, and to the maintenance of common tranquillity in our realm.' *ib.* 590.

¹⁴⁸ *Ib.* 590. 'Having also therewith had careful consideration to diminish the multitude of such offenders, with whom this age, generally in all countries, aboundeth, the judges criminal of our realm have in no time given fewer bloody judgments.' *ib.*

from all wars and their consequential burthens;¹⁴⁹ and she called upon her people to compare their happier condition with that of the surrounding nations.¹⁵⁰ Her third rule of conduct was, the maintenance of the Christian religion in its reformed state, leaving opinions free, without any injunction; and exacting only quiet conduct, and an external conformity to what the laws had established for the 'frequentation of divine service.'¹⁵¹ She dignified the address by a solemn assurance, 'that altho against such as would be manifestly disobedient to her and the laws she would proceed with the sword of justice, all others should enjoy toleration, protection, and tranquillity.'¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ 'In other causes that have been commonly afore-times, and are to be seen in this time, offensive in some monarchies: as in wasting all sorts of people by wilful and continual wars, either foreign or civil, or impoverishing them by perpetual and new devised taxes. We would it were well and justly considered, that we never yet begun war with any prince or country; neither used force and arms, but defensive, and not these, at any time, until evident necessity compelled us.' Haynes, 590.

¹⁵⁰ 'We leave to all good and wise persons to consider what difference is to be found betwixt the security, the tranquillity, wealth, and all other worldly felicities which our people do and may enjoy; and the continual and universal bloodsheds, burnings, spoilings, murders, exactions, and such like, properly conjoined with civil wars, in other countries; all which we wish to cease.' ib. 591.

¹⁵¹ 'We know not, nor have any meaning to allow, that any of our subjects should be molested, either by examination or inquisition, in any matter of faith, as long as they shall profess the Christian faith, not gain-saying the authority of the Holy Scripture or the Creed, either for matter of ceremony, or any other external matter appertaining to Christian religion, so long as they shall in their outward conversation shew themselves quiet and conformable, and not manifestly repugnant to the laws of the realm, which is established for frequentation of divine service.' ib. 592.

¹⁵² 'Assuring all others, and that in the word of a prince and presence of God, that they shall certainly and quietly have and enjoy the fruits of our former accustomed favor, without any molestation to them by any person, by way of examination or *inquisition of their secret opinions* in their consciences for matters of faith.' ib. 592. This declaration was ordered to be read in all the parish churches, as well as in the accustomed places of the realm, because 'the multitude of our good people are *unlearned*, and thereby not able by reading hereof to conceive our mind and favorable disposition towards the good and obedient; nor our determination and displeasure, by way of justice, against the obstinate and disobedient.' ib. 593.

C H A P. XXIX.

CECIL RAISED TO THE PEERAGE—HIS GRADUAL DETECTION
OF THE PAPAL CONSPIRACY.BOOK
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THE traitorous disposition and dealings of some of Elizabeth's most trusted friends, which have been already noticed, evinces the peril in which she was reigning;¹ and the fact that many of them formed

¹ One instance of this appears in the conduct of sir Nich. Throckmorton. When he was her ambassador in France in 1559 and 1560, he was strenuous in pointing out to Elizabeth, Mary's assumption of the royal arms and title of England, and in urging his queen to hostilities against her French enemies; and in 1565, he was selected as one of the English queen's steadiest friends to be sent to Scotland 'to stay the marriage' between Mary and Darnley. And yet he afterwards sent Mary elaborate instructions in writing for her gaining a speedy possession of the throne of Elizabeth. He thus counsels her: 'Your majesty has in England many friends of all degrees, that favor your title. Some being persuaded that in law *your right is best*. Some for the good opinion they have conceived of your virtues *and liberality*, whereby they esteem you *most worthy to govern*. Some, that favor your religion. Of these, some are Papists and some Protestants; and yet, however they differ among themselves, they are both of a mind for the advancement of that propos that toucheth your majesty.' He then proceeds to advise her what she must do to get the whole votes or the most part of the parliament, and to please the people; to abstain from any league with a foreign prince, but 'not to forsake the friendship of France and Spain, but wisely entertain them both to remain at your devotion; in case that afterwards ye have to do with their favor.' The written object of this advice was to secure her succession, but the object was to obtain a party in England that would overpower Elizabeth. 'By following this advice, your majesty may recover and win the most part of the bishops of England, and many of the greatest of the nobility and gentlemen who are yet neutral.' He added their names in cipher; and then follows a paragraph which at once reveals the real treason in contemplation: 'By *whose* means,' he alleged, 'her majesty should obtain so great an interest in England, that albeit *that queen* would kyeth in her contrary; she need to come, for *in sending but one thousand men of her own*, a sufficient number out of four parts of England *should join with them*, by whose force, without any strangers, *her majesty should obtain that thing which is wrongously refused and*

a solemn band for her overthrow,² increases our admiration of that intellectual sagacity in herself, and of that superior protection, by which her life and power were preserved from machinations, which extended from the interior of her palace to the farthest extremities of her kingdom.

One of these secret plottings was discovered by an accomplice, in the August after the revolt of the two earls.³ The chief conspirators were executed; but some disclosed that it was intended to 'help the duke of Alva into Yarmouth.'⁴ These partial

detailed.' Melv. Mem. 141-6. A succession obtained by a rebellion could only mean that immediate succession which follows a preceding deposition or destruction. Revolt leaves no other alternative. It was such a one as our Henry IV. acquired.

² Sir James Melville expressly declares: 'My brother sir Robert, when he returned the first time of his ambassage out of England, BROUGHT the hand-writing of TWENTY-FIVE PRINCIPAL EARLS AND LORDS of England to set the crown of England upon the queen of Scots' head; and that the captains in shires were already named by the said lords to be in readiness to march forwards when they should be charged; only they stayed upon the queen's opportunity and advertisement.' Melv. Mem. p. 239. 4to edit. Edinb. 1827. Sir Robert was sent by Mary as her ambassador to remain in England in 1566. p. 147. Sir Robert brought the true explanatory comment on Throckmorton's paper.

³ Several persons were suddenly discovered to be plotting, in Norfolk, the assassination of the queen; the imprisonment of three of her cabinet ministers; the liberation of the duke, and the banishment of foreigners, meaning apparently the French refugees. They were tried and found guilty, four of actual treason, and three of the misprision of concealing it. Their confessions shew, that their designs were a part of the great secret conspiracy that was proceeding with all its malignant activity, but with a privacy and a fidelity among its promoters which eluded all the watchfulness and researches of the now awakened but still baffled cabinet. See the account in the letter of 31st August 1570 to the countess of Shrewsbury, printed in Lodge's Illust. v. 2, p. 46. Appleyard, Throckmorton, and two others, were condemned to be hanged. *ib.* 'If W. Kete had not accused me,' said one of them, 'we had had a hot harvest.' *ib.* 47. They were preparing to begin the insurrection by proclamations, with the sound of trumpets and drums, at Harleston fair, on Midsummer-day. On 17th July, ten were indicted for high treason; and on 21st August, seven were found guilty, and three were executed. Stowe, 667.

⁴ *Ib.* 47. Another declared, 'My lord Morley is gone to set the duke of Alva into Yarmouth.' *ib.* In Cecil's dispatch to Norris, in the preceding June, we read, 'The fond lord Morley, without any cause

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failures producing no larger discoveries, the formidable conspiracy was continued. The earls had been ruined by the want of simultaneous risings by their banded friends. The papal agents ascribed this backwardness to their ignorance that the pontiff had excommunicated Elizabeth, and to their conscientious feeling, that they were bound by their oath of allegiance, *until* he absolved them from it.⁵ To remove this moral difficulty, the bull was clandestinely affixed on the bishop of London's door, and the copies brought by Ridolfi were copiously distributed.⁶ Enough now gradually came out, to increase the disquietude of sir William Cecil.⁷ He could not now but perceive, that plots for the assassination of his sovereign, for the substitution of the queen of Scots, and for the extirpation of the Protestant religion, were on foot, and were highly patronized, tho he could not penetrate into the actual

offered him, is gone like a noddy to Lorraine.' Lett. 22d June 1570. Cabala, 166. If he went to concert measures on Alva's invasion, it was the English statesman, who had not detected such plans being on foot, that seemed more like the noddy.

⁵ Sanders expressly declares this reason: 'But the other Catholics did not join them, *because* the sentence of excommunication was not yet publicly issued by the pope, and they did not yet see themselves absoluti obedientia.' De Schis. p. 417. 'Hence Northumberland, being sold and brought into England, *suffered martyrdom* at York.' ib. A nobleman wilfully rebelling and heading an army against the sovereign, and suffering the legal penalty, was therefore a *martyr*, in the estimation of a Romish priest!!

⁶ It was for thus affixing it, that John Felton was, in August 1570, arraigned and condemned; and, on the 8th, hung in St. Paul's churchyard. Stowe, 667.

⁷ We see his embarrassed state of mind in his short paragraph to his friend, on 26th September 1570: 'I am thrown into such a maze at this time, that I know not how to walk from dangers.' Lett. Cabala, p. 167. Leicester we find in equal uneasiness, or preparing for co-operation, for the Norfolk plotters stated, as if for their own encouragement, 'He hath many workmen at Killingworth to make his house strong, and doth furnish it with armor, munition, and all necessaries for defence.' Lett. 21st August 1570. Lodge, 2. p. 49.

trains and substance of the mysterious conspiracy ; more formidable from its invisibility, because, while its authors and partisans remained unknown, it could not be grappled with, nor by any exertion of wisdom or vigor, be extinguished. The nobility were still doubtful, as to their sincerity,⁸ altho death was removing some of the more questionable tempers.⁹ In these difficulties, the queen's conduct towards Scotland, after Murray's murder, had been wise and disinterested.¹⁰ But some of the chieftains on the borders chose to retain and cherish the northern rebels, who, from this support, from their vicinity to their old connexions, and from the facility of intercourse with these which their asylum gave them, endangered the government by new plots, and en-

⁸ On 8th June 1570, Cecil apprised his friend, that the bishop of Ross had departed to the queen of Scots, to deal with her: ' Since his going, the queen understands of a practice he had two days before with a nobleman, a papist, contrary to his manner of dealing with the queen, whereupon she is not a little moved against him.' And on 22d June, we find that this was the earl Southampton, the friend and patron of our Shakespear, and that ' being lately known to have met in Lambeth Marsh with the bishop of Ross, is committed to the sheriff of London, to be there *closely kept*.' Cabala, 166.

⁹ In 1570, besides Pembroke, the earl of Cumberland, and sir Nicholas Throckmorton, died. Camden, 124, 130. Of the latter, Camden remarks, ' He died in good time for himself and his, being in great danger of life and estate by reason of his restless spirit.' p. 131. Melville remarked of Pembroke, that he and Norfolk, ' and many others, shew themselves more plainly friendly [to Mary] after the prince's birth.' Melv. Mem. 161. The next year, Parr, the marquis of Northampton, died, whose intimate connections with Pembroke are evinced by his making that lord's son his heir. Camd. 144. In the British Museum, MS. Titus B. 8. is a Latin paper obscurely alluding to some objectionable conduct of this nobleman, with regard to the queen of Scots. p. 320.

¹⁰ Thus, on 29 January 1570, she directed sir R. Sadler to repair speedily to Scotland, ' where you shall find the nobility. Treat with them severally or jointly, to accord fast together in unity among themselves, to the stay of that realm in quietness and common peace ; and to employ themselves jointly against the disturbers thereof ; and to preserve the state of religion from any change, and not to bring that realm into the bondage of any foreign prince.' Sadl. State Papers, v. 2, p. 147.

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couraged the disaffected to prepare for new revolts. To repress this mischief, the English forces were ordered to march against these Scottish lairds ;¹¹ and advancing only to punish and deter, it was in its very scheme and object, one of those expeditions of destruction,¹² which from the human suffering it occasions to dependants and peasantry, who do not cause, and cannot prevent, the offence, which occasions it, excites every reader to regret and reprobation.¹³ The French government threatened to send an armament if the English troops were not withdrawn.¹⁴ But Elizabeth had no intentions of ambitious conquest ; and the troops returned from their calamitous incursion, tho without obtaining the earl of Northumberland, whom his Scottish friends both sheltered and detained, as much for their pecuniary advantage, as from their political sympathy.¹⁵

As the year 1571 began, Elizabeth shewed that

¹¹ The reason of this movement we see in Cecil's letter of 22 March, to Norris : ' Since the death of the regent, the borderers have maintained our rebels, and *invaded England*, wherefore my lord of Sussex is now ordered with an army to invade them.' Cab. 162. He began his operations on 17th April, *ib.* p. 163, and on 27th besieged Hume Castle until it surrendered, p. 164. Lord Scrope made a co-operating one from Carlisle. Lett. 21 April, p. 164.

¹² One trait implies the ravages of all. ' Drury, the marshal, with 1,000 foot and 400 horse, has so plagued the Hamiltons, as they *have never had such losses* in all the wars between Scotland and England these *forty years*.' Lett. 22 June, Cabala, p. 166.

¹³ Stowe's marginal note is, ' He had burnt 300 townes and villages, and spoiled 50 stone castles.' p. 687.

¹⁴ Letter of Charles IX. dated 31 May 1570. Murray's MS.

¹⁵ That the Scottish lairds were trying to make a good bargain for themselves, for giving him an asylum, and letting him go safely, we learn from the letter of the countess to her husband, of 28 January 1571 : ' I hear from France, that the laird is persuaded that you should have from the pope and the king 10,000 crowns towards your redemption, for which cause he said, as I hear, *he did exact the more, seeing it was to come out of their pockets*. I do all that I can to have the same persuasion pulled out of their heads, and that he may be occasioned otherwise to think.' Murd. St. Pap. 192.

she had at length discriminated her ablest and most faithful minister, from all that were doubtful or indirect, by creating sir William Cecil baron of Burghley, and by appointing him soon afterwards lord high treasurer, and virtually her prime minister. From this hour her real safety and the prosperity of the country assumed a firm position, and never retrograded during the remainder of her long protracted reign. Enabled now to act with the freedom and decision of his experienced judgment, lord Burghley directed his fixed attention on that secret conspiracy, which had so long baffled his most vigilant research : and it was advantageous to his efficiency, that one of those undetected partisans who, as one of the state counsellors, had the power of counteracting him, and who was most dangerous to Elizabeth, from his official access to her person, and from his power in Wales, was about this time removed by death, before the degree and certainty of his participation had been discovered.¹⁶

Pursuing the clue which had been given by the provost marshal of Paris, Burghley had watched the Italians in London, and at last had taken up Ridolfi ; but a close examination, by sir Francis Walsingham,

¹⁶ This was the earl of Pembroke, who was made by Elizabeth great master of the household. He had been greatly trusted by the English queen Mary. She had given him the command of her forces against Wyatt, and of the English army at St. Quintin, and of the government of Calais twice, and appointed him lord president of Wales. The rebelling earls declared that he was one of their associates ; and Camden, who praises him as an excellent man, yet remarks, ' It missed little but he had been proscribed when he was dead, by means of certain matters brought to light, and presumptions laid hold on.' Ann. p. 124. It is obvious, from the duke of Norfolk's trial, that Pembroke and Arandel were two of the noblemen who had joined the conspiracy against Elizabeth.

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detecting nothing which could justify his detention, he had been released, but not forgotten. An eye of doubt and scrutiny was kept upon him, and it was at last ascertained, in April 1571, that he was the agent of communications from Mary's ambassador in London, to Alva and to Rome.¹⁷ The high treasurer had then also learnt, that this Scottish prelate and some English noblemen were concerting another insurrection.¹⁸ This bishop, who had been long the agent of the Scottish queen, had for a short time been put into arrest, during the spring of the preceding year, but, from no facts accruing to authenticate any illegal conduct, had been liberated like Ridolfi.¹⁹ He was now again apprehended, and on being interrogated, admitted that he had been employing the Italian, and had received letters from him in cipher.²⁰ Confessing Mary's correspondence

¹⁷ It was on 14 May 1571, that the queen directed Cecil to express to the earl Shrewsbury, 'We find that of late one Ridolfi, an Italian merchant, was by the bishop of Ross sent to the duke of Alva, and so to pass to the pope, and then into Spain.' Lodge *Illust.* v. 2, p. 53.

¹⁸ 'And that before his going there was a secret conspiracy here, by the said bishop, with two lords, *to us yet unknown*, for a new rebellion this summer.' *ib.* 53. 'He wrote also to the two lords at the same time to move them to continue their purpose. All these were written in cipher; and the two letters to the lords were also indorsed with several marks, and the bishop was willed to deliver the one to thirty and the other to forty.' *Lett.* *ib.* 54. As Northumberland and Westmoreland were fled, and Pembroke was at this time dead, the only other lords that had been named as implicated in those plans, were Norfolk, Arundel, and Lumley. The provost's information had implicated Arundel.

¹⁹ It was in February 1570 that he had been placed awhile under the bishop of London's care, on an intimation from the Scottish regent that he was one of the authors of Northumberland's rebellion. Camden, 119. In August he had been again so committed, after his release, for having 'secret conferences with earl Southampton, a man most devoted to the Romish religion.' *ib.* 127.

²⁰ 'Now, the bishop being examined, denieth not the sending of Ridolfi to Flanders, to Rome, and to Spain, nor the receiving of letters from him in cipher, nor the receiving of two letters, the one to be delivered to thirty, the other to forty; but he saith, that the figure forty was meant

with Alva, the pope, and Spain, he tried to give it a plausible aspect.²¹ But Burghley had learnt that its objects were treasonable, and embraced English peers,²² and desired lord Shrewsbury to question the Scottish princess on the subject.²³

This imperfect information had been obtained by the arrest of Charles Bailly, a Fleming, and servant to Mary, and the conveyer of her letters to Ridolfi.²⁴ He denied his ability to decipher them,²⁵ and finding the Italian's letters safe with Ross, he deemed himself secure from detection,²⁶ but desired the prelate to secure his trunk;²⁷ and with the experienced eye

for the queen of Scots, and the figure thirty the Spanish ambassador.' Lett. Lodge Illust. 54.

²¹ 'And that the queen of Scots did write by Ridolfi to the duke of Alva, to the pope, and the king of Spain; but saith, it was partly for money, partly for aid against her rebels.' ib. 54.

²² 'But still the queen's majesty is ascertained, by good proof, that the letters thirty and forty were to two lords of England, for it was written in them, that they should march with their power towards London, and that the duke of Alva would send power to a part to join with the two lords.' ib. 54. This letter of Lord Burghley strikingly corroborates the veracity of the statement of Catena and Gabutius.

²³ The questions were, What letters she wrote by Ridolfi, and their purpose? What she had received from him, and to produce them? Whether the number forty did designate her, and to give the alphabet of the cipher used? ib. 54.

²⁴ He was committed to the Marshalsea 13 April 1571. Murdin, p. 1. Ross, two days afterwards, wrote to him to be firm, 'Altho your pains be great, yet your honor shall be greater, and they cannot take your life from you.' The bishop, tho a bishop, promised him revenge: 'I have yesternight travelled with for your relief, and the villain which betrayed you *will be worse handled, as he has promised me.*' His letter of 15 April, in Murd. p. 1.

²⁵ 'I pray you, says the prelate, to keep constantly in this answer; for you know that *there are very dangerous words* in your letter and mine. As to those from Flanders, have no fear, for there are none in their hands. This extreme handling of you will further much B.'s [Mary's] cause, and your enemies will be thought cruel.' Lett. ib.

²⁶ Bailly answered him on 20th, 'Since *you have* Ridolfi's letters, I have no fear whatever. I promise you they shall have nothing of me. I will confess nothing, tho they should pluck me in a hundred pieces.' Lett. Murd. 2-4.

²⁷ 'It were good that my trunk were carried to your lodging, because

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of one used to such practices, points out the mode of a secret communication with him in his prison,²⁸ and promises to involve no one.²⁹

He was examined by Burghley, as to the books on Mary's defence and right to the succession to the English crown, which he had brought into England;³⁰ and again more severely;³¹ then com-

I have in that certain minutes and other writings that might much hurt me, as the minutes of letters that I have written to the cardinal of Lorraine, and to *Hamilton*, when you were prisoner with the bishop of London.' Lett. Murd. p. 4. These expressions connect this conspiracy with the assassination of the Scottish regent, for in that same month earl Murray was shot at Linlithgow by one *Hamilton*, who escaped immediately to France, but there chose to affirm that he had done it from private revenge. Camden, 119. The *Hamilton* in France was brother to the assassin.

²⁸ 'My chambers doth open upon the street, and under the window there is a little house of some poor man. Almost in the top of the house inward there is a hole that cometh to my chamber, wherein I may easily thrust my hand. I think that, with a small matter, G. Robinson or Borche might get acquaintance with the poor man, and by that means, thro the hole, might be conveyed to meany letters; or else I might easily speak to any body if they would come into the place. I shew myself at the window at eight of the clock in the morning and at noon; at after dinner, at four of the clock, and in the evening between seven and eight. There is also a little tavern, where all men resort unto.' Lett. ib. p. 5.

²⁹ Nothing can happen unto me but I will suffer it patiently; so as nobody be troubled but I.' ib. He admitted in this private letter to the bishop, that 'Going to Antwerp, he had a secret interview with sir Francis Englefield; and 'passing by Mechlin, I spake likewise with the countess of Northumberland, the earl of Westmoreland, Dacres and others.' ib. p. 4.

³⁰ So he informs the bishop. His answer again implicates *Hamilton* with the party: 'I told him I had received them in Flanders from a Scotsman, called Mr. *John Hamilton*, whom I met between Calais and Gravelines, who ordered me to deliver the portmanteau to you, with certain letters, which were in a packet. He asked me how I had been so bold as to take such things from *Hamilton*, knowing well that he was practising with the queen's rebels, as the earl Westmoreland and others.' Lett. Murd. p. 5. Ross answered him with the advice to confess to Burghley privately, that the queen of Scots was his mistress. 'They could not hurt him; he would only be detained a few days, and Robinson should bring him every necessary.' ib. p. 6. Bailly, on 24 April, mentioned his suspicions of one Erle betraying them. p. 6.

³¹ On 26th he reported to his friend, that lord Burghley had been 'fort dur' to him, and had threatened his ears. 'I had rather lose my life than my ears.' ib. 8.

mitted to the Tower, and ordered, with the legal inhumanity of that day, to be put to the torture, that he might confess the ciphers.²² The bishop, with increased alarm, assured him that he was laboring for his discharge and relief;²³ that he had secret friends at court,²⁴ and that a duke (obviously the duke of Norfolk) would for ever affectionately regard him.²⁵

But these stimulations to a confederate, to sacrifice himself to screen the participators in his treason, did not fully avail. One of Bailly's letters from his prison, seems to have been taken to the cabinet;²⁶

²² 'Make every importunity for my liberty, or at least that I be not put upon the gehenne, or I shall be lost forever.' Lett. of 29th. Murd. 8.

²³ 'I have travailled as much as is possible for me at this court with and other friends also, making great exclamations that it is a cruel and terrible practice to take ambassadors' servants, and to lay them on the rack to confess their masters' secrets, and to decipher their letters.' Whereupon the earl of Leicester and L. Burghley sent to the ambassador and me, to shew that ye have not been so rigorously handled, but only put in fear; and tho they will make you afraid, yet you shall not be racked any more.' Lett. 1 May. Murd. 9.

²⁴ 'There are some friends of good credit in this court, that labor instantly for you.' ib. 9. Another confirmation of Catena's account, which shews that the Lord High Steward was not the only person near Elizabeth who was abetting treason against her.

²⁵ 'So you shall win by this adversity great honor. By your constancy, you shall be loved of the D. and his, for ever.' ib. p. 9.

²⁶ From Bailly's letter of 24 April, we may infer, that Erle, to whom he had intrusted his letters to the bishop, had taken them to the ministers; for in that he says, 'I have been in very great pain and anxiety till this morning, when I received your letter, written Sunday evening, which informed me that my three letters had reached you; for I was actually thinking that their bearer, Erle, had given them to some one of the council, as a worthy priest, a prisoner here, suggested to me. We must not trust too much to him, as I have hitherto done, for he has been asking questions of me, which could not come from himself, but from some of the council.' Lett. 24 April. Murd. p. 6. That his letter of the 20th should be two days reaching Ross, and that the bishop's answer of the 22d should not come to him till the 24th, altho both parties were in London, looks like a delay caused by some intermediate communication. Burghley's notes, in p. 13, shew that he had got the letters sent by Ross to Bailly in the Marshalsea, and W. Erle was one of his witnesses.

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and from being thus precluded from denying his agency, and from increased apprehensions, his resolution sank into a partial confession, which put the administration in possession, tho not of the whole fact, yet of enough to apprise them that an internal conspiracy was prepared to co-operate with a Spanish invasion as soon as it should land, under the duke of Alva, from Flanders, to overthrow the government.³⁷

He had also in this confession given an intimation, which affected the duke of Norfolk.³⁸ Three days afterwards he repeated his statement, and amplified it by the revealing fact, that the instructions which had been given by Ridolfi to Alva's secretary, had come from the English duke:³⁹ thus connecting

³⁷ On 2d May, Bailly wrote to Burghley what he chose to disclose, and saving Ross and all his English friends, he acknowledged that Ridolfi had promised to write, after his arrival at Rome; that Bailly had met him at Brussels; that the Italian had thence written to two English lords, advertising them of their safe arrival on the continent, and had delivered the instructions he had brought with him to the duke of Alva's secretary, and had afterwards an interview with Alva himself, very late in the night, who conferred with him, point by point, on the instructions he had brought [from England.] 'The duke inquired of him the situation of the port; in what time they could assemble their forces; if there were any strong place between London and the port, to impede their coming to London. And altho he hath given him no resolute answer, he assured him he should be very welcome to the pope and the Spanish king, to whom he exhorted him to repair with all diligence; to keep the matter secret, and chiefly from the French; and that on his return, he should have all the assistance and aid that he required.' Of Ross he only mentioned, that Ridolfi's letter to him 'contained very few words, and to no other end than to deliver the two letters to N^o 30 and N^o 40.' Murd. 10. The cabinet could not then find out what lords these numbers designated.

³⁸ This was, that Ridolfi had written in one of his letters, that Alva did not think that 'he,' meaning the person to whom it was written, 'was a sound Catholic, wherefore he exhorted him to write to his excellency, and to assure him of that point.' Murd. 10. This person was one of the lords denoted by N^o 30 and N^o 40.

³⁹ He repeated the allusion mentioned in the preceding note, without still explaining who the 'he' applied to. But on the instructions to

Norfolk directly with the detail of the scheme for the foreign invasion.

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It was on these fragments of the truth that lord Burghley had written to earl Shrewsbury, and determined to examine the bishop of Ross upon them. The prelate admitted what he perceived it would be useless to deny, that ‘Ridolfi had letters from the queen of Scots to the duke of Alva, the pope, and the king of Spain, and from himself to Alva;’ and that the instructions which Ridolfi had taken to this general, went to solicit aid and support of men, and that the application to the pope was for money; but dropping the fact, that these were to operate on England, he, with an artful evasion, declared that the forces were to be landed at Dumbarton or Leith, and the money to maintain and repay what Mary had borrowed of the Italian.⁴⁰

The prelate would disclose, and the council could penetrate no further. Bailly’s confession revealed nothing beyond the fact to which the bishop had given a color, which took off the apparent treason. Norfolk had not yet been explicitly named, and the two numbered peers had not yet been detected. The conspirators were faithful and secret. Their plots

Alva he disclosed, that Ridolfi called their giver ‘*the duke.*’ ‘As soon as he [Ridolfi] was come, he had required audience of the duke of Alva, letting him understand that he had certain instructions which ~~THE DUKE~~ had caused him to deliver to the secretary Courtville.’ p. 12. He stated, that he had also taken a letter ‘to Mr. *John Hamilton,*’ p. 11; thus, again shewing the connection of this person with their party.

* See his examination on 13th May. Murd. 14. ‘After some long pause,’ he explained N° 40 to mean the queen of Scots. He denied that any other number was mentioned; but being strongly questioned, if there were not a second, he at last admitted it, but referred it to the Spanish ambassador; thus screening, by a bold falsehood, the two English peers whom they really designated.

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and persons remained as invisible as ever; and the machinations therefore went on in a steady advance to their successful explosion.

For three months longer the destructive peril hung over the English government, waiting only Alva's determination to fall upon it; when its vigilance, which had never slept, detected a new circumstance, which began the unravelling and discomfiture of this mystery of iniquity. This was the discovery, by some of its appointed inquirers, that the duke of Norfolk was sending secretly a sum of money and a cipher letter to Edinburgh Castle, which was then resisting the Scottish government.⁴¹ The single fact would have been of small importance, but, combined with the preceding intelligence, it pointed to the duke as an active partisan in supporting those whom both the Scottish and English government considered to be in hostility to them. His secretary, Hygford, was secured and examined;⁴² owned the fact, and added the long wanted knowlege, that the alphabet of a cipher was in his master's possession.⁴³ The duke was put under arrest; but he had secured

⁴¹ On 5th September 1577, Burghley wrote to Shrewsbury, 'The queen commandeth me to signify to you, that there is discovered most certainly, that the duke of Norfolk has sent towards Scotland a mass of money, with letters in cipher to the queen's party in Scotland and in Edinburgh Castle. The money and letters are intercepted, and Hygford, the duke's secretary, who did write the letters, is taken, and in the Tower confesseth the matter.' Lett. in 2 Lodge, p. 56. He desired the earl, 'Be now circumspect over your charge.' *ib.*

⁴² On 2d September 1571, he denied that the duke had sent any money to the opposing lords in Scotland 'before 29th August last, at which time his grace did cause me to carry 600*l.* in gold, sealed up in a bag, to be delivered, &c. and to say it was about 50*l.* in silver which a friend left with me.' Hygford's Exam. Murd. 67.

⁴³ 'The alphabet was left under the mat, hard by the window's side, in the entry towards my lord's bedchamber, where the map of England doth hang.' *ib.* 57.

his cipher, and thought he was safe.⁴⁴ On a further examination, his secretary disclosed the name of another person employed;⁴⁵ and this man, Barker, was immediately secured, and the next day revealed the fact, that the money came to the duke from the French ambassador.⁴⁶ Charged with having taken away the cipher from the mat, Norfolk, too eager to contradict his secretary, unwarily let drop that it had been and might be between tiles.⁴⁷ This roused Hygford to recollect a peculiar hiding place of that description, which no words would elucidate,⁴⁸ but which he could find if taken there. Dr. Wilson accompanied him to Howard House, and obtained it.⁴⁹

The money was satisfactorily traced to the French ambassador,⁵⁰ and proved Norfolk's intercourse with

⁴⁴ Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Wilson, on 3d September, informed lord Burghley, 'As much haste as we made, yet had the duke gotten away the alphabet of the cipher, who therefore thinketh that nothing is known, altho your lordship may perceive nothing will be long hid.'

⁴⁵ 'Mr. Barker delivered me the money, by my lord's commandment.' Exam. 4 September, p. 70.

⁴⁶ Exam. of W. Barker, 5th September, p. 87. 'A little packet of letters was put in the midst of the money, by Mr. La Motte, who prayed him to get it conveyed to M. De Verac, in Scotland.' ib. 88.

⁴⁷ Smith and Wilson's letter of 9th September, p. 89.

⁴⁸ 'We calling Hygford before us, at the first he said that was before the house was full built; yet after a night he remembered himself, and said it might be in such a place, but could not so demonstrate it, that any man might find it.' ib.

⁴⁹ 'Whereupon Dr. Wilson went this day with him and one of his own keepers, and found it indeed betwixt two tiles in the roof, so hid as it had not been possible to have found it otherwise than by unripping all the tiles, except one had been well acquainted with the place.' Lett. ib.

⁵⁰ 'After Barker's evidence had proved this, p. 87, 88, the ambassador, De la Motte Fenelon, avowed it and claimed it.' Smith's lett. of 9 Sept. p. 88. The next day Barker made a fuller detail of his conferences with the French envoys. 'M. Motte told me what a pleasure I should do him in sending money to relieve the poor lords of the Scottish queen's side, for the king, his master, would not see her forsaken, whatsoever other matter takes place.' Murd. 91.

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him and his court.⁵¹ But altho the duke had dealings and objects in connection with the government of France, so dear to it as to induce its sovereign to talk of even personally interfering for him, if his life became endangered,⁵² and therefore treasonable as to his own allegiance;⁵³ yet it is remarkable that this was a separate line of disloyal intrigue, which was no ramification of the real plot. It was a political web of French policy, that was weaving at Paris, for its own purposes, in a selfish and jealous distinction from the papal and Spanish conspiracy,⁵⁴ with which France, tho apprised of, did not cordially

⁵¹ Barker stated, 'I told my lord what request the ambassador had made. He answered, he would be loth any of his should have the carrying of it.' Barker then went to La Motte, 'to wish well to the business he was about, and to remember my lord, who was very desirous of the same. He said, true it was, he was come about such a business as might both do my lord good and all his friends:' but added, with the cautious avoidance of putting a master into the power of his servant, 'For him especially to deal, he had no commission.' 'The Sunday after, my lord told me there was come a merchant from Shrewsbury, that had brought butter, who might be a good messenger for the money.' Barker Exam. p. 91.

⁵² De Foix, who had brought the money, returned to the French king, and, on 25th September 1571, wrote thus from Blois to La Motte, on the subject of the duke of Norfolk: 'The king has thought that it was not yet apropos to employ himself towards the queen of England for him, for fear of rather offending her than assisting him, and supposing that they will not go beyond the commencement of a legal process, and detaining him in prison; but if they proceed to touch his person, his majesty is resolved 'de s'employer pour lui de tout son pouvoir.' Murray's MS. Fenelon's Correspondence.

⁵³ The objects of the French court appear from the letters of Charles IX. to La Motte Fenelon, his ambassador, to have been the assisting in Mary's release or escape; the encouragement of her marriage with Norfolk; the support of her party, both in England and Scotland; the prevention of her son James being taken to Spain, or even to London; and the keeping Scotland from any confidential alliance with England, and leading it to maintain all its antient relations with France. The two letters of 27th July 1569, and others after that date, particularly urge these points.

⁵⁴ That the duke of Alva desired his plans with Ridolfi and the English conspirators to be kept secret from France, we see by Bailly's evidence, already cited.

join in, because Spain, its rival, was the chief mover, and would gather its best fruits. But altho not a part of the yet undiscovered domestic plot, yet as the real agent in both machinations was now in custody, it soon led to the detection of that which was the most formidable, and had so long advanced in progressive growth, amid the most unfathomable secrecy. Barker at last disclosed the real persons, marked by the N° 30 and N° 40, with whom Ridolfi corresponded. They were, lord Lumley, and his master the duke of Norfolk.⁵⁵ He owned that he had visited the Italian from this nobleman,⁵⁶ and being the chief, tho not the ablest agent, gradually added those circumstances, which made lord Burghley assure Shrewsbury 'This matter of the duke groweth daily larger upon examination.'⁵⁷ An instance how slowly the government reached the real detection of the well hidden plot, notwithstanding the early intimation of its formation by the

⁵⁵ This important information was not given by Barker till the 10 Oct. 1571. 'He saith, the duke of Norfolk was named by these characters, forty; and my lord Lumley, by thirty. That he saw the letter N° 30, at the house of the bishop of Ross; and that the letter O served for sir Nicholas Throckmorton; and by that character, O, the duke of Norfolk did write to him, and so did the bishop of Ross.' Exam. p. 112. Hygford had, on 22d September, confessed a great correspondence between Norfolk and Lumley, 'touching the said duke's troubles.' p. 73.

⁵⁶ 'I went to him once or twice by my lord's commandment.' Murd. p. 92. His examiner, Smith, at first remarked of Barker, that he was 'somewhat obstinate, or foolish rather,' p. 89; afterwards, 'I think he will confess so much as his wit will serve him. As it appeareth he hath been the most doer betwixt the duke and other foreign practisers.' p. 95. On 20 Sept. Smith wrote to Burghley: 'We have good hope at last that we may come home. Bannister knoweth little. Barker was the common doer in the practice, but rather chosen for zeal than wit. What he hath done, is opened at the last in some form, with our help; for of his own wit he could never have done it, it is so confused and without order.' ib. 101.

⁵⁷ Lett. 19 Oct. in Lodge, p. 60. He added, 'I am sorry to see so many troubled therein.'

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provost marshal: so difficult is it, under a constitutional government, where the guilt must be proved to the satisfaction of others, before the punishment can be inflicted, to attach the knowledge you may derive from secret information or well-grounded inferences, to particular individuals, by legal evidence, and with testimonial certainty.

It did indeed expand beyond either the supposition or the wishes of the cabinet, for it was found to embrace several of the head nobility and gentry of the kingdom, tho chiefly Roman Catholics, as the more unwilling, than slow-minded, Barker gradually disclosed them in his successive examinations.

That the duke of Norfolk had concealed the secretary of the bishop of Ross, when the government sought for him;⁸⁸ that lord Cobham knew how important such a seclusion was,⁸⁹ and therefore was not ignorant of the dangerous practices; and that this lord's brother had secreted Ridolfi's dangerous letter when Bailly was apprehended, and thereby saved the duke,⁹⁰ had been stated by Hygford. The same person also disclosed, that in one of Mary's

⁸⁸ 'And touching Cuthbert, the bishop's secretary, my lord told me when privy search was made for him, that *he* had conveyed him to a close corner, where he should hardly be found.' H. Exam. 28 September, p. 74.

⁸⁹ 'Lord Cobham would *many times* say unto me, that it behoved my lord to fear the taking of Cuthbert, for *upon him rested my lord's utter undoing*, meaning, that if he were apprehended, he might disclose all.' ib. 75. On 1st October he detailed these cautions more particularly. p. 78, 79.

⁹⁰ 'Thomas Cobham thus said to me: 'I have now paid my price for the duke your master. While my brother was examining the said Charles, I stole away the letters that lay in a window, and opened the packet, wherein I found a letter of my Lord of Westmoreland, and a letter of Ridolfi's, both which I took out, closed up the packet again, and so laid it where I found it. If I have done your master good, let him thank me for it.' ib. 78.

letters, to the duke, about the preceding Midsummer, 'She complained of the little aid that she found in France, and that she had better hope of Spain than any other friend.'⁶¹ and that the queen, after his arrest, had proposed to Norfolk to make her escape to France, and would so quit the town,⁶² if he approved of it; but that he had deemed it too hazardous for her to attempt. For himself, he thought he was in no danger.⁶³ A strange instance of self-flattering infatuation.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Exam. 82.

⁶² 'She wrote to him a little before Christmas, that she had made way by friendship in my lord Shrewsbury's house, to escape the danger of her enemies; and that if he could find the like means to get out of the Tower, she would adventure herself, otherwise not; for she would not leave him in *danger* for any safeguard of her own life.' p. 81. 'She had made a friend there in the house, and that she could escape thence, and all things were in readiness, both men and post horses, to carry her into Sussex, whence she would be shipped into France, and that she only stayed upon understanding of his pleasure in the same.' ib. 83.

⁶³ My lord's answer to this was: 'How perilous it would be for her to escape the danger of the place where she was, notwithstanding the fair promises of friends, which peradventure would leave her when the matter came to the push; and as for himself, he neither could nor would hazard to get out of prison, considering that there was no great danger as to him.' ib. 81.

⁶⁴ The voluntary statements of the bishop of Ross in his 'negotiations,' fully involves Norfolk in the knowledge and sanction of the plots carrying on between Mary, the pope, and Alva, with Ridolfi, the prelate, and others. He details the circumstances minutely; and as he was Mary's most confidential agent, and a principal conspirator, he was one of those who best knew the real facts, and his narrative exhibits to us a spontaneous disclosure of them. See it in Anderson, vol. 3. p. 150-188, as to the duke. His work occupies the whole volume.

CHAP. XXX.

FINAL ARREST, TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, FOR HIS TREASONABLE PRACTICES—MATHER'S CONSPIRACY TO ASSASSINATE BURGHLEY AND THE QUEEN—MARY'S INTERCOURSE WITH THE DUKE OF ALVA, SPAIN, AND THE POPE—DEATH OF PIUS V.

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THE duke of Norfolk had been released from the Tower, on the day that Felton was arrested, and had been sent to his own house under the superintendence of sir Henry Neville.¹ He had become decidedly Romish in his connexions, if not in his religion,² and labored to be popular.³ But he had too deeply involved himself in the great papal conspiracy, for his secret participation in it to remain undetected, as soon as Burghley's long baffled watching had at last fixed on some of the real agents, who were less dexterous or firm in the concealment of their machinations, than the practised Ross and Ridolfi. Facts

¹ Camden's Eliz. p. 127. This was 4th Aug. 1570. Stowe, 667.

² In the discourse on him, printed about this time, apparently from authority, it is stated: 'Touching his religion, how he affected, I leave to God and his own conscience; but that he should not be settled in religion, it shall appear by sundry reasons to the contrary; 1. His education of his son under the government of a papist. 2. His chief men of trust being papists. 3. The confidence and reposed trust he has in the chief papists of the realm. 4. His last marriage with a papist. And lastly, this pretended match.' 1 Anders. p. 23.

³ 'He is in state the second person of this realm. His credit with the nobility and commons is well known to be great; with the one in respect of his alliance; with the other in respect of a kind of familiarity used towards them in public sports, as in shooting and cockfights. A thing not to be discommended, if this match did not discover it to savor of an ambitious and aspiring intent.' ib. 23.

gradually accumulated against him,⁴ until they appeared sufficient for a legal investigation; and on 4th Sept. 1571, he was arrested on a charge of treason, and three days afterwards committed to the Tower.⁵ The next day, and on several others, he was interrogated by the privy council; and in his various examinations admitted that Barker was his servant; that he had sent him to De Foix, and knew that he had received the money from the Frenchman,⁶ and that he had instructed his own secretary to write in cipher for its delivery.⁷ He confessed also to one interview of an hour with Ridolfi, after supper, about Christmas 1570;⁸ that he had written to Mary, and received letters from her,⁹ and knew that Bannister, Ross, and Ridolfi, had been with the Spanish ambassador, with a message from himself;¹⁰ that he had several times supplied Borthwick with money, and had been apprised by him of the conference between Ross and sir Henry Percy, about taking Mary out of her detention.¹¹ At another period, he owned that Barker had brought him two letters from the pope, and also one from Ridolfi, which he read and concealed.¹² He con-

⁴ 'There came afterwards to light daily more matters than ever he suspected, and the trust of those which were of his inwardest councils, was, with hope or corruption, overcome.' Camd. Eliz. 127.

⁵ Murden's State Papers, 148, 9.

⁶ His answers on 8th September, in Murdin, 151. 'He thinketh that at that time Barker told him he had the money in his chamber.' *ib.*

⁷ He added, 'But he never *saw* the money. It was the ambassador's; no part his.' Murd. 151, 2.

⁸ Duke's answers on 22d Sept. in Murd. p. 154. He said Ridolfi asked him to write to the duke of Alva for some money for him, but that he refused. *ib.*

⁹ His answer on 8th Sept. Murd. 152.

¹⁰ Answer on 31st Oct. *ib.* 163.

¹¹ Answer, *ib.*

¹² This was in his last confession, on 26th Feb. 1572. Murd. 175. He declared that he was angry with the bearer for bringing them. *ib.*

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fessed that he had advised Mary not to give up her castles, when Elizabeth required the measure to be done; and that three plans had been mentioned to him for her escape, of which he had approved the last.¹³

Elizabeth made a formal complaint to the duke of Alva, that the Spanish ambassador in England was exciting her subjects to treasonable insurrection,¹⁴ and that she had therefore ordered him away;¹⁵ and she made this communication to prevent his misrepresentations of her reasons causing any breach between the two countries.¹⁶ She added an assertion of her own care to make her actions correspond with her language; and appealed to them as evidence of her integrity;¹⁷ an intimation which, as the duke

¹³ Answer, 13th Oct. Murd. 160. He stated on this day, that he 'remembered no letter to Alva for credit for Ridolfi, *but if Bannister saith so*, he would be loth to deny it.' *ib.* Of his two agents, he said, 'So long as Bannister was here, he used not Barker: he used Barker till Bannister came again, and then used both.' *ib.* 162.

¹⁴ On 15th Dec. 1571, she wrote to Alva, 'We need not much to repeat to you, how long we have misliked Gerar Despes, whom the king sent hither in place of signore Guzman da Sylva, a person that served his master very honorably, and with our great contentation. The said Despes hath increased his practices to disturb our state, to corrupt our subjects, and to stir up rebellion; and to promise to such as he finds evil disposed, that the king will aid and maintain them against us.' Murd. 185.

¹⁵ 'As we can no more endure him to continue, than a person that would secretly seek to inflame our realm with firebrands, we have given him order to depart, without entering into any particular debate, *wherunto he is naturally given*. And this we have done the more quietly, in good order, from the respect we have to the king from whom he came.' Eliz. lett. in Murd. *ib.*

¹⁶ 'And altho we know that he will boldly affirm many things to cover his imperfections, yet this, we trust, is reason, that for the affirmation of our own intention towards the continuance of good amity with the king, we ought to be best believed.' *ib.*

¹⁷ 'The queen adds of herself, 'Who shall as readily *perform the same in outward deeds*, if just occasion be given us, as we do in words. And so we require YOU, being a person of understanding, OF HONOR,

was secretly pursuing the same treasonable practices, which she had detected in Gaspar, while he was sending agents to her, with professions of amity and peace, must have made him feel as he read, tho the proudest man in Europe, except his master, that he was deformed by that vice, which above all others fixes on a man the abhorrence, with the contempt, of his fellow creatures—HYPOCRISY; a mental perversion which is always a combination of treachery, cowardice, selfishness and fraud. Disdained by the open hearted, the noble minded, the wise, and the generous, it is assumed by men who, like Alva, can banish humanity from their feelings, reason from their superstitions, and rectitude from their honor. Moving where it seeks to undermine and betray, in a course of mystery, baseness, and mischief; its practisers become, like him, fond of the obliquity and depravity which degrades them, and are then insensible to all social reprehension. Elizabeth's letter had no effect in recalling him to any suspension of his dark conspiracies. The distant voice of their pontifical contriver and abettor, was more powerful than her's. Alva continued to be the active head of all the Romish plots, for some years, in England; as he chose to be their military executioner, without remorse or mercy, in the Belgium provinces.

The duke of Norfolk was too important in all worldly greatness and its appendages, to be seriously struck at by government, whatever might be his guilt, without exposing the queen and state to great

and of experience, to make proof of us, *by our own actions*, than by his words; who hath a private interest to deprave our actions, for maintenance of his partial and passionate attempts.' Murd. 185.

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peril and to some immediate hostilities; and especially as his punishment would, from its intimidating and dislocating effects, be a death blow to the great conspiracy. His arrest became a test of the stability of Elizabeth's throne, and of the depth and extent of her popularity, and a summons to all his partisans to bestir themselves for his safety. The French sovereign, who, if his cabinet had not favored or participated in the secret treason with which the duke was alleged to be connected, could have had no more reason or claim to interfere for him, than if the king of Denmark had chosen to subject one of his Zealand nobles to a judicial examination, yet resolved to make vigorous exertions in his behalf.¹⁸ An attempt was then pursued by public handbills, to excite the nobility not to allow the duke to be punished,¹⁹ and defying any accuser to single combat.²⁰

But the most alarming effort that was plotted in his behalf, was a scheme to assassinate lord Burghley, as the chief cause of his detection and danger;

¹⁸ A fortnight after the news of Norfolk's arrest reached Paris, we find a letter of 25 Sept. 1571, addressed from the court at Blois, to Fenelon, commending his 'sages responses' on the business of the duke's secretary, 'which have been well received here.' But the king does not think it will be 'encore à propos' to employ himself with the queen of England for him, for fear of more offending her, than of aiding him, and because he believes that they will not go beyond the institution of a process against him, and keeping him a prisoner. *But if they proceed to touch his person, his majesty is resolved 'de s'employer pour lui de tout son pouvoir.'* Lett. of P. de Foix, 25 September 1571, in Murray's MSS.

¹⁹ Berney described his fabrication of these by the desire of Mather. One copy was 'set up at the scaffold on Tower-hill; another at the gate going out of Cheapside to St. Paul's.' Herle observed it. Murd. p. 196. Mather prepared 'another writing, which he would have set up on lord Burghley's gate.' ib. 199.

²⁰ Murd. 200. Berney stated, 'Mather asked me, if any did challenge the same, whether I would perform his offer? I answered him, that I would; so that I might be assured, that if I discovered my name I might not be hanged.' To prevent this, they planned to have two of lord Burghley's sons for pawns for them. ib.

of which he unexpectedly received an anonymous communication from an accomplice, whose good sensibilities were stronger than his evil passions, or than the instigation of his knavish persuaders; tho, like Catherine de Medicis, he would go no further than to warn and alarm.²¹ The exertions of the awakened minister obtained such further information,²² that the man who had been incited to do the act of villany was seized,²³ and his full confession led to the apprehension of the tempter, who had seduced him;²⁴ and their examinations disclosed that the immediate object of the murder was to save the duke of Norfolk;²⁵ tho he was reviled as scarcely

²¹ It was sent in this letter by the post to lord Burghley, on 4 Jan. 1572. 'Of late I have upon discontent, entered into conspiracy with some others, to slay your lordship. A man with a perfect hand has attended you three several times in your garden to have slain you. The which not falling out, the height of your study window is taken towards the garden; minded, if they miss these means, to slay you with a shot upon the terrace, or in coming late from the court, with a pistol. Being touched with some remorse of so bloody a deed, I warn your lordship, and would further declare the whole if I should not be noted of infidelity, being so near and dear to me as they are. I require your lordship to have care of your safety.' Murd. p. 194.

²² William Herle was the party who discovered the plot, Murd. 209, 10; but Mather wrote the letter. ib. 209.

²³ This was Kenelm Berney, whose confessions on 13th, 15th, and 29th Jan. 1572, are in Murdin, 194-200-3.

²⁴ Edmond Mather was taken up, and was examined on 28 January, ib. 202.

²⁵ Kenelm Berney, on 13 Jan. confessed the gradual way which Edmond Mather led him to the murderous resolution. Mather began by asking his own servant, in Berney's presence, if he would lose an arm for the duke's sake. The man answered, 'If the loss of his life might do him good, he would spend the same.' 'Well said,' was the master's reply. The next night he told Berney that 'he had many devises in his head to help the duke. He could set him out of the Tower, if there were any one or two within to join with him, by a bridge of canvass, with two long ropes, with hooks of iron, to be cast to those inside.' 'But (added Mather) he taketh not the way to help himself, for he is not liberal.' This not being found practicable, because the lieutenant was not bribed; the next plan was, 'to take him away when he cometh abroad.' 'He will be strongly accompanied with fifty of the guard.' 'Then, (said I) if there be no

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deserving the preservation,²⁰ and that the scheme of destruction was also to be extended to Elizabeth.²¹

The seizure of Mather, who had so craftily involved Berney into this conspiracy, brought out the

more, it were possible to take him with fifty swords and bucklers.' 'No: with pistols, it were easy.' p. 195.

The next night Mather began more directly, by asserting that he was a beast, and no man, who did not leave behind him some memorial of his being in this world. Berney declared he was ready to spend his blood in a friend's quarrel, and Mather gave Berney part of his money. p. 196. On the following evening, having got Berney to commit himself, by fixing up the seditious papers mentioned in note 19, he declared that there was no way to do the duke good but one, yet would not then explain himself more than to exclaim, 'It were good to die famously.' The next night at their fireside he at last revealed his wish, that lord Burghley should be assassinated, and suggested the plan; to have a horse saddled on each side of the Thames, and a boat ready; to take a stand at Charing Cross; to fire at the great minister coming from his house to the court, and to cross the water immediately into Surry, 'where there was the best place in the world to lie safe without being found, and after the matter was blown over, to go beyond the seas.' ib. 196.

²⁰ 'Sitting by the fireside, he [Mather] said to me, the duke was a beast and a coward, because when he was in his country he did not take arms. For he said, the lords Westmoreland and Northumberland offered to send him down a 1000 good and able horsemen; at which time, if he had not been a coward, he might have married the Scottish queen, and so have altered the state.' Berney's Conf. p. 194.

²¹ In his first conversations with Berney, Mather only said, 'If the court were from town, I would undertake to take the queen and all her true men, with two hundred gentlemen; aye, with half the number. This talk he used many times with me. He said the guard, calling them the queen's beefs, might soon be dispatched.' Murd. 195. But on a following evening he drew on Berney to say, 'Marry! except the queen were made away, as Powell would have done, there is no help to save him.' 'You say well,' was his only answer then. p. 197. On a following evening, Berney added, 'He asked me if I would do as he would do.' 'I said, whatever he did, I would accompany him.' 'What, if it were to kill the queen or lord Burghley?' On 29th January this accomplice acknowledged more largely that Mather declared to him, 'If she were not killed or made away, there was no way but death with the duke; and what a pity it were, said he, that so noble a man as he should die now in so vile a woman's days, that desireth nothing but to feed her own lewd fantasy, and to cut off such of her nobility as were not perfumed and courtlike to please her delicate eye, and to place such as were for her turn, meaning dancers; adding coarse allusions about Mr. Hatton. After he had, by an off-word, first began, he followed me continually every night, as it were a man mad or lunatic.' Bern. Conf. 203, 4.

disquieting fact, that the SPANISH AMBASSADOR had been the Satan who had persuaded him into his criminality.²⁸ He made a copious description of this man's direct and circuitous dealings with him, perverting the honored and trusted character of a diplomatic minister, to become an instrument of treason and murder.²⁹ The main object of the chief

²⁸ 'The Spanish ambassador, the said man of my mischief, and original cause of all my wracks.' Math. submission on 29th January, Murd. 207. In lord Burghley's dispatch to Walsingham, of 23d January, we read: 'Mather hath manfully charged Borghese, the Spanish ambassador's secretary, that *his master* and *he* inticed Mather to murder me; and Borghese denying it, Mather hath offered to try it, *con la spada*.' Digges, p. 164. On 2d February, Burghley added the information, that 'Mather and Berney had besides confessed their intention and desire to have been rid of the queen.' ib. 165.

²⁹ On 28th January Mather confessed, 'I had often access to the Spanish ambassador, and that always in the night, being brought in sometime at the garden gate, otherwhiles at the water gate, and sometimes at the ferrygate. I ever perceived that the said ambassador had rooted a grounded malice against my lord Burghley. About six weeks before his departure, being brought into his parlour by Borghese, and finding him sitting by the fire, he required me, after reverence done unto him, to sit by him; and so I did. We grew to talk of my lord Burghley, whom the ambassador utterly disliked in all his doings; saying, that he held the helm, and did all in all. Speaking of the nobles and gentlemen lately committed to the Tower, and laying the fault on lord Burghley, he said, 'Since a man must die, it is better to take an honorable death, than to live a vituperated life. There wants some man of spirit to kill and cut him in pieces.' He spake this with some vehemency, adding an injurious word, 'poltroon!'—Four or five days, returning to the said ambassador, he shewed me extraordinary courtesy. Being somewhat late, Borghese accompanied me into the street, and pitied the gentlemen in the Tower, saying, 'that it would be a most honorable thing to die with the sword in the hand; and that if lord Burghley was taken away [*finesse levato via*] every thing would go on well.' Whereupon I asked him, Do you think it possible? Quoth he, 'It is ever easy to a resolute mind.' I then replied, 'I will do some signal service to this common cause, or it shall cost me my life.' He adjoined, 'You cannot do a greater service to heaven than to die for your country.' This talk was before my lord Buckhurst's foregate, about nine of the clock at night.

The said Borghese was oftentimes in hand to understand if I had any acquaintance with the earl Sussex, which I not utterly denying, for my credit's sake, albeit in very deed I am utterly unknown both to him and his: One night, at Bourse, he said to me, 'I think, if the earl of Sussex would undertake the protection of the cause of the queen of Scotland, that my king would assist him; but I think and

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conspirators was confessed to be the substitution of the queen of Scots for Elizabeth,³⁰ in addition to their own preferment and emolument, if they succeeded; the great stimulus to all crime and to theirs,³¹ altho some were actuated by strong papistical fanaticism.³² Another partisan involved the earl of Pembroke, and the acute ambassador sir Nicholas Throckmorton, in some of the ramifications of the confederacy.³³

speak this of myself, not from another:’ and he talked divers times to me hereupon, and seemed to be very desirous that I should enter into some further practice thereof.’ Murd. 202, 3. The Spanish ambassador had been ordered to depart the realm in the preceding December 1571. Burgh. lett. in Digges, 163.

³⁰ Mather avowed this, at first, on 29th January. ‘I confess mislanguage in seeking to praise the queen of Scots, and to slander your royal person. I confess moreover that I desired some alteration of state, and that another might have usurped your royal dignity.’ The next day he more explicitly stated, ‘His desire was to have the queen of Scots to have the crown and government of this realm from the queen’s majesty.’ Murd. 208. He repeated, ‘That the person he wished should have usurped the crown was the queen of Scots.’ ib.

³¹ He confessed his ‘desire and hope of preferment by the same alterations.’ p. 208. So he excited Berney. ‘I mind for my own saddle to have the best gelding I can buy, with an excellent good case of snaphances or pistols; and if God *send me good luck*, I will be the next term both brave in apparel, and well mounted; and we will lend you on Friday some five or six pounds to buy yourself some better apparel.’ ib. 199. He said, ‘If the state did change, I might get in time a pensioner’s room, and so come to something, for now you see there is nothing to be had; all is too little for dancers, who are preferred before men of service.’ ib. 199. Berney declared that his chief reason for co-operating was, ‘The hope I had of some preferment, being in great necessity and misery.’ p. 205. Yet he was a person of some respectability in Norfolk, for he asserted of himself, ‘I myself, when I used to be in my country, would have attempted any mischief; I could have had forty or an hundred to join with me, *and could yet have*, if I would attempt any thing.’ ib. 201. Mather also avowed that he ‘made reckoning to have had some great preferment by the duke.’ p. 207.

³² Southwell, a cousin of Berney’s, was one of this description. His relation said of him, ‘He is so besotted, that to have the mass up, he would spend all that he hath. If it shall lie in him in any way to disturb the common quiet of this realm, he will do it, so he may have the advantage, for he hopeth for a day to have the world on the papist side.’ ib. 206.

³³ This was Rogers, on 20th January: ‘The beginning of these

While these conspirators were under examination, the duke of Norfolk was put upon his trial before his peers, on 16th January 1572, the lord Shrewsbury presiding as lord high steward.²⁴ The indictment charged him with being a false traitor, on three points: conspiracy to depose and destroy the queen; traitorously relieving English rebels who had declared war against her, and relieving and maintaining her public enemies in Scotland, the succorers and detainers of the fugitive traitors.²⁵ On the first article, two divisions of facts were adduced: One, that knowing Mary claimed the immediate possession of the English crown; had usurped the title and quartered its arms, and had continued to do so without renunciation, as she had been required; he had yet, without Elizabeth's assent, and against her command, sought to marry the Scottish queen, and

things with the duke, by the earl of Pembroke and Northampton being the movers of it, proceeded wholly from the said Throckmorton: he had many violent things from Throckmorton.' *Murd.* 201. Berney and Mather were executed on 13th February. *Stowe.*

²⁴ Sir Ralph Sadler was sent down to Sheffield Castle, to take charge of Mary, while Shrewsbury attended this important trial. His letter of 21st January 1572, to Burghley, states, that when Norfolk's condemnation became known to her, she 'wept very bitterly, so that my lady found her to be all wept and mourning; and asking her what she ailed, she answered, that she could not but be much grieved to understand of the trouble of her friends.' She began to say he was unjustly condemned, till lady Shrewsbury remarked, that 'if his offences and treasons had not been great, and plainly proved against him, the noblemen on his trial would not for all the good on earth have condemned him. She thereupon, with mourning, became silent, and had no will to talk any more of the matter. All the last week this queen did not once look out of her chamber, hearing that the duke stood upon his trial, and being troubled, in all likelihood with a guilty conscience, and fear to hear of such news as now she hath received.' *Lett. in Ellis' Second Series*, v. 2. p. 330, 1.

²⁵ *State Trials*, v. 1. p. 82-117. fol. ed. 1730. At the bar, on his arraignment, 'The duke, with a haughty look, and oft biting his lip, surveyed the lords on each side of him.' *ib.* p. 83.

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to advance her title, which could not be without depriving the reigning sovereign. The other proof of this branch of the arraignment was, that he had conspired and practised to procure foreigners to invade the realm, and to make open war against his queen.³⁶

The duke admitted his knowlege of Mary's claims.³⁷ And on his secret dealings and treacherous conduct, when royal commissioner at York, the confession of the bishop of Ross, Mary's most confidential agent, and the earl of Murray's letter, were produced.³⁸ By the first of these, his privity to a plan, settled with Mary and her household, to murder the earl Murray on his way from England, was then shewn;³⁹ as also his proceedings as to his marriage with her.⁴⁰ And as he had declared to Eliza-

³⁶ State Trials, v. 1. p. 87, 8.³⁷ Ib. 89.³⁸ Ib. 90-4.

³⁹ The bishop, in his examination on the sixth of the preceding November, stated, 'That the earl of Murray was in fear to have been murdered by the way in his return to Scotland, whereupon this examine, *by the duke's advice*, did write to the queen of Scots that the attempt might be stayed, for that Murray had yielded to the duke to be favorable; and the murder should have been executed about North-allerton by the Nortons, Mackenfield, and others, as this examine was advertised by the Scottish queen's servants that come from Bolton.' ib. 95. Thus it appears, from the confessions of her ablest friends, that Mary had actually resolved to have Murray assassinated after he had produced her letters; that the duke knew she had formed the plan, and authorized her servants to do it; and that it was the bishop's letter to her to stay the attempt which was the reason that he was not killed then in England!! What a league of guilt!

On this being read, the duke said, 'For the device of murdering him, I was never privy to it. I never heard of it till Whitsuntide after, and then but by the bishop of Ross. Neither did I hear that it should have been done by the Nortons, *but by my brother* of Westmoreland being a hunting; when the earl Murray espying a great company on the hill side, imagined that he should have been slain.' ib. 95. The bishop's statement is decisive, that he wrote to stay it, *by the duke's advice*.

⁴⁰ Ib. 95, 6. The duke's letter to Murray, 1st July, was produced on this, in which he declares his resolution to be fixed on the marriage: 'I have so far proceeded herein, as I can neither revoke that which I have done, nor with honor proceed further, until you shall there re-

beth, without any refinement of language, that he thought Mary guilty of her husband's murder,⁴¹ the inference was drawn, from his own sentiment and reasoning, that it was not from any personal regard for her that he had sought an union, but to take advantage of her false title to the crown of England.⁴² The evidence of Ross was then added, to shew that he had declared his intention to pursue his marriage by treasonable force of arms;⁴³ and he confessed

move such stumbling blocks as be impeachment to our more apparent proceedings. You shall not want the *furtherance in this enterprise of the most part of the noblemen of this realm.*' State Trials, v. 1. p. 96.

"When questioned by Elizabeth upon the rumor of his marriage, he had denied it, and said to her, 'To what end should I seek to marry her, being so wicked a woman, such a notorious adulteress and murderer? I love to sleep upon a safe pillow. If I should seek to match with her, knowing as I do that she pretendeth a title to the present possession of your crown, your majesty might justly charge me with seeking your own crown from your head.'

When the queen's serjeant stated, that Norfolk had expressed himself thus to the queen, the duke chose to interrupt him with this admission of them: 'I may not nor will not stand against her majesty's testimony. I must give place unto it. But hereof I was examined two years ago: and then I declared, as I do now, that at that time I intended not the marriage. True it is that I have, at sundry times, used some of these kinds of speeches; but at that time I dealt not with that marriage, nor minded it.' ib. 96. Lord Burghley, in his summary of the charges, notes, that 'sundry of the lords there present often times heard her majesty also repeat it, with much more to that effect.' Murd. 180. The duke was nice in his distinctions; and his distinction shews how nicely some men dissect their moral conduct: 'He remembered that the queen charged him *straitly* not to proceed in that marriage; but he remembereth *not* that she charged him *upon his allegiance.*' ib. The duke seemed to have some peculiar refinements in his ideas of veracity; for on some further facts being recalled to his recollection, 'at length he confessed that he *was* charged upon his allegiance.' ib. 97.

"The serjeant pressed the argument, p. 97, and produced the duke's letter from York, 'wherein is signified the great abomination of the queen.' ib. This passage we have quoted before. Bannister's confession was then read, to whom Norfolk had also expressed 'an evil opinion' of Mary. State Trials, p. 98.

"The bishop of Ross had disclosed, on 3d November 1571, that the duke had told him, after Elizabeth had expressed her displeasure on coming from Southampton, that he would depart into his own country; that Arundel and Pembroke would do the like; that no nobleman in England would, at her command, accept the charge to

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that a proposition to take the Tower by insurrection and violence had been made to him. He declared that he had not assented to it, but he had concealed the device.⁴⁴

That, altho a confidential privy councillor to Elizabeth, yet when she proposed, in forming the treaty with Scotland, that the young James should be delivered to her, to be brought up in England, and that certain strong holds should be put into the possession of the English, he had, contrary to his oath, allegiance and fidelity, secretly advised the Scottish queen to do neither, he could not deny.⁴⁵ Other witnesses deposed to his previous knowlege of the insurrection of the two earls, but that he had regretted it from a foresight of its ill effects.⁴⁶

The main part of the next fatal charge was, that knowing Pius V. to be the queen's notorious enemy,

fetch him thence by force, for he knew their minds who would assist, especially in the north; that if he might once have that open quarrel against her, he would have friends enough to assist him; and that the earls of Arundel and Pembroke had promised to do as he did; and they in the north had promised the like.' ib. 98. The duke chose to declare of the bishop's testimony, 'all is false.' ib. It was added, 'that Liggon's, his solicitor, whom he maintained to bring him communications from the bishop, and from the pope's nuncio, had assured the former, that the duke meant to go thro the matter by force, if the queen would not assent to it.' ib. 98.

" 'I have confessed that such a motion was made to me, but I never assented to it.'—Serjeant: 'You concealed it.'—Duke: 'Indeed I told one of it. Owen met me, and told me how we were all in danger, and said, that *some of our friends* thought it was best to take the Tower. I refused to do it, and said, 'Take the Tower! that were a proper device indeed!' And thence I went to my lord Pembroke's, and there dined. And then *I told my lord Pembroke* of that device.' Whereunto he answered, '*We are well and safe enough.* Let them that be faulty take the Tower if they will.' ib. 99. The bishop of Ross states, that he and lord Lumley proposed to the duke to take 'the Tower, with the queen's treasure and munition.' Negotiations, 3 Anders. p. 181. With what a formidable conspiracy does not this conversation shew Elizabeth to have been surrounded

⁴⁴ 'I excuse it not; herein I confess my error.' State Trials, p. 100.

⁴⁵ Ib. 101. The duke denied the charge.

‘ he had practised with his factor; sent to the pope for aid and force against the queen; had conferred with Ridolfi to go over the sea to Alva and the pontiff, in the name of himself and of the Scottish queen, to procure power to invade the realm for the advancement of her title; and in the meantime to move her friends to levy such power as they were able, to assist.’ The evidence adduced on these treasonable subjects, impresses the mind with a belief that the duke had criminally connected himself with them.⁴⁷ The peers withdrew for consultation, and deliberated for an hour and a quarter after the proceedings had closed, and then resuming their judicial seats, unanimously pronounced him guilty of the treason for which he had been arraigned.⁴⁸

The duke, soon after his first apprehension, had written very pathetically to Elizabeth, to interest her compassion.⁴⁹ It had so much effect, that it was not

⁴⁷ See it at great length in the State Trials, 104–116.

⁴⁸ State Tr. 116. His secret confederates or friends were earnest that he should make no confession. The lieutenant of the Tower intercepted a letter to him, signed W. Hampton, 23 Sept. 1571, containing, ‘ Your friends at court dare not deal. You shall hear this day of some things that stand you upon to be very circumspect how you do confess: for in the confessing there be much peril. Your case groweth very hard.’ Murd. p. 156.

⁴⁹ His letter to the queen, from the Tower, on 10 Sept. 1571, has these paragraphs: ‘ O, my most dear and dread sovereign lady! my most gracious mistress! I prostrate myself at your highness’ most gracious feet, my poor children, and all that I have, hoping more in your majesty’s most gracious clemency than in my unadvised deserts. I seek to excuse myself in no way, but wholly submit myself to what best shall please your most merciful heart. O, most gracious lady! how many have run astray, who, finding mercy, have redubbed their former follies. O, noble queen! it is in your power to make of my wretched mould what it pleaseth you. My faith and religion reserved to my Saviour, I dedicate my heart and mind to you for ever, to be as it shall please your majesty to direct it. Wo worth the day that I entered into that matter which hath made such alteration of your favor unto me, and hath heaped upon myself these intolerable troubles. O, unworthy wretch that I am!’ He goes on to implore

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until three months afterwards that he had been put upon his trial. After his conviction, he again wrote to her, acknowledging the justice of the verdict, if the evidence was to be accredited;⁵⁰ and supplicating for mercy in the humblest style of the meanest criminal; but with expressions that could be fitly addressed to that throne alone, before which both he and his queen would have alike to appear with judicial responsibility.⁵¹ In the same language of abject deprecation, he implored her favor to his children,⁵² which she appears to have immediately promised; for on the next day he thanked her earnestly for the granted boon, which implied that she would not let his conviction deprive them of his forfeited property, and again by his lowly phrases sought to interest her compassion⁵³—a singular spectacle of the greatest

her clemency; assuring her that she shall have no future cause to repent her mercy. Murd. p. 153.

⁵⁰ In his letter to her of 22 Jan. 1572, he denies that he had said, 'that his peers had unjustly cast him away; which speech I protest to your majesty I never uttered; for I have said, that *if I had been* in one of their steads, and had credited the witnesses, *I should have done as they did.*' Murd. p. 166.

⁵¹ 'When I lay before my eyes my manifold offences against your most excellent majesty, there is no part of me, neither heart, head, nor mind, that sufficiently supply their parts towards this my most humble submission. Nothing doth more trouble and overlay my laden conscience, than that I find in myself that I have not sufficiently humbled myself to you, unto whom, with weeping eyes and repentant heart, I confess that I have most unkindly offended. Therefore, O my most dread sovereign lady! I unworthy wretch! lying prostrate at your feet, do most humbly beseech your most merciful majesty to grant me, of your highness's abundant pityful heart, forgiveness for my manifold offences done to your majesty.' Murd. 166. There can be no question here that the agitated nobleman was addressing language to his queen, which ought only to have been breathed to her Sovereign and to his. He asked her to befriend his children; and that lord Burghley might bring them up. ib. 167.

⁵² 'The heavenly Lord put it into your majesty's most gracious heart, that my carrion end may take away, and so assuage your just ire, as that the little poor wretches may taste of your highness's great clemency.' ib. 167.

⁵³ See lett. 23 Jan. To his deploring paragraphs he chose to add,

nobleman in the land, that had long careered in all the pride and pomp of wealth and greatness, shrinking into the guise of the most lowly penitent, and the most self-humiliated petitioner. Three weeks afterwards, he proposed to abandon all intercourse with Mary, expressing the most unfavorable opinions of her.⁵⁴ In ten days more he enlarged his confessions, admitting Elizabeth's repeated tho disregarded admonitions; her patient forbearance, and his own participation in treasonable practices, but still diminishing its extent.⁵⁵ Yet his language seems to indicate that

'I myself know no more than I have been charged withal; nor much of that: altho I knowed a great deal too much. But if it had pleased your highness to have commanded my accusers to have been brought to my face, there might perchance have bolted out somewhat amongst them which might have made somewhat for my own purgation; and your highness perchance have thereby known *that which is now undiscovered*. For certain it is, that *these practices of rebellions and invasions* were not bruited without some full intention.' Murd. 170. Thus manifesting that he knew more than he had confessed to, while he seemed to be denying it. Yet that these witnesses were not then personally examined at his trial, is a fact which proves the superiority of our present laws of evidence in our public trials. No written examination would be now suffered to be read in our courts of justice, if the living witnesses could be produced. There seems, however, no reason to believe that an examination of the accomplices *viva voce* would have benefited the duke, altho his questions to them might have caused them to implicate others, and have brought to public knowlege more of the great secret conspiracy.

"On 16 February he offered to stay in prison, and end all with Mary. 'He saith very earnestly, with a vow to God, that if he were offered to have that woman in marriage, to choose that or death, he had rather take this death that he is now going to, a hundred times; and takes his Saviour to witness this; and sheweth many reasons. He says that nothing prospers that any body goeth about for her, nor that she doth herself; she is openly defamed with so many books, as by no means possible she can ever recover it; and her success *confirms these things to be true*.' Murd. p. 172.

"The last confession he made, on 26 February, was: 'I have been a Protestant, yet have given just suspicion, as either I should be a papist, or else a favorer of papists. I confess I dealt very ill to give this slander to the Gospel, yet I meant not so ill. Considering my *disloyal* dealings, I did arrogantly presume, without her highness's privity to enter into dealings with the queen of Scots; nor is it any excuse for me to say that *I was persuaded* thereunto. This fault I increased; for that after I had promised to deal no farther therein,

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his genuine feeling was, that he had not been improperly condemned.⁵⁶ Execution⁵⁷ was soon afterwards awarded on his sentence, but was still delayed for two months longer, when it was ordered to take place.⁵⁸

His arrest and conviction had dismayed the conspirators who had seduced him, and disconcerted their long-weaved plot, by taking away its popular and

yet I very disobediently *entered into the cause anew*, and received writings to and from the said queen, besides *dealing with the bishop of Ross* her minister. After this I made submission to her majesty under my hand and seal *never to deal farther in that unhappy course: contrary to which, to my utter shame, I had dealings anew.* He added an avowal that he was privy to certain letters, as to the sending of Ridolfi, 'which, after I knew *that there was no good meaning in them towards my sovereign*, it became me not to deal with them, and speak to Ridolfi, and conceal the same, as I most undutifully did.' He owned having had two letters from the pope, and one from Ridolfi, which he read and concealed, and that he had consented to letters and monies going from the French ambassador into Scotland. Murd. 174.

⁵⁶ He exclaims, 'Alas! my undutiful parts *were so many*, as I fear I do not remember them all. How could I in my conscience think that *my peers could do otherwise* but as they did?' Yet he asserted that his accusers had done him wrong, as to 'rebellions, invasions, writing to foreign princes,' &c. Murd. 175.

⁵⁷ There is an order for his execution, dated 9th April 1572, in Murdin, 177.

⁵⁸ The committee of the House of Commons imparted their opinions to the lords on the 21st May: 'That for her majesty's better safety, present execution be done upon the duke.' D'Ewes' Journal, p. 213; and he suffered accordingly, on 2d June 1572. Stowe, Chron. p. 673. The highly creditable aversion of Elizabeth to shed blood, appears from her unwillingness to take Norfolk's life, as we see in Burghley's letter of 11 Feb. to Walsingham: 'I cannot write to you what is the inward cause of the stay of the duke of Norfolk's death, only that I find her majesty diversly disposed. Sometimes when she speaketh of her danger, she concludes that justice should be done. Another time, when she speaks of his nearness of blood, of his superiority of honor, &c. she stayeth. On Saturday she signed a warrant for his execution. On Monday all preparations were made, and concourse of thousands yesterday morning; but suddenly on Sunday, late in the night, she sent for me, and entered into great misliking that the duke should die the next day, and said, she was and should be disquieted, and would have a new warrant made that night to the sheriffs to forbear; and so they did.' Digges, p. 166. On 21st May, Leicester wrote, 'Great suit is made by the nether house, to have execution of the duke, but I see no likelihood.' Digges, 203. Four days after his execution, Burghley told Walsingham, that her majesty was 'somewhat sad for the duke of Norfolk's death.' ib 212.

central head and object. The disappointment from his apprehension had so affected Mary, that her health suffered from her mental emotions.⁵⁹ It is not to the credit of the veracity of the duke's deprecatory letters and confessions, that in the very month before his trial, he was continuing his most intimate dealings and intercourse with her: leading us thereby to infer that if he had not been convicted, he would have resumed his part in the treasonable conspiracy with new courage, bolder co-operation, and more zealous hopes.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ An intercepted letter of the bishop of Ross, of 11 December 1571, the month before the duke's trial, addressed to a lord with the cipher H, the application of which, the privy council could not discover, thus described her: 'The queen of Scots hath been marvelously sore vexed with pain of her side, which engendereth continual emetics. She is now growing better. The vehemency thereof at this time did proceed from a grounded melancholy engendered of despairing her causes. She had made a solemn vow that she will never take so much in heart again for these matters, but refer them to heaven and her good friends.' Lett. in Murd. 165.

⁶⁰ The bishop went on, 'The queen of Scots fears grievously that her sickness shall cause the duke of Norfolk take displeasure, and therefore hath bidden me to write to him her most hearty and loving commendations, and pray him effectually not to take displeasure; for she promises faithfully never to do the like again. *The duke of Norfolk's letter, token, and credit*, sent with me, was her only comfort. The worse is past of this sickness, for she hath slept indifferent well this last night. Albeit she is in some part feeble, and her stomach not wholly settled, which we hope shall be within few days. I pray you to write something with this bearer again, for the *only comfort* that she regardeth, comes from the duke of Norfolk.' Lett. Sheffield, 11 Dec. in Murd. 166. A letter before this from Mary to the duke was also intercepted, which shewed their confidential correspondence on their secret political subjects. 'You should have been informed of Cavendish's answer, but was forgotten. The bishop of Ross shall receive it presently by this messenger, who is more willing to further his message, *than close in keeping it from others*. Therefore take heed it do no harm; for it hath been spoken to many and of his friends. I spake but little with him. *Devise you* what is to be mended in Leicester's answer. *I have received this Sunday your letters*. I shall write into Scotland *as you counsel me*. I have taken some medicine this day, and have a little access of an ague, thro the pain in my side; wherefore I will pray you to excuse me *that I write not more at length*. I have fully answered to the bishop of Ross's letters. *I trust you will consider them well*.' Lett. in Murd. p. 158.

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From the time that Mary presented herself so suddenly within the English borders, in her precipitate flight from the conflict at Langside, she was made the object and partaker of a series of conspiracies against Elizabeth, on account of the three circumstances attending her, which suited the purposes of a large and active discontented party in England, and of the ambitious church and governments on the continent: these personal peculiarities were, that she was the next in succession to the English crown; that she had exhibited and asserted her claim to its present possession, on the papal theory of the illegitimacy of the reigning queen, and that she was, and meant to be a Roman Catholic, and to make her subjects such. Her readiness to enter into plots, to enforce her unrenounced and retained pretensions to the immediate sovereignty of England; to regain her power in Scotland, and to promote the schemes of the Romish hierarchy, made it alike dangerous to Elizabeth and the English people to retain her in her dominions, or to set her free to go where she pleased. By the detention of her in Lancashire, a formidable pretender, admitting and maintaining intercourse with those who sought to overthrow the existing government, was kept in a vicinity of access to all such machinators, which favored their dissemination; and the various documents which exist, fully prove that Mary employed and sanctioned many agents and practices with the English nobility and people, with foreign cabinets and commanders, and with the papal court.⁶¹ To

⁶¹ The examinations of the bishop of Ross and others, in Murdin's State Papers. The bishop's own account of his life and negotiations, in Anderson's Collection; Melville's Memoirs; the evidence of the duke

liberate her, was to give her a more dangerous power of combining internal conspiracy with foreign invasion; for both the French and Spanish governments, in their hostility to the Protestant establishments in England and Scotland, desired earnestly to have her in their dominions, that each might make her the recognized and honored chief of their active hostilities against Elizabeth, with the provided certainty of the co-operation of internal rebellion.

Both France and Spain carefully maintained an intercourse with Mary. Charles IX. and his mother, repeatedly instructed their ambassador in London to assist her;⁶² to promote her marriage with Norfolk, long before Elizabeth suspected such a plan;⁶³ and sent a special agent to Scotland, to favor her party, at the critical period of the Yorkshire and Cumberland rebellions, and of the retreat of the earls among the Scottish borderers.⁶⁴ When

of Norfolk's trial; the various printed letters of Mary; the dispatches of Charles IX. and Catherine de Medicis; and various other publications, shew the extensive correspondence and conspiracies which Mary for many years maintained after her arrival in England.

⁶² In Mr. Murray's MS. Collection of the letters of Charles IX. and his mother, to La Motte Fenelon, there is a letter to him from Catherine, of 5 Dec. 1568, saying, 'One of the best services you can do to my son and me, will be to favor the advancement of the affairs of the queen of Scotland the most that you can.' On 1 Jan. 1569, her language again is, 'Vous recommandant toujours d'assister de tout ce que pouvez ma fille la reine d'Ecosse.' MS. ib. So Charles IX. at the same time, 'I can only desire you anew to assist and favor her with all the means in your power.' On 15th of that month, Catherine de Medicis desires Fenelon to make Mary sensible 'of the favor which my son desires to bear her in all her affairs, and which he would shew by other means, but for the great affairs that he has now to manage, but from which we hope soon to be free.' MS. ib.

⁶³ See before, p. 201.

⁶⁴ On 3 March 1570, the king wrote to Fenelon: 'Seeing all that you have sent me concerning the queen of Scotland and her kingdom, and following your advice, I am resolved to send to that country a gentleman on my part, pour favoriser le partie de la reine.' Murray MS.

the English army moved into Scotland in pursuit of these, the French king, instead of any sympathy towards Elizabeth, assumed a very lofty tone, and threatened, if it was not withdrawn, to make Mary's cause his own:⁶⁵ insisted on her being set free, to regain her power:⁶⁶ urged Elizabeth to re-establish her in it by force:⁶⁷ prepared an army to embark for Scotland,⁶⁸ and every month caused his ambassador to apply to the English court for Mary's unconditional liberation.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Charles, on 12 April 1570, chose not to believe that the English forces had marched, 'as she says, to chastise the fugitives from her kingdom, who have retired there. I am persuaded she has some other intentions, which I could not by any means suffer or endure, *having such a great and good heart* as I possess, and which will never degenerate from the virtuous and magnanimous actions of the kings my predecessors. Therefore the queen of England must not be surprised if I should embrace her [Mary's] cause as my own; nor will a queen and Catholic princess in this affliction be ever abandoned by a king of Spain, nor by all the other Christian princes.' MS. ib.

⁶⁶ 'To govern and command in the kingdom as she ought.' ib.

⁶⁷ Catherine, on 4 May 1570, wrote, that she and Charles had desired the English ambassador at Paris to express to Elizabeth, 'that we wished she would set the queen of Scots at liberty, and assist her in all she could to replace her in her kingdom with due authority.' Murray MS. On 10 June, Charles ordered his ambassador in London to urge Elizabeth 'to set Mary at liberty, and in the authority which she ought to have in her kingdom.' MS. ib.

⁶⁸ On 10th June 1570, Charles instructed his ambassador to assure Elizabeth, 'I have countermanded the captains with the forces which I was sending to Scotland.' MS. ib. By the king's letter of 19th January 1572, we find the English ambassador complaining that French troops had been sent into Scotland, and that the sieur de Flamyn was about leading more soldiers there.' ib.

⁶⁹ Mary was the unceasing subject of the despatches of Charles IX. and of his mother, to Fenelon. On 19th June 1570, Catherine approves what he had done for her. On 15th September Charles, as to her affairs, says, 'I refer you to what I have given in charge to Sabran, who will tell you particularly my intentions.' Catherine, on 26th September, 'I beg you will assist, in all that you can, the queen of Scotland, and effect, if possible, *by the means which we enjoin you*, that she may be soon put in liberty, and her affairs go on well.' With a postscript: 'The ambassador of the queen of Scots has just told me that you have written to his mistress, or caused to be said to her, that we could not any how *assist her with thearquebussiers*, of which we *had given her hope*. On this point you must carry yourself with the

We find this queen also in secret and dangerous communications with Spain; sending her agents to the duke of Alva, to induce him to land with military succors for her benefit;⁷⁰ and also for money, to enable her friends to maintain the chief fortresses of Scotland, against its regent government.⁷¹ On his part, the Spanish commander employed several persons to go secretly into Scotland from him, on transactions unknown, and not communicated to the French cabinet;⁷² but apparently, as that suspected, for concerting an invasion on some part of the British islands.⁷³

utmost discretion towards the queen of England, especially not to say any thing which will put us into war, and yet doing all the good offices you can to assist the queen of Scots to a prompt liberation.' On 13th October, Charles orders him 'to render to the queen of Scots, and to her affairs, every assistance possible.' She is the chief subject of his letters of 6th November, and of 21st December. On 26th of that month he wrote, 'By your four letters I see what has been *journallement fait* for the affairs of the queen of Scotland.' 'Do all that you can to assist her.' MS. ib. The same theme appears in most of the royal correspondence in 1571 and 1572.

⁷⁰ On 26th December 1570, Charles wrote to Fenelon: 'I observe by your despatch, that the lord Seton, who is gone to the duke of Alva, would be able to obtain so much of the succors which he required from him on the part of the queen his mistress, that on the means which Seton proposed to the duke to conduct these succors so à propos to the places he mentioned, he would be well received by the Scots.' MS. ib.

⁷¹ 'And in like manner on the promise which *this duke had made* to furnish 10,000 ducats to relieve with provisions the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, after he had received on the whole the answer of the king of Spain, his master, to whom he had written.' MS. ib.

⁷² On 29th Jan. 1571, the despatch of Charles IX. was, 'Take care to discover if there be any thing done or resolved with the duke of Alva, on the 10,000 crowns you mentioned to me, and also who is the gentleman that the duke of Alva last sent into Scotland, besides *the two others who had been there before* by his command; and to learn, if possible, on what occasion such frequent voyages are made.' MS. ib.

⁷³ 'For if it be to undertake any thing on that side, there or in Ireland, I should wish to know it early, and with much certainty. It is true, there is not great appearance that the king of Spain, or D'Alva, are undertaking it; yet, if it be possible, you will enlighten yourself on this subject, if you can learn any thing from the people, of the bishop of Ross, or others, but so that no one may think that you have given them any charge about it.' MS. ib.

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The disclosures obtained by the English government, on the arrest and examinations of the duke of Norfolk and the bishop of Ross, and their agents, of Mary's secret dealings with the treasonable conspirators, had disposed it to think, that she ought to be subjected to a corresponding punishment: but Elizabeth would not assent to the severity.⁷⁴ Her justified displeasure against Mary was increased by detecting her in an application to Alva to invade Scotland, and carry its young prince away by force to Spain, to which she would go likewise;⁷⁵ and stating that she had a strong party among the English nobility, and hoped to reduce England again to the Catholic religion.⁷⁶ On this ground, the English queen would not allow her to be taken to France;⁷⁷ but appealed to the king's own judg-

⁷⁴ In the account which Charles IX. on 19 Jan. 1572, gave to Fene- lon of his audience with the English ambassador, sir T. Smith, he mentions that sir Thomas had declared franchement, 'that if they pressed his queen more on Mary's liberation, they would but hasten her death, et servit en cause de lui faire trancher la tête;' adding, 'that if his mistress eut voulu croire en cela son conseil, she would have done it already, as *he himself* had *advised her*, from having seen by the prosecutions that had been made, the greatest reasons in the world for it.' MS. ib. The letter of sir R. Sadler to Burghley, on 27 Feb. 1572, urges him to advise the queen to do, 'if not in respect of herself, yet for the surety and quietness of her people, that justice, whereby the *hope* of all her enemies and naughty subjects *may be ended*.' Murd. State Pap. 176.

⁷⁵ It was on 20 March 1572, that Charles IX. recapitulated to Fene- lon what he had learnt that Elizabeth had stated to him and Le Crocq. 'On his speaking to her of setting the queen at liberty, she became very angry, and then shewed you both a ciphered letter, of which the signature you acknowledge to be the hand-writing of my said sister. By this she told you that my sister exhorted the duke of Alva to make haste to lead ships into Scotland to seize the prince, her son, as a thing which would be very easy to him, and that with him she would commit herself to the king of Spain.' Murray's MS.

⁷⁶ 'And that she promised herself to have in England a strong party [bonne part.] and of lords who favored her party, with a hope which she had that the island of England viendrait à être réduit à la religion Catholique.' ib. MS.

⁷⁷ He says, she would only permit Le Crocq to go and see her, but would not 'accorder qu'elle fut amenée en France.' MS. ib.

ment, whether she ought not, by continuing Mary's confinement, to use the means which she thus providentially possessed, of preserving herself and her country.⁷⁸ The French king was vexed at this discovery, and directed his ambassador to comfort Mary, but to request her to write no more such letters, and to abandon such practices,⁷⁹ as by this altered conduct, she might in time soften the indignant and endangered Elizabeth.⁸⁰ But Charles ordered his minister to watch carefully that no such Spanish or Flemish enterprises be attempted,⁸¹ because he knew that the earl of Mar, and some others of those who were of Mary's party, were in concealed correspondence with the formidable Alva.⁸² Two days afterwards, the king informed his ambassador, that Elizabeth had intercepted another cipher from Mary to the duke of Alva, with fresh urgencies

⁷⁸ The king adds, 'On the contrary, she said to both, that when I should have well considered what this queen per tant de fois a voulu faire contre elle, I should not require her to put out of her hands the only means she has, and which heaven had sent her pour sa propre sureté et de son état.' Lett. Murray's MS.

⁷⁹ He desires Fenelon to continue to make for Mary 'doucement' all the good offices with Elizabeth that he could. You will console her, and make her understand the charge I had given Le Crocq and you for her liberation, and that I will still interfere and do all that I can for her and her kingdom with the queen of England; but that I advise her to write no more such ciphers, and se departir de telles pratiques et menées, for I fear that *these will give occasion for worse treatment* being done to her.' Lett. ib.

⁸⁰ 'While I hope that, to please me and my mother, the queen of England may in time treat her more graciously, especially when she sees that *she will restrain herself, and leave off these dealings.*' ib. MS.

⁸¹ 'On this, without seeming to be doing any thing, you must keep your eyes open, and Le Crocq also, that no enterprise be made in Scotland by the Spaniards, Flemings, or by any other whomsoever, and especially to keep the prince of Scotland from being taken away.' ib.

⁸² 'Having on this point to tell you, that we have advice from a good quarter, that the earl of Mar, and some others near him, are secretly in very good intelligence with the duke of Alva, how much soever in appearance they shew to the contrary.' ib. MS.

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for his pursuing the machination she was promoting;⁸³ and had also obtained other information of her secret measures,⁸⁴ by which she was both irritated and alarmed.⁸⁵

The concurrence of Mary with the proposals to her of the pope and king of Spain, and her employment of Ridolfi, as her messenger to them, and the communication of these by her desire to the Duke of Norfolk, are explicitly stated by the bishop of Ross, in his own voluntary account to his unfortunate mistress.⁸⁶ He declares likewise that the

⁸³ On 22 March 1572, Charles wrote from Blois, 'Smith came yesterday to my mother, and, walking in the garden with her, said, that his queen had charged him to tell us, that since the audience she had given to M. Fenelon and Le Crocq, she had again intercepted a letter in cipher of the queen of Scots to the duke of Alva, by which she [Mary] again admonished him to make haste to take the prince of Scotland, and to carry him into Spain.' Lett. MS. Murray.

⁸⁴ 'And that she had also certain advices that lord Seton had passed from Flanders in disguise, and had entered the castle of Edinburgh, where he was carrying on this pratique, and was arranging it so that the Spaniards and Flemings should execute their enterprise.' ib.

⁸⁵ 'We found that the queen of England was greatly excited against the queen of Scotland for this, and was in much fear and doubt about the undertaking. I mentioned that I had besides received advice of it.' MS. ib. On 4 March 1572, Burghley wrote to earl Shrewsbury, 'I have disclosed [deciphered] some of the letters your lordship lately sent me, hid under a stone. One was from the queen to the duke Alva making plain mention of Ridolfi, and imputing the discovery to the neglect of others.' Lodge Illust. v. 2. p. 64. From sir T. Smith's dispatch of 22 March 1572, we learn that these original letters had been shewn to the French envoys, Le Crocq and De la Motte, and the French king had said of her, 'Ah! the poor fool will never cease till she lose her head. In faith, they will put her to death. I see it is her own fault and folly. I see no remedy for it. I meant to help, but if she will not be helped, Je ne puis plus [I can do no more.]' Lett. in Digges, p. 194.

⁸⁶ His prefatory epistle to his negotiations is dated 26 March 1572. In the letter beginning from 11 April 1571, he states, 'The queen, our mistress, wrote a long discourse to me of the good and friendly offers made to her by the pope's holiness and king of Spain, by sundry their letters and messages; and because Ridolfi had made her advertisement that he was to pass into Italy, and offered to pass also from thence to the king of Spain, she thought him most fit to bear her message, and therefore wished me to persuade the duke of Norfolk to

duke had a conference with Ridolfi on all his schemes;⁸⁷ and that these were, to subvert the government and religion of England, by an invasion of England by Alva from Flanders, with a Spanish army, to be seconded by an internal insurrection;⁸⁸ that the pope would discharge the whole expense of the enterprise;⁸⁹ and that Norfolk was to be the head and chief of the conspiracy,⁹⁰ and to marry the queen of Scotland. He states the duke to have approved of the plan, and to have authorized Ridolfi to prosecute it,⁹¹ who went for that purpose to Alva

confer with him, and by his advice to instruct him of all her affairs, in the best sort, to be declared to those princes with such likelihood as thereby they might be persuaded to employ their forces for her relief. Ross's Negot. in Anders. v. 3. p. 153. 'This discourse, written by the queen to me, was very prolix, and written in cipher, with which she wrote some letters to the duke himself; all which I caused to be delivered to the duke by his servants, Mr. Baunister and Mr. Barker, in whom he trusted most.' ib. 151.

⁸⁷ 'For satisfying the contents of the said discourse and letters, the duke conferred at length with Ridolfi, by the convoy of the said Mr. Barker, appointed by the duke thereto, where Ridolfi did communicate his whole devices and enterprises with the duke.' Ross's Negot. p. 152.

⁸⁸ The bishop details Ridolfi's plans at length. ib. p. 152-160. They were 'for the advancement and restoration of the Catholic religion in England; and to make them return to the acknowledging of the see of Rome.' ib. p. 152.

⁸⁹ The bishop thus expresses this fact: 'As for aid of men and money to set forward the same, Ridolfi did assure, that, providing the Catholic religion were advanced thereby, in that case THE POPE would bestow the whole charge of the war; for he had already taken order this other year for the furniture of 100,000 crowns, by bank and exchange, when the bull was published against the queen of England, to be employed only upon those who would enterprise the furtherance of the same. Of this there was come to Ridolfi's own hands 12,000 crowns; and he had delivered the most part thereof, by the pope's command, as of his liberality, to the Englishmen resident in Flanders, for their relief.' Ross's Neg. 154, 5.

⁹⁰ Ross, 153. The invaders were 'to arrive all at the port of Harwich, near to the duke's county of Norfolk, as the most convenient place of all others, where he and his friends might most easily relieve and assist them with their forces, and then to relieve the queen of Scots, and set forward such other affairs as they should think best.' ib. p. 155.

⁹¹ Ross, p. 159, 161. But the duke 'thought it not good to set his

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in Flanders.⁸² The Spanish general agreed to join in its execution, and directed him to give this information to the queen of Scots, and to the duke of Norfolk.⁸³ Her servant Bailly was made the bearer of the communication,⁸⁴ and passed into England for that purpose, when he was unexpectedly arrested at Dover.⁸⁵ The watchful bishop exerted himself to get possession of his treasonable letters, and succeeded;⁸⁶ but the terror of the rack having induced Bailly to discover all the verbal information he had received, led the sagacious Burghley to detect the most important features of the plot.⁸⁷ This volunteered report of Mary's most entrusted agent, which is so worded as to implicate her as little as possible with any accusatory matter, proves beyond all reasonable question, her full participation in these treasonable conspiracies.

We cannot therefore be surprised, that when these facts had become known to Elizabeth, her feelings altered toward the queen of Scots. When Mary first came to Scotland, young and innocent, the English princess maintained a cordial intercourse of friendship and kindness with her.⁸⁸ But her life

hand to the letters, as Ridolfi desired him, for fear of intercepting by the way.' *ib.* 161. Ross says, 'At his returning, he said to me that the duke had fully satisfied him.' p. 206.

⁸² Ross, 165. 'Ridolfi departed in the end of March 1571.' *ib.* 161, 2.

⁸³ Ross, *ib.* 162.

⁸⁴ *Ib.* p. 163.

⁸⁵ *Ib.* p. 164.

⁸⁶ *Ib.*

⁸⁷ *Ib.* p. 164, 5.

⁸⁸ We have this description from sir James Melville, soon after Mary's landing: 'So these four packed up a strait and sisterly friendship between the two queens and their countries; so that there appeared outwardly no more difference in language, but that the queen of England was the eldest sister, and the queen of Scotland the younger, whom the queen of England promised to declare second person with time, according to her good behaviour. Letters and intelligence past weekly by post between them, and nothing there was

successively deviating, with increasing degradation, into misconduct and dishonor; and at length entering into direct conspiracies against Elizabeth's life and throne, it became impossible for this queen, both in judgment and feeling, to regard her without displeasure and condemnation. She expressed these sentiments to Mary with sedate majesty and dignified rebuke, in the month after Norfolk's conviction.⁹⁹

The facts which his arraignment disclosed, made the English public desirous to extend the legal accusation to Mary, as the more deeply guilty party.¹⁰⁰

desired than that they might see each other by a meeting at a convenient place, where they might also declare their hearty and loving minds to the other.' Melv. p. 91.

⁹⁹ On 1st February 1572. 'Madam! of late time I have received divers letters from you, to which you may well guess by the accidents of the time why I have not made any answer; but specially because I saw no matter in them that required any such answer as could have contented you; and to have discontented you, had been but an increase of your impatience, which I thought time would have mitigated, as it commonly doth where the cause thereof is not truly grounded. And that it be so, understand. But now finding, by your last letter of the 27th of the last month, an increase of your impatience, tending also to many uncomely, passionate, and vindictive speeches, I thought to change my former opinion; and by patient and advised words to move you to stay, or else to qualify your passions; and to consider, that it is not the manner to obtain good things by evil speeches, nor benefits by injurious challenges; nor to get good to yourself, by doing evil to another. And yet, to avoid a fault which I note you have committed, in filling a long letter with multitude of sharp and injurious words, I will not by way of letter write any more of the matter, but have rather chose to commit to my cousin the earl of Shrewsbury the things which I have thought meet, upon the reading of your letters, to be imparted unto you, as in a memorial in writing he hath to shew unto you. With this, I think, if reason may be present with you, and passion absent at the reading, you will follow hereafter rather the course of the last part of your letter than the first; the latter being written as in a calm, and the former in a storm. Wishing to you the same grace of God that I wish to myself, and that He may direct you to desire and attain to that which is meet for His honor and your quietness, with contentation both of body and mind. Your cousin, that wisheth you a better mind.' 3 Ellis, 2d series, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ In the parliament which met on 8th May 1572, the House of Commons petitioned Elizabeth to proceed with severity against the

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But Elizabeth would not allow the criminating proceedings to have any fatal issue; and satisfied with perceiving that her subjects were convinced of Mary's moral and legal misconduct, she left her to her own self-meditations, vexations, or remorse. The queen of Scots was angry to find herself in this diminishing position; and avowing her grief at Norfolk's fate,¹⁰¹ expressed the emotions of her pride, her fortitude, and resentment, to her secret correspondent and ally, the French ambassador in London.¹⁰²

queen of Scots. D'Ewes has inserted their reasons in his journal, p. 207-12; and their petition to proceed criminally against her, p. 215-8. The treasurer declared, that in the bill preparing against her, Elizabeth was minded 'not to have her either enabled or disabled from title to the crown.' 219. The lords appointed twenty-two of their number to confer with the deputies of the commons on her 'great matter.' p. 197. On 10th June, thirteen lords were named for such a conference, p. 201; and on 15th June, the commons received from the upper house their bill against her, p. 221; and on 26th June returned it, p. 202, 223. It was discussed on several days, p. 224. Lord Burghley apprised Walsingham, that it was to declare Mary unworthy of the succession; but it was by her majesty never assented to, nor rejected, but deferred. Digges, 219. Elizabeth terminated all proceedings upon it by proroguing the Parliament.

¹⁰¹ In this, dated 10th June 1572, after acknowledging the receipt of letters from him, and from the French king, queen mother, and princess, she notices that lord Shrewsbury had mentioned the duke's execution, the parliamentary proceedings against her, and Elizabeth's resolution not to consent to her life being taken: 'I was only beginning to support myself, after having done what I could by medicines and bathings to try to allay the continual torment of my side. At this news I have become worse than before.' She affirms the duke of Norfolk to have sealed with his blood a just testimony of her innocence; 'but the pain which I bear from his death so touches my heart, that it surmounts every other apprehension.' Lett. Murray's MS.

¹⁰² 'I am resolved to die, and to have grace and mercy of God alone, who by his goodness has made me a free and sovereign princess. I am determined, and will have none of her pardons. She may take away my life, but not the constancy which Heaven has produced and fortifies within me. I will die queen of Scotland. Posterity will judge on whom the blame should fall.'

She closes the letter with allusions to her ailments: 'My head is so full of rheum, and my eyes so swelled with such continual sickness and fever, that I am obliged to keep entirely in my bed, where

In this letter, Mary mentions that the clergy of England had presented an arrainging address against her.¹⁰³ And we find from the bishop of London's letter, that three months afterwards, the dread of evil from the Romish party, as soon as the news of the horrible massacres at Paris, on St. Bartholomew's day, had reached England,¹⁰⁴ had induced this prelate to press strongly her execution, as necessary for the public safety.¹⁰⁵ But this application arose from the common feeling of danger in the general Protestant mind of England, as it observed, that it was only the continuance of Elizabeth's life which preserved them from such terrors and cruelties as were covering France with blood and misery. While Mary lived, the moment of Elizabeth's death would have been the moment of the Scottish queen's succession, and of the establishment of a government that would again seek to suppress the reformed religion by violence and death. The clear perception

I have but little rest, and in a bad condition, so that I cannot now write with my own hand.' Hence this letter has only the signature of her own writing. MS. Murray.

¹⁰³ She says, 'Lord Shrewsbury read to me a part of the libel which those of the pretended clergy have presented against me. It is full of blood.' MS. ib.

¹⁰⁴ These began on 24th August 1572, at Paris, and were repeated at Meaux, the 25th; Lacharité, 26th; Orleans, 27th: Saumer and Angers, 29th; Lyons, 30th; Troyes, September 2; Bourges, the 11th: Rouen, 17th; Romans, 20th; Toulouse, 23d; Bourdeaux, October 3d; a succession of atrocity unparalleled for such a deliberate repetition.

¹⁰⁵ Mr. Ellis has printed his letter to lord Burghley, dated Fulham, 5th September 1572, which begins, 'These evil times trouble all good men's heads, and make their hearts ache, fearing that this barbarous treachery will not cease in France, but will reach over unto us. Neither fear we the mangling of our body, but we sore dread the hurt of our head.' Of his nine subjoined articles for 'the safety of our queen and realm,' the first is, 'Forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head; ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas.' Orig. Lett. 2d Series, v. 3. p. 23-5.

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of this manifest certainty, and the palpable evidence which Mary had given, that she did not shrink from human bloodshed and civil commotions, to realize her wishes, alarmed the Protestants, not only in England, but also in Europe. The continental reformers felt that their life and safety were in jeopardy, while Mary's life was running against Elizabeth's; both occasionally indisposed, and the Scottish queen as the younger life, having the greatest natural chance of being the survivor. Beza strongly and vehemently avowed the fears of himself and of his friends, and argued warmly that her legal guilt should meet its legal punishment.¹⁶⁶ The anxiety of all England was great and unceasing on the same subject, and was the cause why all were so earnest that Elizabeth should marry. But the determination of the queen to live in the single state, was unshaken, tho, to appease the impatience of her subjects, she frequently negotiated about it.¹⁶⁷ And

¹⁶⁶ In the second dialogue of his *Reveille Matin*, written the year after the massacre, and printed at Edinburgh, 1574, under the name of Eusebe Philadelphia, Beza exclaims against Elizabeth's forbearance, from its possible consequences. 'What clemency is that which draws with it the ruin of so fine a state, and of religion also? Is it not the greatest cruelty? After her decease, if things remain as they are, there is no way to hinder the queen of Scots from succeeding, and then the kingdom will be turned upside down, and the religion changed. All those who will not be so wicked as to abandon their religion, will then at least be banished, as under the former Mary. When Elizabeth was lately unwell, many already then began 'a trousser leurs quilles.' p.14. He then details at great length the reasons why the queen of Scots ought to suffer; and labors to refute the arguments against her punishment, p. 16-17.

¹⁶⁷ In 1559 and 1560, the prince of Sweden—the archduke Charles, of Austria—the earl of Arran—lord Leicester, and others, were mentioned. In 1571 and 2, the French prince, Monsieur, and afterwards his brother, the duke D'Alençon, were seriously negotiated with; but we see from the dispatches in Digges, that the difference of religion was the delaying impediment. Yet Catherine de Medicis truly observed to sir T. Smith, that Elizabeth 'will be always in dan-

she was equally fixed in her resolution not to do more against the queen of Scots, than to continue her under the care of lord Shrewsbury, with increased vigilance, but without diminishing her reasonable comforts.

CHAP.
XXX.

Happily for the world, the greatest instigator of the Catholic mind to the extirpation of the Protestants in every country, Pius V. died in the preceding May:¹⁰⁰ tho not till he had effectually excited that

ger until she marry;’ who as justly answered, ‘Madam! I think if she were once married, all in England that had any traitorous hearts would be discouraged.’ Digges, p. 167. But the English queen seems to have early fixed her mind to lead a single life. She expressed this feeling to sir T. Pope when very young. See before, ch. xvii. vol. 3; and eighteen years afterwards she avowed it in her instructions to sir F. Walsingham, on 24 March 1572. ‘In the beginning of our reign, it is not unknown how we had no disposition of our own nature to marry. When we lived but in private state, as a daughter or as a sister of a king, yet we never could induce our mind to marry; but rather did satisfy ourself with a solitary life. In all other motions of marriage following, we continued as it were settled by *natural disposition*, in a determination not to marry.’ She then mentioned, that the solicitations of her subjects ‘did induce us, for their sakes, to harken to motions of marriage, and to incline ourselves thereto.’ p. 63. But it is clear that she was glad of any objections which arose, and was not herself desirous that any proposition should become effectual.

¹⁰⁰ He died in May 1572; and it is said of him, that when dying, he exclaimed, and if he did so, he felt, as a man who had done what he had done ought to have felt, when he reviewed all the actions of his pontifical life, ‘When I was in a low condition, I had some hopes of salvation; after I had been advanced to be a cardinal, I greatly doubted it; but since I have come to be the pope, I have no hope at all!’ It is a remarkable fact, that this implacable exterminator of heretics should be himself an object of attack and depreciation in the Spanish inquisition. Llorente states, ‘The death of Pius has been attributed to the agents of the inquisition.’ Some letters in existence are very strong. One says, ‘The death of a man who shewed himself so much attached to the Dominican monk, Carranza, and who compromised by his discourse the honor of the Spanish inquisition, ought not to be considered of much importance. The inquisition *would be* benefited by the death of such a pope.’ Hist. Inquis. p. 463. This Carranza was himself a victim of the inquisition, after contributing to burn Cranmer, Bucer, and others, in England, ib. p. 412, and altho, in 1567, he had all heretical books burnt at Brussels. ib.

spirit in the ruling powers of both the church and state at the Louvre, which produced that day at Paris, which human memory will never forget, nor ever recollect but with one common and irrepressible sentiment. His death, and the indignant horror which the St. Bartholomew massacres spread into all bosoms, except those at the Vatican, and of its assimilating supporters,¹⁰⁰ arrested the progress of the conspiracies which he was promoting in England, and gave to Elizabeth an interval of peace and security for some years; until the Jesuits resumed what this excommunicating pope had began; and under the next, and their peculiarly-favoring pontiff, Gregory XIII., commenced and prosecuted a new series of more artful, pertinacious, and dangerous hostilities, which never ceased, as long as Mary's existence gave them a hope of seating a Catholic successor upon the English throne.

¹⁰⁰ Beza states, that he carried immediately the news of it to the elector palatine, the duke of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Wirtemberg, the marquis of Baden, the duke of Prussia, the dukes of Melzelburg and Brunswick, the prince of Anhalt, the dukes of Luneburg and Pomerania, the counts of Oldenburgh and Anspach, the archbishop of Madgeburg, the kings of Sweden and Denmark, the duke of Holstein, and, as the last court, to the counts of Emden, as also to the councils of the chief German republics, in order to counteract the false representations of Charles IX. by a true statement of the circumstances. p. 50.

SUPPLEMENT to Chap. xxx.

ON THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

ON this contested and difficult subject, the Author of the present History has endeavored to trace the circumstances which led to it, without preferring any particular theory as to its origin and authors; and having attentively considered all the authentic and contemporary documents which he has been able to examine, it becomes his duty to lay before his Readers what he considers to be the true view of this melancholy catastrophe. He will not presume to condemn any other inquirer's conclusions. From the secrecy with which all such deeds are planned, it is always difficult, and often impossible, to detect their real authors. This massacre, being of this character, is one of those debateable points of history, on which a large latitude of opinion must be allowed to every one. Therefore, without censuring any person for a contrary judgment, the present Author submits to his Readers that view of the subject, which he considers to represent the real circumstances of the transaction, in the form of the following propositions:

CHAP.
XXX.

That in the preceding year, the king and queen-mother had sought a reconciliation with the Protestant nobility and gentry; that the Catholic party had opposed this measure; but that the king, not yielding to their resistance, effectuated it at Blois in August 1571:

That a marriage of one of the French princes with queen Elizabeth, and of the king's sister Margaret with the prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., became then desired, and promoted by Charles and his mother:

That in the last two months of 1571, the duke of Guise had been secretly in Flanders, conferring with the duke of Alva; and that when this was discovered by the English government in the next year, and mentioned to Catherine de Medicis, she denied the fact:

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That the prince of Orange, with the privity of the French king, projected an invasion from Germany into the Netherlands, to relieve its inhabitants, of both religions, from the establishment of the inquisition, and to support and defend those who had become Protestants there :

That Charles IX. in conformity with the advice of the admiral Coligny and the leaders of the French Protestants, had planned and was preparing to send an army into Flanders against the Spaniards, concurrently with the Protestant enterprise of the prince of Orange, and in accordance with a similar movement from Elizabeth :

That Elizabeth made it a condition of her marriage with each of the French princes proposed to her, that he should become a Protestant : or should not be permitted to have mass, or to exercise the Catholic religion in England :

That the queen of Navarre, mother of Henry IV. would not agree that the French princess should practise her Romish form of worship in Bearne ; and on these points long negotiations took place :

That the papal nuncio, the Spanish court, and the Guises, opposed both these marriages :

That the papal legate wished the king to join in leagues and measures, which Charles refused to adopt :

That the queen of Navarre died suddenly, under the suspicion of poison :

That the marriage of her son was at last fixed, and appointed to be solemnized in the middle of August :

That the Protestant admiral of France became one of the king's confidential counsellors, and supported his intentions to assist the prince of Orange in his expedition in the Netherlands :

That Catherine was then adverse to the king of Spain :

That Charles negotiated and made a treaty of amity and mutual defence with Elizabeth, to protect each other against Spanish aggressions, and both agreed to assist the prince of Orange with their forces :

That this prince, on this arrangement, began his expedition into Flanders, in July 1572 ; and that Charles began to prepare forces to co-operate with him ; and that Elizabeth sent troops to Flushing for that purpose ; and that French forces were acting in Flanders accordingly :

That in the beginning of August, two or three weeks only

before the massacre, a misconception arose, or was fabricated, of Elizabeth's intention to recal her forces; and that this falsehood was made use of by the Spanish party in the French court, and by Catherine, to dissuade the king from assisting the prince of Orange and the Flemish and Dutch Protestants.

That the admiral was active with his friends to urge the king to continue in his resolution to support the prince by an auxiliary army, and was earnest that Elizabeth should not withdraw the English troops:

That before the dispatches from England arrived, evincing the falsehood of the account that she meant to recal them, the massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated, on Sunday the 24th August:

That Charles was continuing the treaty for Elizabeth's marriage six days before; on Monday, the 18th August, he had the marriage of the king of Navarre with his sister actually solemnized; that he exhibited every demonstration of friendship to the admiral, up to Friday the 22d August; and that he discovered no change till the night of the next day, when the murders were sanctioned or ordered by him:

That the admiral was shot at and wounded by a partisan of the duke of Guise, on Thursday the 21st; that the king was indignant against Guise for the outrage, and meant to bring him to justice for it:

That the king's own account is the most probable, that he was on Saturday night suddenly informed of a treasonable and avenging attack being on the point of execution against him by the admiral's friends; that he was led to believe the account, and hurried into a consent, that the admiral and his chief friends should be anticipated and destroyed:

That the duke of Guise was the leader in contriving this part of the plan in conjunction with the duc D'Anjou, and in executing it upon the admiral and his friends early in the morning of Sunday the 24th:

That the general massacre at Paris appears to have been a distinct and additional atrocity, procured and authorized in a later part of the same day, as if it had then been appended to the former, by further councils and by subsequent instigation:

That the great original object of the plot seems to have been to prevent the king from co-operating effectually with the prince of Orange, in favor of the Protestants of the Netherlands, and

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thereby to defeat the prince's expedition ; to separate Charles from Elizabeth and the German states, by an irreconcilable outrage ; and thus to ensure the ulterior destruction of the Reformation in France, and to facilitate its abolition in the other countries of Europe :

That the Romish cause derived the three first of these advantages fully from this massacre. The French government withheld its assistance from the prince of Orange, and the Protestant Netherlanders ; tho' beginning successfully, yet the prince was soon forced to retreat out of Flanders for want of the promised co-operation, and Charles was sundered by the massacre from all effective alliance and friendship with the English and German Protestant nations :

That these were the objects which the papal court had been laboring to promote ; that consultations were held between Catherine, Guise, the pope's nuncio, and the Spanish ambassador, apart from Charles, and before the usual council was held with him.

Our inferences therefore are,—

That the massacre was no premeditated act of Charles IX., tho' finally ordered by him ; but that it was planned by others, and suddenly urged upon him with false or deceiving communications, and with circumstances of great personal alarm, which hurried his frightened mind into the measure : That Guise began the execution, and that the Romish and Spanish party in Paris extended and completed it ; and that the same party continuing their machinations to inflame and pervert the king's mind, it was also perpetrated afterwards in various parts of France.

For the establishment of these propositions, we shall principally use the dispatches of sir Francis Walsingham, then at the French court, whose penetrating eye and sagacious mind give peculiar value to all his statements. The letters of Charles IX. ; a German account by an ecclesiastical eye-witness, not hitherto quoted in the preceding histories of the transaction ; and the narrative of Beza, written in the following year, also not cited before, will be our further authorities, with a few additions from the best contemporary documents which others have referred to. The following selection of facts from these authorities have led the Author to the statement and belief of the preceding conclusions.

On 12th August 1571, we learn from Walsingham's dispatch from Paris, that 'The marriage between the prince of Navarre and the lady Margaret is not yet concluded,' and that 'religion was the only let.' We find also, that 'the gentlewoman being most desirous thereof, falleth to reading of the Bible, and to the use of the prayers used by them of the religion.' Digges, p. 122. Here we perceive that the princess was inclined to adopt her intended husband's religion. An alarming fact to the papal hierarchy in France.

This tendency did not accelerate the union. On 16th September, the ambassador wrote, that 'the marriage is not so forward,' tho the 'queen mother had provided both jewels and wedding.' The reason of the pause is added: 'The only impediment, as I hear, is religion.' *ib.* p. 135.

On 29th March 1572, he informed Burleigh, from Blois, 'The marriage continueth doubtful;' and that the queen of Navarre, Henry's mother, had sent for the English ministers to dinner, and told them that 'there were impeachments to the marriage.' 'She had now the wolf by the ears; for in concluding the marriage, *she saw danger every way.* No matter did so much trouble her as this. She could not tell how to resolve.'

She mentioned that among many causes of fear, two chiefly disturbed her: 'The first, that the king would needs have her son and lady Margaret be courtiers, and yet *would not yield* to grant him *any exercise* of religion; the next way to make him become an atheist. The second was, that they would needs condition that the lady Margaret remaining constant in the Catholic religion, should have in Bearne her mass, which she [the queen] can in no wise consent to.' We also learn that the princess had now so altered, that there was 'no hope of her conversion, for that she would not resort to any sermon.' p. 183.

If we turn to the French king's correspondence on this topic, we find that on the 8th of this same month of March, Charles wrote from Blois to his ambassador at London; 'The queen of Navarre, my aunt, has arrived here eight or nine days ago in a good disposition, which she shews, to conclude the marriage between my sister and her son. Yet nothing has been resolved upon it; but there is a very good appearance of it.' Murray's MSS.

A few days before this, sir Thomas Smith had reported from Blois, to his court, 'This day the queen of Navarre is looked for

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in the court. The foolish cardinal went away as wise as he came. He neither brake the marriage with Navarre, nor got no desires of the church of France; nor persuaded the king to enter into his league with the Turks; nor to accept the Tridentine, or to *break off treaty with us*. At his going away, he refused a diamond which the king offered him, of six hundred crowns; yet he was here highly feasted. He and his train cost the king above three hundred crowns a day.' Digges, 193.

This was the cardinal Alexandrino, the papal legate, whose departure Charles mentions in his letter of 8th March; and this important dispatch of the English ambassador, by the above paragraph, discloses to us the objects which he was pressing on the court of France, but to which that court in this month of March was not disposed to listen. This league against the Turks was intimated by sir Francis Walsingham in a former dispatch, of 28th January 1572, to have been by no means confined in its intention to the Turks; but '*to stretch to as many as they repule to be Turks, altho better Christians than themselves.*' Digges, 26. To the averseness of Charles IX. to join in this league at this period, was also added his mistrust of Spain, and his inclination to oppose its politics. We have several indications of these feelings. On 25th June 1571, Walsingham wrote, 'There rise daily new causes of unkindness between the two princes. Spain seemeth to set the king here very light, which engendereth in him a great desire of revenge. He lacketh but treasure, to make open demonstration thereof.' Digges, 111. Catherine then partook his sentiments; for in the following August, we read, 'The queen mother is very much incensed against Spain, being thoroly persuaded that her daughter was poisoned.' *ib.* 122. She had recently died there. As Spain and the pope were then closely allied, this alienation from Philip and his policy, contributed to cause the papal legate to fail in the violent objects of his negotiation in March 1572.

In August 1571, the reconciliation between Charles and the Protestant chiefs took place at Blois; and their leader, the admiral of France, was then coming into high favor with his sovereign. Walsingham's letter of 12 August states the cordiality:— 'The princes and the admiral are to meet the king at Blois about the first of this next month. There are many practices to overthrow their journey, but the king sheweth himself to be very resolute. I am most constantly assured that the king conceiveth

of no subject that he hath, better than of the admiral. Great hope there is, that the king will use him in matters of greatest trust; for of himself he beginneth to see the insufficiency of others. The queen-mother, seeing her son so well affected towards him, laboreth by all means to cause him to think well of her. She seemeth much to further the meeting.' Digges, 132.

The treaty for the marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou had been seriously carried on during 1571. On 7 June in that year, lord Leicester stated to Walsingham, 'It only doth stand upon the article of religion, to which her majesty will by no means relent; all other articles are reasonable.' Digges, 105. On 9th July, Elizabeth herself wrote, 'In all our dealings with them, you shall find that we have in no wise yielded to grant to monsieur a liberty for exercise of his Romish religion; neither have we any inclination to yield thereto.' ib. 111.

Charles desired the accomplishment of this marriage. On 27th July, Walsingham expressed to Leicester, 'The king himself, as I learn, is very well inclined thereto, the rather, thro a dislike of Spain. This match not proceeding, the king, as I suppose, will be loth to attempt any thing against Spain, tho his will that way be good.' ib. 117.

That these matches were strenuously opposed by the pope, and by Spain and their party, we learn from Walsingham's dispatches. On 28th January 1572, he reported, 'The matters of secrecy here, are these: the pope, the king of Spain, and *the rest of the confederates*, upon the doubt of a match between the queen my mistress and monsieur, do seek by what means they can to dissuade and draw him from the same. The cause of the cardinal of Lorraine's repair hither from Rheims, as it is thought, was to this purpose.' ib. 26. On 8th February, he added, 'The pope's nuncio's persuasions that he used towards dissuading monsieur from the queen, were, first, she was an heretic; second, she was old, by whom he could scarce hope for issue; and, lastly, that England, *he was well assured*, might be achieved right easily *by sword*, to his great honor, and with less inconvenience, than making so unfit a match.' p. 37.

Both the marriages were equally counteracted by the papal party, tho wished for by the king. So the ambassador intimated on 17th February: 'As there is *nothing more desired* by one sort than the two marriages, so there is nothing more impugned by the contrary part, wherein the pope's nuncio and the Spanish

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ambassadors do not fail to do what lieth in them, for the impeachment thereof; and in this behalf they want not what assistance *the house of Guise*, and their adherents, can yield.' ib. 43. These parties were active to make the French prince averse to it. So Walsingham the next day remarked: 'Monsieur hath given out certain speeches, that he maketh no great account to match with the queen's majesty, thro the persuasions of the house of *Guise* and the Spanish ambassador. They use some arguments of danger towards us; making the conquest of England a matter of no great consequence, from the *intelligence they have there*, of no small number of evil affected subjects; and of those, some of no mean quality.' ib. 43. We learn also, that the Catholic French prelacy set themselves against this match, and were bribing the prince to reject it. On 13th July 1571, Walsingham wrote, 'Great practices are here for the impeachment of this match. The papal nuncio, Spain, and Portugal, are daily courtiers to dissuade it. THE CLERGY HERE have offered Monsieur *a great pension*, to stay him from proceeding. There is nothing left undone that may be thought fit to hinder.' Digges, p. 120.

These oppositions and difficulties occasioned a substitution of the younger prince, the duc D'Alençon, for his brother; but Elizabeth insisting on the same condition as to his religion, the negotiations were slowly carried on. Charles wished this marriage to take place. On 20th March 1572, he expressed to his confidential ambassador, 'We are in great hope of the marriage, if the queen will trust her chief commissioner. Tell lord Burghley, that if the marriage should be accomplished, I shall estimate grandement ses bons offices, and will not be ungrateful, nor will my brother D'Alençon either.' Murray's MSS.

After the dismissal of the papal legate from Paris, Henry's nuptial treaty advanced more favorably. On 19th April 1572, Charles wrote to Fenelon, on Leicester's expected visit to Paris, upon Elizabeth's match: 'He will come in time for the marriage between my sister and the prince of Navarre, *whom I have sent for*, and who will be here about the 15th of next month. *The articles have been settled within the last twelve days*. Tell the queen of England, that if my wife had been a little more strengthened against those little ailments of the heart, which she has, as women in her condition usually experience, we should have already fixed the day of the marriage. We shall depart hence to go towards Paris and Fontainebleau, where my wife

will lie in.' On the next day, De Foix wrote from Blois, 'The marriage is settled with Madame, and De Biron is gone to fetch the prince de Navarre.' Murray's MSS. The queen of Navarre, Henry's able and superior mother, whose talents and judicious education of him were so strikingly shewn in her own improvements, died at Paris in a four days illness, after some poison given her at a feast, where the duke of Anjou was present. Beza Reveille, p. 35. D'Aubigny ascribes it also to poison. Catherine was suspected of it. The nuptials of Henry were not finally agreed upon until July: but on 21st of that month, a person was sent to apprise Elizabeth of the appointed time for its celebration. Digges, 203, 4-

But in the spring of 1572, an intercepted letter of the countess of Northumberland, from Flanders, dated 28th Jan. 1572, revealed the important fact, that the duke of Guise had been secretly for two months with the duke of Alva. See it in Murdin, p. 193. This was mentioned by Smith, in March, to Catherine de Medicis, with the remark, that the countess 'affirmeth to her husband for certainty, that all the house of Guise and that faction will follow, in all points, the direction of the king of Spain.' The queen-mother said, he was not there, that is, on 22d March; for 'every four days we either hear from him or send to him, so that we know certainly where he is.' But she chose to add, 'he hath not been there;' Digges, 167; that is, not in the two months before 28 January; an apparent falsehood, as it is not likely that the countess misinformed her husband; and if the denial was false, it implies purposes and sentiments formed or forming in her mind, contradictory to her public conduct.

On 25th May, Elizabeth instructed her ambassadors to require of Charles the confirmation of the treaty made lately by them at Blois; Digges, 206; and the French king sent Montmorency to England upon it in June, who was splendidly treated. *ib.* 214, 218. This cordiality with England was then exhibited at Paris to the Protestant nobility there. On 17th June, Middlemore, in his letter to Burghley from the Louvre, states the great desire of Charles and Catherine for her son D'Alençon's marriage with Elizabeth, (tho he was then but seventeen,) and exhibits the admiral of France as strongly recommending the prince. Ellis, Second Series, v. 3. p. 8. Both he and the duke of Guise were then at the court. Middlemore says of this Protestant noble-

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man, 'he is daily at the court, and very well used by the king and his brethen. The duke of Guise and he do not yet speak together.' Ellis, p. 10. On the next day, sir Thomas Smith described the royal supper given to lord Clinton at the Thuilleries, and remarked, 'The king, and Monsieur, and the admiral of France, had a long and very familiar, and as it appeared, pleasant talk, almost an hour *together, alone*; none other approaching to them, which was very comfortable to some, and as suspicious and displeasing to others.' p. 18. The king swore that day to the treaty. p. 16. 'The duke of Guise was also there, and count de Retz, of divers factions, yet both well looked upon of the king.' p. 18. Thus far Charles treated both the great leaders of the opposing parties with equal public favor.

But the most important measure to which Charles directed his mind, after his reconciliation at Blois with the admiral and Protestant nobility in France, was to co-operate with the prince of Orange, in his efforts to break the Spanish and Romish tyranny in the Netherlands, by moving his army thither when the prince began his attacks. The president Henault says, 'The king pretended to have a design of invading the Netherlands, and of employing the admiral on that expedition.' 1. p. 427. From the dispatches of Walsingham I see no reason to doubt of the reality and sincerity of his intention, until the month of the fatal catastrophe, which has distinguished his name and reign with that reprobation, from which nothing can rescue it. G. Tavanne's *Memoirs* fully confirm this fact.

His alienation from the Spanish king and government, in 1571 and the first half of 1572, is repeatedly stated by the English ambassador; and to be prepared to attack or resist him, he desired to form a league of amity and mutual defence with Elizabeth. In August 1571, Walsingham recommended to Leicester, that the queen should form such an alliance; and to enforce it, mentioned that 'The house of Austria is become the pope's champion, and professed enemy unto the Gospel; and daily practiseth *the rooting out* the same.' Digges, 121. At that time, August 1571, the Spanish ambassador was complaining to the king of France, of the countenance he was giving to the prince of Orange; when Charles justified his doing so, because Orange was a prince of the empire in amity with him. *ib.* 122.

The count Lewis of Nassau then stated to Walsingham, at Paris, the substance of his recent conference with Charles IX.

In this he had told the king, that ‘ The cause of taking up arms in the Low Countries proceeded only upon that the king of Spain sought to plant there the inquisition. That the cardinal Lorrain had labored to make the peace between Spain ; because ‘ unless there might grow peace between the two countries, the Catholic religion could not long continue, neither in France nor Flanders, so great increase was daily here of Protestants ; which could by no means be suppressed but by establishing an inquisition in both countries. That the cardinal of Arras [Philip’s chief minister] then labored to plant it there, tho Papists as well as Protestants disliked it ; that his brother, the Prince of Orange, sought their delivery from so miserable a servitude ; that they had stated their griefs to the emperor, at his last assembly at Spires, in vain ; and now seeing themselves void of all help, they besought him [Charles] to take them to his protection, and procure their deliverance from the present tyranny.’ p. 174.

Walsingham then reports, that the count shewed him, ‘ that both the king and queen-mother seemed to be very well satisfied ; and that *the king said*, that *like councillors*, by violating of his edict, had well nigh brought him into like terms with his subjects, *whereof ensued the late troubles* ; and that therefore *now*, he thanked God, that he had opened his eyes to discern what their meaning was.’ ib.

The count then exposed to Charles the plans of the prince of Orange : ‘ That the inhabitants of the Low Countries, of both religions, wished to be rid of Spanish tyranny ; that all the towns were ready to receive garrisons from his brother ; that the German princes were willing to join in the enterprise, if the king of France would be content with Flanders and Artois.’

‘ After he had made the king acquainted with these likelihoods, he [Charles] seemed very well to like them, especially if the queen of England might be brought to be a party, and the princes of Germany, she being lady of the narrow seas. The matter being thus propounded to the king and queen-mother, came afterwards to be considered by certain of their chosen counsellors, who all liked of the enterprise, but saw two things to be provided for, before they could advise them to enter into it— a good league with England and the princes of Germany ; and to *tax* generally, thro her realm, *the clergy* with the payment of one year’s revenue.’ ib. 125. ‘ The count desired Walsingham to state these facts to Elizabeth, and to propose to her to join them

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in the enterprise, and to unite Zealand to the English crown.' Digges, p. 126.

In October 1571, the same ambassador signified to Burghley, that Charles had commissioned Junius, the messenger of the German princes to him, to declare to them that he was 'glad they were desirous to enter into some straight league with him; *a thing necessary for both their preservations*; and requested them to consider of the points to be agreed on; and of a convenient place for the meeting of their deputies.' *ib.* p. 143. On the 27th of the following January, Walsingham, alluding to the doubts of the king's sincerity towards the Protestants, adds, 'yet surely, sir, they that know him thoroly are of opinion, that if the matters grow to new troubles, he will incline to those of the religion. This oration, sir, whereof I send you a copy, pronounced and delivered to him, and to the ambassador of the princes of Germany, *has put him in some good courage*; whereas before, by the faction of the Guises, *he was put in great fear of the Catholics*, as well foreign, as at home. Thus, you see, *because he is not settled* in religion, how he is carried away with worldly respects; a common misery to those of his calling.' Digges, p. 30.

This important passage calls upon us to distinguish the vacillations of endangered timidity; and the irresolutions of an undecided mind in a royal youth of 20, from the deep and sustained dissimulations of a matured and artful character. From this intimation of the observing Walsingham, we see that Charles, like others of his family, was wavering between the papal and the reformed religion; a state of mind which made it more necessary for his evil counsellors to goad him to some irretrievable step, by which he would be committed and bound to their side, beyond the power of extrication.

On 8 February 1572, sir Francis mentioned again to Burghley, 'The king hath no great liking of Spain, as before advertised;' and that 'The admiral had advised lately the king and queen mother, by his letters, to seek to strengthen himself with the [Protestant] princes of Germany, and with the queen's majesty, my mistress.' Digges, 37. Ten days afterwards, he added, 'The Spanish ambassador, to divert them from Flanders, would be very glad to set them in hand with England.' *ib.* 43.

With these feelings, Charles IX. entered seriously into a treaty of mutual alliance and defence with Elizabeth. Its object was not only to defend each other if Spain invaded either, but

also to co-operate with the prince of Orange. It was meant to become the nucleus of a great Protestant confederation; for a discussion arising, whether the words 'of attacks under pretext of religion,' should be inserted as Elizabeth wished, and which Charles thought impolitic, the king stated in his private letter to his ambassador in England, of 19 January 1572, that Walsingham had said, 'To preclude all suspicion, the word religion must be expressly put in the articles; and if it were done as he desired, he assured my mother, that the *kings of Denmark and Sweden*, and the maritime cities, would be equally affectionées to me, and would enter into the same league.' Murray's MSS. Charles offered to bind himself to the full extent of these words, by his private letters, but was afraid of their effects on the minds of his Catholic subjects, if they were published as part of the treaty. Lett. 1 March 1572. Digges, 169, 173. On 23 April 1572, we find this important treaty, whose real object was to lessen the power of Spain, and therefore to effectuate a joint invasion of the Netherlands, concurrently with the prince of Orange, at last settled to their mutual satisfaction.

But while this treaty was forming, we find the duke of Guise and the pope, as if to counteract it, laboring to throw the English and French governments into a state of the most angry hostility, by secretly stimulating the king's brother to an immediate invasion of Ireland. We have already noticed their incitation to him to aim rather at conquering England by force, than to marry Elizabeth. We now read on 8 February 1572, in Walsingham's dispatch, 'I was certified by one from whom my predecessor, sir Henry Norris, had his best intelligence, who has repaired secretly unto me, that the enterprise of Ireland is of great consequence and danger. He thought the king was not privy to it; yet he did assure me, that the faction of Guise were great dealers in it. He said that *the pope's nuncio* labored what he might to draw Monsieur into the practice; promising him for the maintenance hereof, 100,000 crowns for his encouragement.' Digges, 36. From this passage, we learn that the papal nuncio and the Guises were pursuing schemes in France. *to which the king was not privy*, but of which they wished to make his brother the leader and the instrument.

Our ambassador noticed this conjunction of secret plots between the pope, Spain, and the Guises, in another letter at that time; 'Surely there are great practices in hand for the invasion

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of Ireland, wherein the *pope and Spain* join. The *cardinal de Lorrain* faileth not to further the same to his uttermost.' *ib.* 38. Thus we have express information, that six months only before the massacre, Spain, the Guises, and the papal court, were practising secret plans in France, of their own concoction, independently of Charles IX.

On the 5th March, we learn that Alva apprised the French king 'that the prince of Orange maketh preparation in Germany for Flanders;' and desired of Charles a military aid; leave to levy Catholic soldiers in France, and a detention of ships preparing at Rochelle to assist the prince. The king refused the application.' p. 49. [The printer has misdated the year of this letter, as some others are, in this valuable collection of State Papers by sir Dudley Digges.] The Spanish party at the French court were therefore fully aware of the intentions of the prince of Orange, and could not but be active to prevent Charles from assisting them; and the more earnestly, as the hour of his great enterprise drew near.

It was probably some effect of their counteraction, which occasioned Burghley, on 5th July, to express to Walsingham, 'I am sorry that the opinion groweth here of the *French king's recoil* from the Flanders enterprise. It breedeth coolness here.' Digges, 219. In both the French and English cabinets there were at that time cabals and treacherous counsellors, laboring to favor the plans and wishes of the papal policy.

The prince began his philanthropic and patriotic expedition. From the dispatch of the 18th July, we find that he had then passed the Rhine with seven thousand horse and fifty ensigns of foot, and was marching to pass the Meuse, and enter Holland. Lett. 18th July, *ib.* 223. The crisis now arrived to put sincerity on all sides to the test, and to have the active concurrence of both the French and English forces against the established power of the ever formidable Alva. Walsingham, on 26th July, wrote from Paris to the lord treasurer, that 'the pope, Florence, Triers, Bavaria, and Cologne, who are *not otherwise* interested in the Low Countries, but *in respect of religion*,' were assisting the Spanish side, 'roundly and resolutely;' that Janly had been overthrown; that unless Elizabeth and the princes of Germany joined 'with this crown [France] there is great doubt what shall be the event of this enterprise,' p. 225; and that the French Protestant gentlemen had represented to Charles, that if 'the prince of Orange should lack success, it would not lie in his

power to maintain his edict' in their favor. 'The king not being here, [Paris,] his answer is not yet returned.' p. 226. At this time Charles had been so attentive to advance the prince of Orange in his project, as to have placed, as Beza notices, an agent with the duke of Alva, for the purpose of continually communicating to the prince all the Spanish general's designs, as far as he could learn them; (Reveille, p. 42;) and five hundred horse, with five thousand foot, went out of France, to Mons, to assist him. Grotius Ann. p. 37.

Elizabeth was the most ready or the most zealous to promote the efforts of the prince, and sent a force across the channel to Zealand; and French troops formed part of the army; for, in the dispatch of the 27th July, from sir T. Smith, in England, to Walsingham, we read that 'All men's eyes and ears are now occupied in expectation of the events of Flanders and the Low Countries;' and that sir H. Gilbert had been 'sent over with his band of Englishmen and *some Frenchmen*, who hath taken Sluys, and besieged the castle.' Digges, 231. This information shews that the French government began at first to co-operate with England in the Flanders enterprise; but the counteracting force assumed a new activity in the French cabinet, as the crisis became more urgent; for, in the first week of the August that was to acquire a name so melancholy, we find the mind of Charles entirely changing. On the 10th of that month, one fortnight only before the day of horror that was to succeed, sir Francis Walsingham wrote, 'Touching their proceedings here in Flanders matters, the king, thro the persuasion of his mother, advised thereto by such as incline to Spain, is *dissuaded* from overt dealing in that cause, *who before* was VERY RESOLUTE in the matter.' Sir Francis gives, as one reason of the alteration, a report that Elizabeth meant to recal her forces, and to leave him to provoke and fight with Spain alone and single handed; 'as it is here conceived that without her majesty's assistance, he shall not be able to bear the brunt of so puissant an enemy. The matter remaineth in suspense as yet what will be done. Commonly it is given out that the king will not meddle.' p. 231. Walsingham expresses his 'hope that the advertisement of the revocation is false. They say, nothing can more hinder the poor prince's enterprise than the said revocation, upon his first entry into the country.' ib.

Justice to Charles, and the paramount obligations of truth,

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here require us to observe, that, from the letters of our able ambassador, there appears to have been a reasonable cause for his vacillation or change of mind, as to his supporting the prince of Orange, without the charge of any previous insincerity or hypocrisy. That perfidious counsellors were in Elizabeth's cabinet, paralysing many of the measures of Burghley and her abler or more patriotic ministers, is a fact which many documents prove. By whom, at this critical juncture, the advice to recal the English forces from Flanders was given, is not stated; but its natural effect on the court of France, and the effect intended to be produced by it on the king's mind, at the very period when it became necessary to be fixed on a strenuous co-operating against Alva in Flanders, is described in terms that sufficiently account for the retraction or hesitation of Charles IX. On the same 10th August, Walsingham states to Burghley explicitly, 'Touching Flanders matters, the king had [would have] *proceeded to an open dealing*, had he not received advertisement *out of England*, that her majesty meant to revoke such of her subjects as are presently in Flanders; WHEREUPON such of his council here as incline to Spain, *have put the queen mother in such a fear*, that the enterprise cannot but miscarry without the assistance of England, *as she WITH TEARS had dissuaded the king* for the time, WHO OTHERWISE WAS VERY RESOLUTE.'

Sir Francis could not have foreseen the horrible results which soon arose from the ascendancy which the new councils were gaining in the king's mind, but he distinctly perceived that great evils would arise, for he adds, 'Thus your lordship seeth, how the bruit of your fears there *hath bred fear here*; whereof, I fear, *there will follow FEARFUL EFFECTS*, unless God put to his helping hand.' p. 233.

Walsingham also expressed the same facts to the earl of Leicester, on the same day: 'Upon advertisement come from the parties, that her majesty meant to revoke such of her subjects as are employed in the Low Countries, the king here, thro the persuasions of such as are inclined to Spain, is grown cold, *who before was very FORWARD*, insomuch that *commissions were granted ready to have been sealed, for the levying of men in sundry provinces*. But herein *nothing prevailed so much as the tears of his mother*, who, without the army of England, cannot consent to grow to any open dealing; and BECAUSE *they are assured BY THEIR AMBASSADORS* that her majesty will not intermeddle, they cannot be induced to make any overture.

Thus your lordship sees, that fear and mistrust is like to overthrow all.' p. 234.

Thus we perceive, that the momentous change of resolution in the minds of both Charles and his mother is sufficiently accounted for, without any imputation of previous treachery or dissimulation. Their ambassadors at London, De Foix and Fenelon, had secretly learnt that Elizabeth had been counselled to recal her troops from Flanders, and to send there no more, and therefore not to quarrel with Spain. They communicated this intelligence to their court, that it might not be misled by any false reliance on England's co-operation. Catherine became alarmed at the idea of a serious war with Spain, single handed, and deserted by Elizabeth, who might even, under such a mutation of councils, join the enemy against her: and prevailed on her son to see the political danger in the true aspect in which these tidings presented it, and to countermand his orders for raising troops for the appointed expedition. Nothing seems not only more natural, but also more rational, than such apprehensions, and than such an alteration of measures in such an exigency. If England's politics could suddenly take such a change, common sense required the French cabinet to suspend its intended hostilities, and to adapt its conduct to the new state of things that had unexpectedly arisen.

The Protestant admiral of France seems to have felt this necessity, and that Elizabeth's change of councils would produce a new and calamitous mutation of circumstances. And it will be gratifying to all who wish to form a sober judgment on this lamentable period, that we have his views and conduct satisfactorily exhibited to us by Walsingham, only fourteen days before he was precipitated to his grave. To Burghley, sir Francis said, 'The admiral, in this brunt, whose mind is invincible, and foreseeth what is like to ensue, doth not now give over, but layeth before the king his peril, if the prince of Orange quail, or at least if the matter by composition may not be induced to that good pass, that the Spaniards may be removed further off, and the country *restored to its liberty*, and yet remain under the government of Spain. And tho he cannot obtain what were requisite and necessary for the advancement of the cause; yet he doth obtain somewhat in conference with him. He added, that there was nothing in respect to himself that he should make him desire more after long troubles, unless he saw

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the danger great and evident to as many as profess the gospel, as also particularly to the king his master, and to the queen my mistress. But the case standing as it doth, and foreseeing the mischief that will follow, he doth most earnestly desire you to be a mean to *stay her majesty's revocation* of those that be in Flanders.' p. 233.

To lord Leicester, our ambassador further described the admiral's feelings and conduct:—'How perplexed the admiral is, who foreseeeth the mischief that is like to follow, your lordship may easily guess. And surely to say truth, he never shewed greater magnanimity; nor never was better followed, nor more honored of those of the religion, than now he is, *which doth not a little appal the enemies*. In this storm he doth not give over the helm. He layeth before the king and his council, the peril and danger of his estate; and tho he cannot obtain what he would, *yet doth he* obtain somewhat from him. He desired me [to say] from him, that if her majesty proceeded in revocation of those of her subjects in Flanders, it will breed such a discouragement in those of the country that are well affected to the cause, as will to all likelihood hazard the whole enterprise. He desires your lordship, as you wish well to the cause and safety of her majesty, whose repose, whatsoever is said to the contrary, dependeth upon the good success of this enterprise, to procure a stay to be made of the said revocation.' Digges, p. 234.

In these representations, it is probable that we see the real state of the case as far as these parties were concerned. Charles was preparing a force to assist the operations of the prince of Orange; Elizabeth had sent troops to act concurrently with him; when the information from the French ambassador in London, that the English forces were to be recalled, alarmed the king and his mother, and the Protestant chiefs, as greatly as it rejoiced the Romish and Spanish party in the French cabinet, and their connected friends, and promoted the ulterior objects of their darker politics. The admiral foresaw the mischief which such a conduct in Elizabeth must occasion, and earnestly advised that no revocation of the troops should take place.

The disquieting allegation was UNTRUE. It was either an exaggerating misconception of what had occurred; or was a falsehood wilfully fabricated by those whose purposes it was intended to promote. Elizabeth was making one of her country progresses when Walsingham's dispatches arrived; and they were answered

by sir Thomas Smith, from Kenilworth, on 22d August, in these words: ' Indeed, as yet, there is no revocation, *neither done* NOR MEANT of our men at Flushing, or in Flanders; howsoever the bruit is made there with you. Truth it is, that certain more that would have gone over from hence, were stayed, for fear of too much disorder for lack of some good head, and wise and expert captain. But them that be there are *neither yet revoked nor discouraged*, altho the duke of Alva, by letters, this last week, required that they should be revoked. But he is gently answered with a dilatory and doubtful answer.' Digges, 237.

It may have been, that this gentle, dilatory and doubtful answer, like all deviations from true and manly openness, and courageous sincerity, gave the card of mischief for the enemy to play with. The English government did not intend to recal their forces, but they chose to send to Alva an ambiguous temporising answer, which he converted immediately to his own purposes. What could his friends in the French cabinet wish more, to promote their desire to neutralise the arm of France, and to create mistrust of Elizabeth's real intentions, than a copy of such a letter privately communicated to its foreign ambassadors, and by them transmitted to their sovereign. Her very character for integrity would lessen the belief that it was but a ' politic handling.' The most decided certainty of her effective co-operation had been expected and reckoned upon by Charles, and the refusal of the required revocation ought therefore to have been clear and unhesitating. But instead of that, ' a gentle, a dilatory, a *doubtful answer*' was returned.

It is probable that this impolitic insincerity arose out of the incidents of the day; and from some real doubts in the minds of the English ministry how far they could effectuate their own wishes in favor of the prince of Orange; for we read in lord Burghley's dispatch of the same date, ' Our men in Zealand are evil used by the French there, and howsoever the admiral hath lately borne you in hand, *I doubt our intention shall be disappointed*; or at worst, it is justly doubted that *the prince's captain* at Flushing is *corrupted*, and become Spanish in secret sort; whereof, I pray you, advertise the admiral.' ib. p. 237. French and English troops rarely act cordially together, whatever be the wish of their governments; and it is manifest that the very caution of Burghley's foresight was becoming that suspicion which so often produces the evil that had no previous existence.

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But before this contradiction of the alleged revocation could reach the French monarch, the blackest stain in the history of his nation had been indelibly fixed upon it. The misconception of Elizabeth's intentions was worked to produce on the mind of Charles its most unfavorable effect; and from the accidental coincidence of her summer progress having delayed that contradicting answer, which, in the usual rapidity of important communications, might have reached Paris eight days after Walsingham had written, or on the 18th; it was not sent from the stately festivities at Kenilworth until the 22d—a fatal delay—which gave full time for the formation and maturity of the direful machinations which exploded so terribly some days before the tardy epistle could have arrived; yet, a procrastination not unnatural, amid such gay amusements, when there could be no anticipation of the tragedy which it so unintentionally favored.

Beza, who wrote his account the year after the massacre, and with no favorable pen to Charles, evinces, in an incidental paragraph, the important effects of this king's political countenance to the prince of Orange, tho without perceiving the connexion of his expedition with the catastrophe of St. Bartholomew:—

‘The king caused the count Lewis of Nassau, brother of the prince of Orange, to come to his court, who since the last peace had been living at Rochelle. With him he treated of various means and designs, which he desired to pursue against the king of Spain, to revenge himself for the wrongs he had received; and entertaining him with kind courtesies, resolved with him upon an enterprise of great consequence, which was afterwards executed on the Low Countries by this count Lewis, the seigneur de la Noue, and many other Frenchmen; to whose assistance, when they were besieged at Mons, the king sent the seigneur de Genlis with four thousand soldiers. This concert between the king and count Lewis fut occasion et cause that the prince of Orange with a powerful army entered the Low Countries, which revolted almost entirely from the king of Spain, and took Holland, which he yet holds, with a great part of Zealand, with the prospect of never again quitting it.’ Reveille, p. 33.

It was to frustrate this great plan, and to prevent this successful result, that the countermining achievement of St. Bartholomew, or its commencement, was planned and executed. The dispatches above cited lead us to this conclusion, and at all events demonstrate that it was under the circumstances which have been recapitulated, that it actually took place. That there really

was a connexion between some of these facts and the ensuing atrocity, cannot, from the great secrecy of the machination, be directly proved; but the activity of the duke of Guise in both, makes it a warrantable inference; and this has the corroboration of the additional truth, that one of the immediate results of the massacre was, that the forming union between Charles and the Protestant party in Europe was thereby broken, and that the prince of Orange was baffled in his first attempt.

The fact, of Charles desiring to employ a French army against the Spanish forces in Flanders, while the prince of Orange was operating against them, and the admiral urged him to this measure, is confirmed by the *Memoirs of Gaspard de Tavannes*. He states, that 'The king was led to this Spanish war by the subtlety of the Huguenots; that the queen fluctuated between peace and war. Like a woman, she would and would not. She changed her opinion, and altered it again every moment. The Huguenots sounded for war;' 'the king was with them.' *Mem. Tav. v. 27, p. 221.*

Tavannes mentions that the admiral said to him, 'Whoever hinders the war with Spain, is not a Frenchman; he has a red cross in the belly,' *ib. 223*; and that the Huguenots exclaimed, 'A Spanish or a civil war.' *ib. 224.* He then gives the harangue of the duc D'Anjou against such a war, *225-8*; and also his own speech on that occasion, discouraging it from the prospect that the success of the rebels there would assist those in France, and would be dangerous. *p. 229-38.*

He intimates, that it was the admiral's importunity for this war which occasioned the massacre: 'There was no other resolution for a St. Bartholemy, than that which the admiral and his adherents by their imprudence occasioned.' *p. 242.*

'ALVA having driven the French from Valenciennes, besieged Mons so strictly, that it was near being taken, all good Frenchmen praising him. The admiral sent three thousand men, under Genlis, to succor Mons. The Spaniards defeated them. The admiral was not dismayed. He had the king's ear, and sent three thousand other troops under Villars.' *p. 245-7.* Anjou then made a second opposition, *p. 248-52*; and also Tavannes, *p. 252-5.* But Charles continuing firm in acting on the counsels of the admiral, the queen [Catherine] went after him to Mont-pipeau, and, going into his cabinet, burst into tears, and exclaimed, 'You are hiding yourself from me to advise with your

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enemies. You are holding secret councils with the admiral. You desire to plunge inconsiderately into a war with Spain, to put your country and ourselves at the mercy of these religionists.' 'This artificial harangue shook, astonished, and frightened the king.' Mem. Tav. 259-60.

The reader will observe how exactly this account corresponds with the dispatches of Walsingham; and we here see the actual exertions made at the critical period of the expedition of Orange, to prevent the king of France from assisting him. His hesitation, thus produced, alarmed Elizabeth with the idea of being deserted if she was active; and her doubts of him, thus excited, were used to make him believe that she would leave him to bear all the brunt, unassisted by her.

Of the actual perpetration of the St. Bartholomew atrocity, we will proceed to select the most authentic and characterizing facts, with that impartiality and care, which it is our duty to exert, and especially on all contested subjects.

The marriage of Henry of Navarre with the king's sister having been finally agreed upon in July, on Monday the 18th August the ceremony took place with great pomp. Most of the Protestant nobility and gentry attended, with their families, to the number of nearly one thousand gentlemen [*environ mille gentils hommes.*] Beza, 46. The Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, were passed in all sorts of festivities. The admiral partook of them, and was always courteously treated by the king, as before [*allant le bon visage du roi al' accoustumé,*] *ib.* 46; and on Wednesday the 20th, when he went to the king to confer on some matters of importance, Charles laughingly asked to be allowed three or four days to amuse himself, and pledged his royal word that he would not leave Paris until he had fully satisfied both him and his friends. Beza, p. 46.

The admiral had received an anonymous warning to take care of himself, and that the king had been repeatedly told that the Huguenots meant to destroy him, but had declared that there was no reason for any mistrust. Beza, 36-40. On Friday the 22d he attended a council at the Louvre, and went afterwards with the king to the Tennis Court, where Charles and the duke of Guise played a game against two Protestant gentlemen. Going home to dinner on foot with several accompanying friends, as he passed the house where the preceptor of the

duke of Guise usually lodged, and was reading a paper, he was fired at from the window, and struck by two balls. One carried off a right finger, and another wounded his left arm. He pointed to the place; sent word of the incident to the king, and was taken home. The door of the house was forced open, and the arquebuss found, but not the assassin who had used it. The king was still playing with the duke of Guise when he received the news. He threw down the racquet, and with a depressed and sad countenance retired to his apartment; and when the king of Navarre and prince of Condé came to complain, joined in lamenting it, and promised to punish the guilty. Beza, 48-51. Catherine also expressed her sorrow on the occasion, p. 51. The criminal had fled to the cloister of St. Germain, where a horse was kept waiting for him. On this he passed thro the gate of St. Anthony, where a *Spanish* horse was brought to him. He mounted this, and, galloping it at full speed, escaped all pursuit. p. 49.* The king wrote letters to the governors of the provinces, to the chief cities, and to his ambassadors abroad, stating the villany, and declaring his resolution to detect and punish the authors. Charles then, with his mother and several nobles, paid the admiral a visit. The admiral requested to speak with him alone. Charles ordered all out, except Catherine, but, as she remained, nothing particular was mentioned to them. Beza, 53.—The duc d'Anjou's account confirms this, by stating, that as the admiral began to speak earnestly, Catherine came up and drew the king away, but not till he had *heard the admiral advise him not to let his mother and brother have so much of his authority.* Mem. de Villeroy, 2, p. 67-9. This was at least what Catherine chose to tell that brother.

It was on the second day afterwards, that, early on the Sunday morning the 24th August, an armed force attacked the unsuspecting Protestants at Paris, and the horrible massacre took place. The account most likely to be impartial, which I have met with, of this atrocity, from an eyewitness, is a narrative which has been recently found in 'les archives episcopales de Wiener Neustadt,' in Austria. It is written in German, by some distinguished ecclesiastic, who was at the court of France in August 1572, and is addressed to the bishop of Neustadt

* St. Auban's Memoirs, v. 61, p. 17-9, gives us the most exact account of their pursuit of the assassin, as he led it.

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It was published in Germany in 1826. I take it from Ferussac *Bulletin Universel*, N° 9, Sept. 1826, Hist. p. 226; and as it has not yet been quoted in any history that I have seen, it is here transcribed, as presenting one of the most authentic contemporary accounts of the lamentable transaction.

Beginning at the Thursday, he wrote, ‘ On 21 August, after the admiral, Coligny, had accompanied the king of France at the Tennis game, he went home. He always took the same way to his house, and usually read letters as he walked. A man with a long arquebuss had been for some days stationed in the place where Coligny usually passed, and availing himself of the moment that the admiral read a letter, shot at him three copper balls: one struck his right hand below the forefinger, and the other two his left arm. Orders were instantly given to pursue the assassin, and persons were sent post in all directions, but in vain, as he could not be overtaken, which occasioned a report that he had never left the city.

‘ As soon as the king had been informed of what had occurred, the chief members of the royal family, the king, his brothers and mother, had secret interviews together. The king of Navarre went with the prince to visit the admiral, and expressed the pain they felt to see him in that condition, and, after breakfasting, proceeded to the king of France, where he equally expressed his grief and his astonishment. Some moments afterwards it was decided to pay a visit to the admiral. Charles IX. his mother, the brothers and sisters of the queen of Navarre, the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, the cardinal Bourbon, the duc de Bouillon, grand prior of France, and the marshal de Cossé, who commanded a strong detachment of the guard destined to escort the royal family, went to the admiral, to signify to him how much pain this unfortunate event had given them. His majesty declared, that he felt an inexpressible concern, and that the wounds gave him as much pain as if he had felt them himself. He added, that he would punish severely any one that should try to renew such an attempt on the person of the admiral. Coligny shewed much sensibility at these demonstrations of the king, and recommended himself to him and to heaven. All this passed in the presence of the princes and princesses, and they separated with the most amicable appearances. When the king had departed, the Swiss soldiers of Navarre mounted guard in the interior of Coligny’s house, and the

French guard were stationed at the exterior gate. The pass-word was very strict, in order to prevent all possible accidents.

'The king intended to go again to Coligny on the next evening. It is not known *what hindered* this visit, but he sent his own physician, a Huguenot, to the admiral, to express his wishes for his speedy cure.' Bul. Univ. p. 227.

We may now turn awhile to the account of Beza, in his *Reveille*, printed at Edinburgh 1574, and written before August in 1573, p. 46.

'The servant of the house from which the assassin fired, being interrogated, declared that the seigneur de Chailly, who was the king's maitre d'hotel et surintendant des affaires du duc de Guyse, had, the day before, brought the arquebussier to the house, and earnestly recommended him to the landlady. A laquais deposed, that early on that morning he had been sent to Chailly, to desire that the ecuyer of the duc de Guise should have the horses ready, which he had promised.' p. 50. 'The assassin in his flight passed thro Villeneuve St. George, where he took another horse.' p. 52. 'The king, hearing the facts, sent one of the captains of his guard to arrest Chailly; but he was found to have fled, or could not be found.' p. 52.

'On Saturday the 23d, the surgeons declared the admiral to be out of danger.' p. 53. 'On that day the king sent several gentlemen to visit him, and the new-married princess, the sister of Charles, went also to visit the admiral.' On this day the privy council examined several witnesses as to the assassination, to the great joy of the admiral and his friends. p. 54. It seems clear that if on this first alarm the Protestant chiefs had left Paris, they might have done so. This was proposed among them, but they preferred to continue. Mem. de l'Etat, 1. p. 282. Popeliniere, 2. p. 64. Jean da Merse, p. 86. This retreat would have deprived the contrivers of the power of imposing upon the king, the alarming tale by which they gained his assent.

Pausing for a moment at this period of the transaction, we may remark that the conduct of Charles thus far, indicated no concern in the vile transaction. He gave a public demonstration and declaration that he had not been privy to it, nor approved of it; but it is material to remark, that the duc d'Anjou, his brother, the prince with whom the Guises and papal nuncio had before been intriguing, is not mentioned among the persons who then visited the admiral.

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If the chief object of the attempt had been the prevention of any military co-operation of a French army with the prince of Orange, it is probable that if the shot had killed the admiral, who was to have been the commander of the forces, no massacre would have afterwards taken place, as his death would have so disarranged the plan, or at least have so long suspended its execution, that Alva would have had time enough to have repulsed the prince, before he could have been efficiently aided. Mathieu affirms this idea, *Hist. Charles IX.* v. 1. p. 344. So Tavannes, p. 967. But to be wounded only, and to be therefore alive, with a prospect of recovery, and with all the irritation, resentment and alarm, which such an attempt, that could not be thought the single design of a common villain, immediately excited in himself and his friends; the king's displeasure at it, and expressed resolution to punish the authors; these facts produced a new state of things that could not but lead to further violences.

The secret criminals were endangered, and had to protect themselves from the probable detection, and certain consequences; they had also not completed their abominable intentions.

It was from this time, after that visit of the king, which was so expressive of the admiral's influence with him, and so ominous of peril to the guilty contrivers, that I am induced to date the actual formation of the bloody conspiracy.

More must be done by the plotters, both to give them safety, and to fulfil their object. What they had done, only gave the Protestant party in the metropolis the new energy of indignation, and the aid of public sympathy; and the vindictive feelings of the 1,000 gentlemen who were then at Paris on the marriage, must have been most loudly expressed on the Friday, the day after the outrage; and I cannot doubt, from the common emotions of human nature on such an event, that the subsequent allegation of Charles, that plans of revenge were then formed by them, had some foundation. Such must have been talked of, meditated and canvassed, and may have been resolved upon, but not against him, as he was acted upon to believe, but against those who seemed to be the real contrivers of the assassination. The *Memoirs of Tavannes*, of *Villeroy*, and of *Marguerite*, satisfy me that whatever may have been the exterminating projects suggested before by the pope and his agents, and discussed or projected between Catherine and Alva at Bayonne, or between others at Paris, and urged to the king;

and that whatever he may have mentioned to the papal nuncio, as Ossat notices, yet that this massacre, to occur as it did, was planned and settled between the Guises, d'Anjou, and Catherine, without the king's privity, after the admiral was wounded, and found not to be likely to die. The first object was to prevent a reformation in Flanders; the next to save the assassinating party from a vindictive retaliation; the third to extirpate Protestantism out of France, the long-formed aim of the papal hierarchy. After these suggestions, we proceed with the German narrative.

'On 23d [Saturday] before his supper, the king amused himself with a party at tennis, with his eldest brother [the duc d'Anjou] and the king of Navarre. The *night was already far gone*, when he sent one of his gentlemen to say to the king of Navarre, that he wished to speak to him on an important matter. His gentlemen wished to follow him, but it was mentioned them, as from the king, that their master did not then need his retinue.'

'When the king of Navarre reached Charles IX. the colonel, the duc de Bouillon, received an order to place a strong detachment of Swiss and French before the apartments of the king of France. These measures being taken, Charles IX. ordered the noble families of Navarre to quit the castle without delay. These unfortunates, perhaps foreseeing the fate that was awaiting them, entreated the king to defer his command till the next day. But in vain; they were compelled to go out, one after another, by a little door, before which were found a great number de satellites, armed with halberds, who assassinated the Navarrese as they came out.' p. 228.—So that the atrocious massacres of the French jacobins at the Abbaye and aux Carmes, in September 1793, were but exact imitations of these similar executions at the door of the royal palace in August 1572. In each, one by one, as the devoted victims came out. As if—but no—we will add no calumniating allusions. Neither jesuits nor popes could now instigate a French king or his nobles to perpetrate or sanction such deeds; nor, we may reasonably hope, would even attempt to do so; altho such horrors seem not yet to be wholly impracticable in some parts and classes of Spain and elsewhere; but they cannot long be tolerable or exciteable any where. There must soon be a community of feeling on such actions as these, among every condition of human society. The account goes on—

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‘ After this massacre, the DUKE OF GUISE, followed by armed satellites, went in haste to the house of admiral Coligny. Having forced the outward gate, the Swiss of the Navarrese guard opposed them ; but their captain and some men were killed on the spot. *The duke*, who had waited in the court the issue of the first enterprise, *ordered* some of his soldiers to go up to the admiral’s chamber, whose door was under the care of a German valet : he, resisting their entrance, was shot in the head. The admiral, at the noise of the first tumult, had risen and gone to the window, and seeing that he was the object, made no attempt to save himself, but laid down again in his robe de chambre, and pretended to be asleep ; when three armed men entered his apartment. One of these, who was a gentleman, seized his arm, crying out, ‘ Monsieur admiral ! you are sleeping too much.’ Coligny pretending to awake, and turning to the speaker, was stabbed with a sword in his left side, and by a poniard in his right. The Swiss were then ordered to throw him out of the window. He was not dead, and struggled so much when they sought to take him, that four Swiss could not overpower him, altho they cut him several times with halberds on his leg. All four seized him again by the body, but seeing the French soldiers plundering his cassette, they let him fall, to get part of the pillage. Suddenly a voice from the court cried out, ‘ Is the admiral dead ? Throw him out of the window !’ A French soldier then went to him ; but tho on the ground, he resisted so strongly, that the man put the muzzle of his arquebuss to his mouth, and shot him. He still moved when he was tossed out of the window.

‘ After this execution, they massacred about forty persons, who were found in the house, and who were, for the most part, attached to his service. The same slaughter was done in the houses of the count de la Rochefoucault, of M. Coriquimault, of M. Teligny, the admiral’s son-in-law, and of a great number of other seigneurs. When they came to Teligny’s, who was in bed with his lady, he rose and opened the door, supposing they came as friends ; but when he learnt their hostile intentions, he said to their leader, ‘ My captain ! my friend ! save me, and I will give you 1,000 crowns.’ On this proposal, the officer, bidding the Swiss keep Teligny in their sight, ran to Coligny’s residence, to *ask leave of the duc de Guise* to save Teligny, mentioning his offer ; ‘ for,’ added he, ‘ I am a poor

devil, and a thousand crowns would do me great service.' 'Fool!' answered the duke, 'do you not think that the king will reward you better?' The man went back, and Teligny and his wife were poniarded. All the domestics of the king of Navarre, and of the prince de Condé, were in like manner massacred, as well as the councillors and les savans. Their places were supplied by others, chosen by Charles IX.

'M. Montgomery and the Vidame de Chartres, being lodged on the other side of the river, could escape on horseback, but with difficulty. The duc de Guise pursued them with 300 horse, but ineffectually. Yet he killed all their servants whom he could overtake.' Bull. Univ. 228, 9.

Other facts on this part of the transaction, supplied by Beza, are, that 'A LITTLE AFTER MIDNIGHT, on the Saturday, the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, was seen to enter into the king's chamber, having with her only a femme de chambre. Some lords, who had been sent for, came there shortly afterwards. I do not know why. But *two hours after*, the signal was given from the church of St. Germain, by the sound of the clock. As soon as this was heard, the soldiers who were on guard before the admiral's house, forced themselves into it. The DUC DE GUISE entered it soon afterwards, accompanied by a great troop of his partisans, and found little resistance, as none of the admiral's family were armed.' p. 56.

'It was by the command of the duc de Guise, and of the duc d'Aumale, that the body of the admiral was thrown out of the window, that they might see that he was dead, before they left the place.' p. 57.

'On the day the admiral was wounded, Charles advised the king of Navarre to have ten or twelve of his greatest favorites to protect him *from the designs* of the duc de Guise, who, he said, was un mauvais garçon. After the admiral's death, these gentlemen, and some others, who lay in Navarre's anti-chamber, were disarmed by Nancé and the soldiers of the royal guard, and taken to the gate of the Louvre, and were there killed, *the king looking at them thro a window*.' p. 57.

'Navarre and Condé were then led to the king, who, on seeing them, declared that he would not have more than one religion in his kingdom, that they must live like his predecessors, and go to mass, if their lives and property were dear to them. Navarre answered mildly; but Condé giving a rough refusal, was threatened

by the king with the loss of his head, if in three days he did not comply.' p. 58.

'Rochevoucault had been laughing and joking with the king, until eleven o'clock on the Saturday night.' p. 59.

It was not till after these executions that Beza mentions, that the TOCSIN sounded from the palace for a general massacre of all the other Huguenots at Paris, of each sex and class, with the circulation of a report that a Huguenot conspiracy against the king, his mother and brothers, had been discovered, and that the royal order was not to spare a single Huguenot. Beza, p. 56.

We will state what followed, from the German narrative.

'The king's order was, to destroy them without any distinction. It is impossible for me, in a hurry, to describe to you all the horrors which were committed. History has nothing like it.

'About one thousand persons de la haute classe have been massacred; among whom were all the lords and chevaliers attached to the court of the king of Navarre, and many of the nobility and parliament. Above five thousand other persons, of different conditions, both living and dead, were thrown into the river; others were buried in the Pré aux Clercs.' Bull. p. 230.

That these atrocities, whatever were their previous causes, were done at last under the king's order, and with his full privacy, and in part in his sight, cannot be contested. But Beza's words, 'I do not say he was the author of the butchery; but that he consented to it,' p. 62, may incline us to make the same distinction, and to advert to the king's own account of his motives and conduct.

When sir Francis Walsingham applied to the French court for the 'very truth' of the deplorable transaction, in order to send to his sovereign, Catherine intimated, that their ambassador in London had orders to explain it to the queen. Digges, 238. Fenelon stated accordingly to Elizabeth, the grief of Charles at the admiral's hurt, his visit to him, and resolution to have justice done upon its authors, 'in which mind the king continued until Saturday late in the night. At this time advertisement was given to him, that the admiral and his friends were determined not to await the order of the king for the punishment of the fact, but to avenge themselves, and that they would certainly seize the person of the king, the queen-mother, and his brethren, and begin a new war; and that some of the confederacy, with the admiral, had for conscience sake disclosed the same; whereupon the king was so daunted with the present fear, and with the

imminent danger of a new civil war, that, being thus overcome with this extremity, and having no time to deliberate long thereupon, *scarce the space of an hour*, he was in this manner forced to yield to another extremity, which was, to suffer the parties that were enemies to the admiral to proceed to the execution of them.'

This was the first account delivered to the queen and council by the French ambassador, as stated by Burghley, Leicester, and three others of the cabinet, on 9th September, to Walsingham. Digges, 248-50.

On the 21st September, sir Francis conferred with Catherine upon it, and she gave a similar description of it to him: 'We were informed, by persons not to be suspected as drawn by passion or faction, being rather tied to the admiral both by religion and amity, yet moved in conscience to prefer their prince before any private person, that those of the religion, if they had not been prevented at the time they were, had seized, within two hours after, one of the gates of our palace of the Louvre, and so consequently our persons; which enterprise was agreed the same afternoon that the admiral was hurt.' Digges, 254. When the king excused the action by such representations, Walsingham reminded him, 'that the same forces which murdered so many, might more easily have attacked them or the principals, and brought them to answer justice.' 'Charles could only reply, The loss of life and kingdom goeth near to a prince.' *ib.*

From lord Burghley's letter of 25th September, we learn that '*the king's letter*, first written after the admiral's death, doth declare it to be done by manner of sedition; and *privately by the house of Guise*, who feared the admiral and his would pursue against them the revenge for his own hurt; and that the king's own guard about the admiral was forced; and the king himself driven to hold his guards about him in the Louvre for his own defence.

'And now it must be notified, that the king did, for his own surety, cause the execution to be done.' Digges, 264.

From these representations made by the French king and his mother to the English court, as their strongest vindications of the revolting measure, we derive the clear certainty, that no plot or evil intention of any sort, on the part of the Huguenots, preceded the attempt to assassinate the admiral. The only charge alleged against them, was some vindictive plan

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formed after he was so wounded ; that is, after the Thursday morning ; which being communicated to the king late on Saturday, procured his assent or order for the massacre. This deciding statement, therefore, proves that the conspiracy to destroy the admiral was a gratuitous villany of its contrivers, uncaused by any thing wrong done by him or his friends, or by the Protestants of France. The utmost charged against them at the time, by both Charles and Catherine, was a scheme of revenge or self protection, made from the alarm and irritation of the attack on the admiral. This fact vindicates the memory of the victims, and leads us the more strongly to believe, that the great object of the assassination of the admiral, was to prevent the king of France from assisting the prince of Orange. That a thousand Protestant gentlemen, being at Paris together, when such a treacherous crime was attempted, and traced to the Guises ; should feel themselves to be all endangered by it ; and should dread some general proscription from it, and should canvas various plans, and some of violence, for their safety, or revenge, is so extremely probable, from the usual impulses and emotions of human nature, that I cannot but believe the assertion to be true, that they were meditating or forming some project of self-defence and future operations : but it is equally probable that these extended only to the apprehension and punishment of their enemies, the Guises ; and that the Guises becoming acquainted with them, wilfully misrepresented them to the king, as intended to make him and his mother also the subjects of a treasonable arrest. Brantome's account, in his *Life of Catherine*, very much corresponds with these ideas.

The narrative of Marguerite de Valois, the wife of Henry IV. and the sister of Charles, in her *Memoirs* of the circumstances of this transaction, concurs with the preceding view, and seems to give such a natural and unsophisticated account of it, that I cannot avoid laying it before the Reader, as that which strikes me as being the true and fair representation of it.

After describing her marriage with Henry a few days before, she proceeds—

‘ As we were in this situation, fortune soon changed this happy state of triumph and wedding into a contrary one, by that wound of the admiral, which so shocked those of the religion, as to put them, as it were, into despair. The elders, Pardaillan and some others, chiefs of the Huguenots, spoke so high upon it to the queen my mother, that they made her think that they had some

bad intention. *By the advice of M. de Guise, and of my brother the king of Poland (afterwards Henry III.) resolution was taken to anticipate them.* In this counsel *the king Charles had no share*, for he was much attached to M. Rochefoucault, Teligny, and La Noue, and some others, the heads of the religion, *whom he meant to make use of in Flanders.* From what I have since heard himself say, there was a great deal of trouble to make him consent to it; and if they had not caused him to understand that it touched both *his life and his state*, he would never have done it.

‘Having heard of Maurival’s attack on the admiral, Charles not doubting that Maurival had done it by the persuasion of M. de Guise, in revenge of his father’s death, whom the admiral had in the same manner killed by Poltrot, the king was in such great anger against M. de Guise, that he swore he would have justice done upon it. And if M. de Guise *had not kept himself concealed* all that day, the king would have had him taken up. The queen, my mother, never found herself in such a difficulty as in making the king understand, that this had been done for the good of his state, from the affection he had for the admiral, for la Noue and Teligny; whose spirit and valor pleased him; and being a prince of that temper, that he only liked those in whom he saw these qualities. These foxes knew so well how to feign to be such, that they had gained his heart, from his hope of making them useful to the enlargement of his states, and *by proposing to him de belles et glorieuses enterprises en Flandres.* Marg. Mem. v. 52. p. 173, 4.

She also adds, ‘As Pardaillan discovered by his menaces at the queen’s supper, the evil intention of the Huguenots; and as the queen saw that this incident [the admiral’s wounds] had put affairs into such a condition, that if they were not prevented, they would, the same night, have made their attempt on the king and her, she resolved to make him acquainted with the whole truth, and with his danger, by the mareschal de Rais, in whom she knew he had most confidence; who going to the king in his cabinet that evening, between nine and ten o’clock, told him, that he could not conceal from him his danger if he continued in his resolution to bring M. de Guise to justice; that it was necessary he should know that that blow on the admiral had not been given by M. de Guise alone, but that my brother the king of Poland (then duc d’Anjou,) and my

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mother, had been of the party ; that *ill luck had so made it fall out*, that Maurival had failed in his blow ; and that the Huguenots were become so desperate from it, that, not confining themselves to M. de Guise, but involving also the queen and his brother, and thinking likewise that he had consented to it, they meant that very night to have recourse to arms ; so that his majesty was in very great danger, *either from the Catholics on account of M. de Guise, or from the Huguenots, for the reasons above mentioned.* The king, seeing how he was circumstanced, and who had always been obedient to his mother, took soudain resolution to join himself with her, and to conform to her will, and to preserve his person from the Huguenots thro the Catholics ; yet with an extreme regret that he could not save Teligny la Noue and M. de la Rochefoucault. Then, going to the queen his mother, he sent for M. de Guise and all the other princes and Catholic captains, where the resolution was taken to make the massacre that night. *Messieurs de Guise, fearing that the Huguenots would have justice done, se suchetans tous à l'oreille.*' Mem. ib. 178, 9.

As the substance of this simple narrative corresponds with the conclusions which I had been led to from the other documents, I am inclined to believe it to be the nearest representation of the truth as to Charles, in this melancholy affair, that has been left to us. Tho I have no doubt that the villany had been fully concerted between Anjou and the Guises, and made known to the queen mother, and adopted by her soon after the admiral was found to be recovering, and his friends demanding justice.

The intimations of Beza in favor of the parties to the assassination are important, because he was a zealous friend of the victims ; and tho he states the duke of Guise and his brothers to have pursued Montgomery and his friends for eight leagues beyond Paris ; yet he admits that, as if their rage had been appeased by destroying the admiral, they saved many of the Huguenots even by taking them into their own houses. p. 63.—As if the atrocity had distinct sets of authors and objects ; and therefore that the general massacre was an additional barbarity annexed to the preceding, on the sound of the tocsin, to gratify those whose worldly interests were intended to be promoted by it, and from whom it may have originated ; for, if we except from it the king, Spain, and the duke of Guise, there is but one remaining party to whom it is attributable ; for the Parisian mob do not seem to have meddled with it, until the tocsin called them

out ; nor do the subsequent massacres in the provinces appear to have preceded the orders to commit them ; nor did the French hierarchy make any active effort to counteract them. Indeed, so far was their powerful body from branding these murders with the moral infamy which is their proper characteristic, that we find the Parisian clergy, eleven years afterwards, celebrating the day and the occasion ; for, on 25th August 1583, William Cecil wrote to his grandfather, lord Burghley, from Paris, ‘ Upon St. Bartholomew’s day we had here SOLEMN PROCESSIONS and other tokens of triumphs and joy in remembrance of the slaughter committed this time eleven years past. But I doubt they will not so triumph at the day of judgment.’ Ellis, second Series, v. 3. p. 23.

Pius V. who, from his letters cited in our 27th Chapter, we may infer would have been enraptured by it, lost the gratification by dying in the preceding May. But his successor, Gregory XIII. succeeded him also in such feelings, for he went in solemn procession to a church in Rome, to return thanks for it, and sent a nuncio to France to congratulate the king ; fired the cannon at St. Angelo, and had bonfires over all Rome, in joyful celebration of it. He did more. He was so delighted, that he had three pictures painted of it, to be placed in the Vatican, in the apartment called La Salle des Rois, which precedes the Sextine chapel, and which are still there. The first represents the shooting of the admiral : the second the general massacre ; the third Charles avowing the deed before the parliament of Paris. I state this on the authority of De Potter, in his *Introduction Historique* to the letters of Pius V. ; who has prefixed to his book an engraving of the second, which represents in one corner the throwing out the admiral’s body, and, strange to say, exhibits three females as about to be cut down among the other sufferers. How either painter or pope could be gratified by the butchery of women, I cannot understand. I must leave it to those who have inspected this Salle des Rois, to judge whether such a picture is there now, or ever has been. I cannot verify it myself from personal inspection, as I never visited Rome. If De Potter has stated a falsehood, I shall eagerly strike out the fact which I have quoted from him.

He has also published, p. 156, a medal, struck by Gregory XIII. on the occasion. Its reverse is the portrait of the pope himself, with his name. On the other side is an exterminating angel, with the motto, ‘ Ugonottorum strages,’ thrusting a sword with

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one hand, and holding a cross in the other, with a dead body before him, and men and women flying from him. This De Potter has taken from the jesuit Bonanni's *Numismata Pontif. Rom.* published at Rome 1699. The jesuit remarks, that by this medal Gregory taught [*docuit*] *eam stragem perpetrata esse non sine Dei ope, divinoque consilio.* He also states, that the pope sent the cardinal Orsini to urge Charles IX. to go on in the same track, and not to spoil what he had done by intermingling lenity. '*Ut cæptis insistat fortiter; neque curam asperis remediis inchoatam prospere, perdat leniora miscendo.*' Bon. v. 1. p. 323; 336. N° xxvii. De Potter's *Introd.* p. xxiii. xxiv.

Four months afterwards, on 28th December, Gregory heard and allowed Muretus to address to him, in an elaborate oration, a bombastic panegyric on this execrable day, in which he mentions this trait of the worthy pontiff: 'O! that day, full of hilarity and joy; in which you, most blessed father! on this news being brought to you, *went on foot* to give thanks to heaven, and to Louis, the sainted king, in whose dominions the deed was done, and to offer the appointed supplications. What news more desirable [*optabilior*] could have been brought to you?' Mureti *Opera*, v. 1. p. 195. ed. 1727. We also read in the *Memoirs of Gaspar de Tavannes*, who assisted in the murders, this singular passage: 'The admiral was hung up at Montfaucon by the feet; HIS HEAD WAS SENT TO ROME; general processions were made.' *Mem. G. de Tavannes*, v. 27. p. 275. The words are explicit, '*Sa tête envoyée à Rome.*' Why sent to Rome? I know no one but the Turks who can now inform us. They are or were in the habit of sending to their sultan the heads of those persons whose deaths he has ordered, or of particular enemies, whose lifeless features he would be glad to see. The reader must judge for himself why such a ghastly present was transmitted to the papal city, and also to whom there it was commissioned. We may be sure that it was not sent to give pain, nor to excite displeasure for its decapitation. The duc de Sully mentions, that two priests came to murder him, tho but a boy, and that he was with difficulty saved from them by a denial of his being there. He was locked up three days in a chest by his protecting friend, to keep him concealed while the murders were continuing.

It is remarkable that the Spanish ambassador and the papal nuncio were busy in their consultations in the month after these horrors: as we have noticed them to have been co operating together, in the period which preceded them; and what deserves

our particular observation is, that the state councils of Paris were carried on *apart from the king*. The important dispatch of Walsingham, of 24th September 1572, gives us this most remarkable paragraph :—‘ The king, queen-mother, and monsieur, have their council *apart*. But first, *BEFORE* things are communicated unto the king, *they are debated* between the queen-mother and monsieur ; the duke of Nevers, and Tavannes. The duke of Nevers hath well nigh *DAILY CONFERENCES* with the prince, *THE NUNCIO*, the ambassador of Spain, and the extraordinary ambassador of Venice ; and *WHAT THEY TREAT IS KEPT MOST SECRET* ; and for mine own part I am now divided from all means to discover any thing.’ Digges, 258. So on 8th October we read again, ‘ There is here almost daily conference between the pope’s nuncio, the ambassador of Spain, and them here, and their councils.’ *ib.* 268.

Were these consultations every day held in order to mitigate the evil ? The same dispatch of the 24th September, tho written *a month after* the massacre, adds, ‘ The marshal de Cosse hath commission sent him to execute as many of the religion within his charge, as have been known in these late wars to have served the princes, and borne charges.’ *ib.* Digges, 258. On 25th September, Burghley wrote, ‘ On *Thursday sevensnight* there was a general slaughter made at Rouen of all that could be imagined Protestants, so as the very channels of the street did run blood.’ Digges, 264. These facts imply the nature of the conferences at Paris. So does the following one from Walsingham on 8th October : ‘ To gratify the king of Spain, those 800 that came from Mons *were put to the sword*.’ *ib.* p. 269. His next letter still more strongly marks the character of the Parisian consultations. He wrote from the French metropolis to Burghley, tho above six weeks after St. Bartholomew’s day : ‘ They are here so far imbrued in blood as there is no end of their cruelty ; for no town escapeth where any of the religion is found, without general murdering and sacking of them. And yet *they protest* all this to be done against their will, tho it be evidently known *that it is done by their commandment*.’ *ib.* 269. We are also informed, that ‘ M. Grandimont hath commission from the king to suppress all preaching in Berry, and to *plant* there the Catholic religion.’ p. 267. These facts shew the character of the councils then at the Louvre. The assertion of Sully is not less expressive : ‘ I have in my hands the documents which demonstrate the

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urgencies that the court of France made to the neighboring courts to *imitate its example.*' v. 1. p. 62.

From these facts, the discriminating reader can draw his own inferences as to the propriety of distinguishing the first attack on the admiral, and even the murder of him and his noble friends, from the subsequent general massacre in Paris, which lasted three days; and still more from the general massacres in the provinces, which from Meaux, on 25th August, extended thro September in various parts, up to the 3d of October at Bourdeaux. The first slaughter of the admiral and gentry began at two in the morning, and appears to have been effected by five o'clock, as at that time Beza states the tidings of it to have been taken over the river to Montgomery, and at seven o'clock they were pursued. p. 62. But as it was not until after this, that the tocsin was sounded for destruction of the nobility, the promiscuous massacre of all sorts and ages, and as this lasted till the king's trumpets at five in the afternoon ordered all to retire, and was repeated on the two following days, (ib. 64.) the two separate acts of the horrible drama seem to have been distinct from each other, as if resulting from different councils, and achieved by different authors. The Guises appear to have been contented with the first; and a more hidden and implacable party to have proceeded to the latter. This seems to be the more apparent, from Walsingham's dispatch of the 8th October, which mentions, that Guise, since the late murder, 'seemed to have some mis-contentment,' p. 269; but on that date, which was after the last act of horror at Bourdeaux, had resumed his influence; for the ambassador adds, that he 'was never to the outward show in greater favor, nor in greater jollity,' ib. The expressions of Tavannes seem also to imply a great distinction between the first and second acts of the sad catastrophe: 'The resolution to kill ONLY the chiefs is *infringed*. Many women and children were killed by the popular fury.' p. 272. But the populace had no share in the first part of the transaction, when the chiefs were killed. The duke of Guise and his friends achieved this. It was not until the *tocsin* called out the people, that they began to act. It seems therefore, from this account, that a second resolution was made by some unacknowledged party, not only additional to the first, but also counteracting its humaner limitation.

The effect on the expedition of the prince of Orange, of

thus losing the co-operation of France, was soon visible; and the triumph of the Guises on its failure, implies one great object of their atrocity. Passing the Rhine on 8th July, he took Mechlin on 29th August, Digges, p. 251; marched to Mons, p. 240, and defeated the duke of Alva, p. 245, and threatened Antwerp, p. 251; but for want of the expected co-operation, we find from the dispatch of 8th October, that he had been forced to retreat. Walsingham then stated from Paris, 'The duke of Guise was never in greater jollity than presently he is, especially since the news of the prince of Orange's retiring.' p. 267. He also reported, that 'since the news of the prince's retiring out of Flanders,' the French court seemed not to be desirous of the match with Elizabeth, p. 270. On 18th December, we find the prince to have taken his winter station at Dordrecht; 'where he maketh collection of money, for the levying of forces for the next Spring.' ib. 295.

It coincides with these ideas, that Laboureur states from his facts which he had seen, that Charles 'listened to the suggestions given to him by the admiral, to make war in Flanders, in order to receive under his obedience the cities of the Low Countries, which the cruelty of the duke of Alva was revolting, and that this was *le plus pressant motif* qui les determina au massacre de la St. Bartholemy.' Add. Castel. v. 3. p. 31.

From the hour that Charles IX. assented to the perpetration, his mind was visibly unseated. He became a realized personification of a man possessed. Beza was told that he fired himself an arquebuss at the flying Huguenots. p. 62. So one who had been page to the king told the marshal de Tesse, that he had loaded the instrument for Charles to fire it—a frantic action, if true. Terror and fury became the governors of his spirit. On 24th September, we read in Walsingham's report, 'The king's own conscience, so common a companion is fear with tyranny, maketh him to repute all those of the religion, as well at home as abroad, his enemies, and so consequently not to wish one of them alive.' Digges, 257. On the 1st November, his appetite, like the tiger's, had become more eager for his sanguinary banquet. Sir Francis then wrote from Paris, 'It was thought that there should have been another general day of execution, *the stay* whereof, I am credibly informed, was procured by the queen mother, who with no small difficulty and intercession obtained the same at the king's hands, who protested that the same was but deferred for a time. The king is grown now so bloody

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minded, that THEY WHO ADVISED HIM THERETO do repent the same, and do fear that the old saying will prove true, *Malum consilium, consultatori pessimum.*' Digges, 279.

The duc de Sully declares that Charles at first 'threw it all on the Guises, and wished it to be considered as an effect of their hatred to the admiral, and so stated in his private letters to foreign states; but within eight days afterwards so altered his language, that he held a bed of justice in parliament, and had his letters patent registered, which affirmed the whole to have been done by his orders.' But the duke adds, 'Charles soon felt violent remorse. From the evening of the 24th August it was seen that he shivered, *malgre lui*, at the recital of the thousand traits of cruelty which every one came to boast of in his presence.' p. 70. He told his surgeon Paré, a Huguenot, 'I do not know what has come over me, but I find both my mind and body as affected as if I had a fever. I seem every moment, whether waking or sleeping, as if the murdered bodies presented themselves before me, with hideous faces, and covered with blood. I wish THEY had not included *les imbecilles et les innocens.*' p. 72. 'The order on the next day to stop the massacres was the fruit of this conversation.' *ib.* Sully adds, 'that they reckoned 70,000 Protestants to have been massacred, in the whole kingdom, during eight days.' *ib.* p. 75. Davila's account of the numbers slain is, 'During the first two days there perished in the capital above 10,000 persons. The same cruelties followed in the provinces; so that in the space of a few days there perished more than 40,000 Huguenots.' *Hist. v. 1. p. 417.*

It was the bishop of Orleans who advised Charles to avow the massacre, and not to charge it on the duke of Guise, partly to prevent the duke's aggrandizement from it in the Catholic estimation, as if the bishop was acting with a different party. Laboureur's *Add. to Castelnau, v. 1. p. 501.*

From the preceding facts it appears, that the chief authors of the first part of these massacres were, the duc d'Anjou, afterwards Henry III. and the duc de Guise; and that the latter was an active executioner in them. The end of both leads us to recollect the lines of Juvenal, which Creech has thus translated:

The gods take aim before they strike the blow;
Most sure their vengeance, tho the stroke be slow:

for never was the moral retribution more signally exacted than on these exalted culprits. On 14th December 1583, this Henry III.

had the duc de Guise, and his brother the cardinal, suddenly murdered at Blois: the duke exclaiming most truly after his first fury was exhausted on receiving the mortal stabs, with his dying voice, 'My sins have deserved this.' Hardw. State Pap. 288. And Henry himself perished sometime afterwards under the dagger of Jacques Clement, as we have before noticed from Mariana's approving description.

St. Goar, the French ambassador in Spain, in a letter dated the 12th September 1572, gives Catherine of Medicis the following account of Philip the Second's behaviour on receiving the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew:

'On the evening of the 7th, king Philip, by a courier of don Diego's, received the tidings of St. Bartholomew's night. Hereupon, contrary to his nature and wont, he has shown as much or more joy than at all the good fortune or success he has ever met with. He assembled his whole court, and said that he now saw your majesty was his good brother. The next day I had an audience of the king, when he (who never uses to laugh) began to laugh, displaying the highest delight and the greatest satisfaction. He extolled the resolution in itself, and the long dissimulation of so great an undertaking, saying that the whole world could hardly conceive how you could, so exactly at the right time, contrary to all appearances and the hopes of so many excellent peace loving persons, effect your purpose, at a moment when the one party was nearly extinct, from fear of an unsuccessful war, and the other was already preparing to satisfy their ambition and insolence. But God had chosen your majesty as a defender and bulwark against the misery about to break in thro the means of so many tyrants, who had conspired against the honor and the laws of kings.'

'Philip further ordered ecclesiastical processions and *Te Deums*; he even commanded all the bishops, each in his own diocese, to hold such processions and thanksgivings, to the especial honor of the king of France. He has every where distinctly expressed his opinion of the transaction, and testified his displeasure towards those who sought to persuade him that the whole had happened unpremeditatedly, and not through deliberation.' Raumer's Letters from Paris, in the History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, cited in F. Q. Rev. No. 22.

CHAP. XXXI.

DEATH OF CHARLES IX.—FOURTH CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE.—
THE STATES OF HOLLAND OFFER THEMSELVES TO ELIZABETH—NEW PLANS AND CONSPIRACIES AGAINST ELIZABETH—THE SEMINARY PRIESTS AND JESUITS: THEIR TREASONABLE PRACTICES.

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THE destructions of the Bartholomew massacres prevented the ascendancy of the Protestant religion in France, but consolidated and extended it in Europe. If they had not been perpetrated, Charles would have patronized it in his own dominions and in Flanders; and might have adopted it himself;¹ but,

¹ It is remarked of Charles IX. but not as one of his merits, for Masson entitles the passage '*afflictio ecclesiastici ordinis*,' 'It is uncertain WHETHER HE or the Calvinists most vexavit the ecclesiastical order. They spoiled the temples of their precious ornaments, and slew a few priests: but HE made money from the consecrated vessels; gave ecclesiastical prefections and monasteries to boys, to soldiers and to women; exacted as long as he lived decimas quaternas, the fourth part of the revenues of church property; abstracted not a few latifundia, or fonds des benefices, and got by the sale of them two millions of gold.' Masson's Hist. Car. in Lab. Castel. v. 3. p. 19–27. A king who would do this before he was 24, was in fair way to become a French Henry VIII. as to the papal hierarchy, if he had not been agitated at an overwhelming moment to commit himself irrecoverably into its clutches. I think it was this real tendency to Protestant ideas which has occasioned his conduct to be thought dissimulation. What he did from real inclination to the Huguenots was, after St. Bartholomew, referred to fraudulent artifice. Even his successor, Henry III. one of the authors of St. Bartholomew, sought to abstract some part of the exuberant wealth of the French hierarchy, on which we have before quoted even the pope's sneer at the cardinal Lorrain's having an income of 300,000 crowns. On 1st December 1583, sir E. Strafford wrote from Paris, 'The king seeketh to draw more from the clergy than they will ever grant but by force,' Hardwicke, v. 1. p. 201; and sent 'the duc de Joyeuse to Rome, to obtain dispensation of the pope for the king to sell 100,000 crowns yearly revenue of church land.' p. 207.

driven from it by the dreadful criminality into which he was hurried, he lived for a brief space a sceptered wretch of remorse and misery; and died prematurely in personal agony, amid self-upbraidings, with groans of repentance which could neither remedy nor recal, and in great mental terror.²

The indignation excited by such a catastrophe, caused a momentary desire in some of the German states to retaliate the murders of the Protestants in France, by a similar extermination of the Roman Catholics elsewhere.³ This monstrous suggestion was but a meteor flame of indignation, which vanished as soon as it had arisen; and the excited minds of the reformers, rejecting the idea of combating crime by imitating what they abhorred, assumed the wise and more upright resolution to maintain, with new energy and unshrinking fortitude, their

² He expired on Whitsunday 1574, in less than two years after his day of crime. The duke of Sully says he died 'in the most severe pains, and bathed in his own blood. In this state, the miserable day of St. Bartholomew was, without ceasing, present to his mind, and he shewed, by his transports of regret, and by his fears, how much he repented of it.' Mem. p. 83. D'Aubigny mentions the same fact: 'Ever since St. Bartholomew's day the prince had no repose but what was interrupted by starts and groans, which ended in exclamations tending to despair. He often expressed how much he detested the massacre. He had already moved those who had given him the bad counsel, and even wished to send away the queen mother.' v. 2. p. 129. Born in June 1550, he was scarcely 24 at his death. The guilty instigator, d'Anjou, afterwards Henry III. was not much happier; for during one of his unresting nights he called a friend to him, and said, 'I have caused you to come here to disclose to you my inquietudes and agitations to-night, which have troubled my rest, in thinking of the execution of St. Bartholomew.' Mem. Viller, 2. p. 62. He perished himself by the dagger of an assassin.

³ Walsingham mentioned from Paris, on 5th December 1572, 'By letters out of Germany, they write, that it was determined, upon the news of the execution of those of the religion here, to have slain as many Catholics of the French as were found there, which afterwards, upon better consideration, was stayed.' Digges, p. 301.

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improved faith and system, as the true bulwark of intellectual freedom, and of personal security.

Charles endeavored to renew his intercourse of friendship with Elizabeth,⁴ who, avoiding all conduct and language which might plunge the two countries into an useless war of vindictive passion and mutual calamity; yet expressed, with great dignity and force, her moral review and rebuking sense of the atrocious transaction, while she acquiesced in his proposal that their national amity should remain undisturbed.⁵

The Huguenots, in the parts to which the massacres had not extended, soon found themselves under the necessity of taking up arms for their preservation; on which the fourth civil war arose in France. The duc d'Anjou besieged Rochelle: but losing before it, the greatest part of his army, a fourth pacification ensued, which shewed the continuing strength of the reformers in those districts of the kingdoms where they chiefly lived; and the inability of the Catholic government to suppress them. But the sanguinary event which had destroyed their noble leaders, and the settled animosity of the court, discouraged and prevented the dissemination of their system. The ambitious and the worldly, the timid and the cautious; and those who

⁴The French king sent Marnesire to the queen, to urge three points: The continuance of their amity; that she would be godmother to his child; that she would pursue her marriage with the duke d'Alençon. Digges, p. 297.

⁵See her recapitulation to Walsingham, of what she had stated, in Digges, 297-9, who also himself steadily repeated them to the king at his audience. Lett. 25th December, *ib.* p. 304. The queen directed the same language to be held, on his request to her not to receive the French who had fled for safety, even by the ambassador whom she sent to attend his christening. *ib.* 319.

preferred a quiet life, or their enjoyments, or were indifferent about their religious tenets, kept aloof from the new doctrines and worship, which were now to be professed in discountenanced seclusion, with ever-impending danger and persecution, and with an abandonment of all state preferment, of official dignities, and of much social reputation and pecuniary advantages.

Anjou was elected king of Poland while he lay before Rochelle, and his absence was beneficial to those whose destruction he still sought. His brother, d'Alençon, attempted to raise a new moderate party against the courtly system; but the death of Charles recalling Anjou from Poland, he became king of France in 1574, under the name of Henry III. and soon renewed the hostilities against the Protestants, whom he had already so deeply injured. D'Alençon at length became one of their leaders in 1575, and Elizabeth, whose hand he was still soliciting, assisted him with some succors. The next year, Henry IV. escaping from Paris, joined their forces, and a pacification was made in May 1576, the most advantageous they had obtained, which allowed them the public exercise of their religion, and for a while procured them peace and safety; but which led the Catholic party to form that celebrated confederacy which has become known in history, as it was at the time, by the caricaturing name of the Holy League; and from which, a few years afterwards, the last civil war on the subject of the Reformation severely desolated the best provinces of France. In these events, Elizabeth interfered by aiding the Huguenots with occasional succors, and by allowing the treaty

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for her marriage with d'Alençon to be carried on, because the prospect of its completion attached him more to the Protestant side; but chiefly because it kept her own subjects in constant expectation of her nuptials, and thence of a descending succession: for her own mind seems never to have relinquished its resolution to live and die a single queen.⁶

In Scotland, the cardinal Lorrain and the Guises endeavored to raise a French party, and to make that valuable country a danger and an annoyance to the English sovereign; but she continued her steady policy to expel from it French armies, and to repress French partisans, and to uphold those in power there, with whose government and predominance the peace and religion of England were most secure.—Her troops moved, when the necessity called them, to take Edinburgh Castle, in 1573, from the opposing chieftains; but peace was soon re-established: and the queen interposed as little with the affairs of Scotland, as the duties of her crown and the welfare of her nation allowed.⁷

The agitations of the Netherlands most occupied the attention of Elizabeth and her cabinet. The prince of Orange renewed his brave exertions against Alva and his cruel tyrannies, till this merciless and sanguinary commander was superseded by Requesens, a milder spirit, in 1573.⁸ His power compelled the

⁶ Camden, Digges, De Thou, Henault, and the usual French histories of the time, will furnish the reader with a fuller detail of all the preceding facts, which need not be more circumstantially narrated here.

⁷ On this branch of our subject the reader will be gratified by consulting the Histories of Dr. Robertson and Malcolm Laing.

⁸ Camden, 173–181. The '*Descriptio Federatarum Provinciarum*' of Grotius, in his *Annales*, will gratify the intelligent reader, p. 38–42. He describes Requesens as '*largitor et comis plus quam Hispanis*'

prince and confederated states to solicit the effective support of Elizabeth. They offered her, in 1575, the possession or protection of Holland and Zealand.⁹ But she preferred to endeavor to compromise their differences with their haughty king.¹⁰ When don John of Austria, however, took the command against them, she assisted them with a pecuniary supply, on three conditions—that they should not change their religion nor their prince—nor admit the French into the Netherlands—nor refuse a peace, if don John would consent to reasonable terms.¹¹—Wise and equitable friendship, which, pursuing no self-interest, sought only to benefit the oppressed, and to soothe the oppressor into a relinquishment of his injustice! But while her ambassador was proceeding to Madrid to negotiate such an arrangement, she learnt that this Austrian prince was plotting, with the pope and the Guises, to depose her, to marry the queen of Scots, and to obtain or conquer the crown of England.¹² Such practices compelled her to yield to more warlike counsels: and when don John renewed his hostilities, she contracted in 1577 a confederacy with the states, for their mutual aid both by sea and land. One thousand horse and five thousand foot were to be furnished from England at the cost of the allies, but to be commanded by a general of their

solitum; peritia Albano impar: haud egenus tamen bellicæ laudis.
 p. 43.

⁹ *Camd.* 183, 4. Even Henry III. sent them an ‘*arcanum subsidium*,’ from his desire of resisting Spain. *Grot.* 46. Requesens died, ‘*cum subita peste extincto.*’ *ib.*

¹⁰ *Camden*, 188. She sent them 20,000*l.* *ib.*

¹² The prince of Orange had discovered and communicated to her this new conspiracy. *Camd.* 193. *Grotius* says, that it was by the ‘*proprio metu*’ of this discovery, that Elizabeth was decided to support the Belgians. p. 53.

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own nation.¹³ She stated her intentions without disguise to the Spanish government,¹⁴ and sent her little army into Flanders, under sir John Norris, who soon distinguished themselves by that martial intrepidity, which has long been the characteristic and reputation of their country.¹⁵

Death in the next year ended the projects and successes of don John, the conqueror of the Turkish navy and the aspirant for Elizabeth's throne.¹⁶ But his plans were succeeded by a new combination of pope Gregory XIII. and Philip II., to dispossess this princess,¹⁷ whose wise and steady reign was the main support of the Protestant Reformation, and whom it therefore was still essential to destroy, if that was to be subverted in Europe. The wild attempt was even begun;¹⁸ and the celebrated don

¹³ Camden, 144. They applied for a loan of 100,000*l.* which she told them her city of London would advance on sufficient security. *ib.* Still her object was unambitious; and her desire of a mutual peace so great, that it was the condition with the provinces, that 'in Philippi obsequio continerentur.' Grotius, 53. Tho on fair and equitable conditions.

¹⁴ See it in Camden, 195

¹⁵ *Camd.* 199.

¹⁶ His first victories gave him the command of Brabant and Limburg. Grot. 54. Margaret, wife of Henry IV. recommended her brother to the states, whose republica became undique confusa. *ib.* 56. Articles of peace were discussed, p. 58; but John obtaining new forces, broke off all treaty, 59. At last, in 1578, a vis morbi subita removed him. 'Quam facile receptabat, æger animus et fortunæ iratus.' *ib.* 60.

¹⁷ *Camd.* 202. One of the pontiff's objects also was to obtain the kingdom of Ireland for his son Boncompagnon, whom he had made marquess of Vincola. *ib.*

¹⁸ Stukely, an English fugitive, whom the pope created marquess of Leinster, sailed from Civita Vecchia, with eight hundred Italians, to the Tagus, to join the Spanish and Portuguese forces that were to form the expedition. *Camd.* 203. Of this Stukely, Catena states, that 'he, a noble Inglese, from the dealings which he had in Ireland, undertook in a few weeks, with 3000 Spaniards, to cause all the island to revoltar alla devotione de Catholici, and to send his pilot with two ships, and two zaure armati, to burn all the naval forces in the Thames.' Catena Vita P. P. p. 118. Walsingham, on 8 Feb. 1572, apprised Burghley, 'that Stukely, in Spain, presented an instrument unto the king there, not only subscribed with the names

Sebastian was to have commanded the Portuguese and Spanish forces, that were to co-operate with the papal troops. But Sebastian's first passion was to have the glory of conquering Morocco, or of re-establishing in it an emperor who had been dethroned. To this his ambitious eye was directed by that unseen agency, which moves the results of human wishes and actions to suit its own grand purposes instead of ours; and he led his army, with Stukely's papal battalion, to that fierce and disappointing battle on the plains of Fez, in which both the Moorish rivals left the world, while the king of Portugal so mysteriously disappeared from it, that history has never been able to ascertain or narrate with undoubted certainty his exact fate; nor can now discern whether the destitute individual who some years after claimed to be his real personality, was himself, or a bold impostor. Stukely perished with the larger part of the Christian army; and as Sebastian's death tempted the Spanish king to add Portugal to his own kingdom, the invasion of England was at that critical moment abandoned, for the nearer and more seizable booty.¹⁹

of most part of the *Irish nobility*, but also with the names of divers in *England*, of good quality, ready to be at his devotion.' Cabala, 36. Sebastian, in 1567, had the correspondence with Elizabeth, which is in MS. Nero, B. 1; and on 2d February 1572, entered into the treaty of peace with her, which is in the same MS.

¹⁹ Camd. 203, 4. Nothing is more deserving of our study in history, than that connection and relation of events to each other, by which grand results are produced without any supernatural disturbance of the apparent course of things; and by which, even the opposers of important improvements are made unintentionally the instruments of their establishment, while pursuing only their own selfish projects. Thus the expedition and death of Sebastian, in Morocco, not only averted his invasion of England, but by tempting Philip II. to seize the opportunity of securing Portugal, relieved the struggling Netherlands at an important crisis, from the weight of his military power; and postponed also for some years his attack on England, until

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We now approach the period and the incidents of the greatest personal danger to Elizabeth, from her Romish persecutors, in the plots and activity of the inveterate and indefatigable Seminarists and Jesuits, from whose secret machinations and daring perseverance she with difficulty escaped.

To be at that time a Catholic, and to think Elizabeth an usurper, and Mary the rightful queen—and to desire to have a Catholic sovereign on the throne of England,—were inseparable circumstances. There was not perhaps one member of the Romish church in Europe, who had other sentiments. Their pope and hierarchy in all its branches held and taught unvaryingly such opinions. That it would be meritorious to depose Elizabeth; and that it was meritorious to conspire and to exert themselves to do so, became a regular inference from these opinions in the Romish church; and was zealously inculcated by its priesthood and agents on all their adherents: nor did such tuition fall at that time on averted ears. That these doctrines and instigations made great impression on the minds of the English Catholics, and roused many of all classes to insurrection, and kept alive a formidable and spreading conspiracy,

nothing exterior favored it, and till nothing remained to repair its discomfiture. On 6 July 1580, the cardinal Granville wrote to the provost Morillon, in the Low Countries, '*Portugal nous ruine; mais il ne s'est peu de laisser d'y entendre pour non faire trop du tort au roiet à sa posterité.*' Lett. de Granv. So two days afterwards he remarked to count Mansfeld, '*Cette emprinse de Portugal est tombée en mauvaise saison*'; yet his majesty could not avoid embracing it, without too much prejudicing himself and his people.' Letter, ib. The Portuguese preferred their own king. '*Don Antonio s'est fait appeller roi par le mênú peuple de Lisbona: mais ceux qui ont a perdre n'en sont contens.*' Therefore Philip had at the end of June sent a fleet from Cadiz to blockade the Tagus, '*que leur exclusa tout secours et les vivres.*' ib. This diversion enabled the prince of Orange and Elizabeth to complete the emancipation of the United Provinces.

to realise their objects by the queen's downfall or destruction; our readers have perceived from the facts and documents of some of our preceding chapters. But all such hostilities, however occasionally menacing and really formidable, had been hitherto unavailing: the failure of the precipitate attempt of the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland—the detection and execution of the duke of Norfolk—the admonition and arrest of some of his noble confederates—the natural deaths of several of these—the renewed and penetrating vigilance of lord Burghley—the decease of Pius V.—the increasing popularity of Elizabeth—the universal indignation and alarm in every Protestant mind at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the private or avowed detestation of these horrors, by the humaner and more enlightened Catholics,—diminished for several years after this failure, both the desire and the plots to dispossess the reigning queen: and she lived in comparative security and happiness from the year 1572 to 1580: But new agents arising to form and execute new machinations, a renewed spirit and fresh train of secret treason and destructive conspiracy, were then again excited and spread by the papal missionaries, among her satisfied and tranquil population;²⁰ compelling her government to enact

²⁰ In stating impartially the authentic history of Elizabeth's reign, the writer, who seeks only to explore and narrate the truth, cannot avoid exhibiting the papal court and its agents in a succession of conduct, which it will be displeasing to many to advert to now. I regret the necessity of reviving the recollection of such transactions; but the fidelity of history must not be compromised from any temporary convenience. My own wishes on the still contesting parties, are those which were so interestingly and so happily expressed at Carlingford, on 3 Sept. 1828, by the MARQUIS OF

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and to enforce legal severities against all such agitators; and from the impossibility of discriminating the persons who were secretly yielding to their influence, or determining to execute their plots, these stern laws were extended to the Catholic body in general. They certainly resembled tyranny, in their nature; and were vindicable only as temporary correctives, or preventatives of great temporary evils.

These new instruments of agitation among the English Catholics, whose dangerous and persevering restlessness produced all the penal enactments against them which appear on our statute books after the year 1580, were the Seminarists and Jesuits; a succession of trained missionaries, chiefly English youths educated for the purpose, sent under the papal sanction to England, avowedly to prevent the Catholic religion from declining in our island;²¹ but many of them secretly instructed and zealously

ANGLESEA, lord lieutenant of Ireland, when presiding at a dinner, to his tenantry :—

‘ I consider the present moment one of the happiest of my life. How delightful is it to my heart to behold my tenantry, *Protestant and Catholic, here MEETING WITH ONE MIND*, to-day. I trust the time is not far distant when all religious distinctions will be forgotten. I arraign no man for his religious belief. None of you can for a moment suppose that our beneficent Deity will refuse to receive the prayers of upright men, because they may happen not to agree in politics, or to entertain a different religious belief; the doctrines of which each considers essential to his eternal salvation. I quarrel with no man on account of his religious opinions or political principles: and I feel assured, that you will not act differently. I beseech you to live as brothers, worshippers of the same God. The man who is honest and obedient to the laws, is my friend. Now, my tenantry! I implore you, one and all, Protestants and Catholics, to be an example to Ireland. Shake hands, and live in friendship one with another: I trust I shall meet you all in heaven.’ Dublin paper, Sept. 1828.

²¹ Ribadineira states, that ‘ some zealous men’ formed the plan, ‘ to prevent the Catholic religion from being cut up by the roots; for they did not doubt, that the more this sect of perdition [the Protestants] prevailed, it would yet, if the Catholics were not dismayed, fall as others had done in past ages.’ Hist. p. 259.

acting to foment sedition, to procure and organize insurrection, and to contrive for the assassination of Elizabeth, as their detection, examinations and trials have too manifestly demonstrated.

In 1568, the Catholic priests, who fled from England into Flanders, formed themselves into a collegiate body at Douay, under doctor William Allen,²² and obtained from the pope both his protection and a monthly pension. Their public object was to attract to them the young English exiles who were living in the Netherlands, and others of talent out of England, to study under their tuition, and to become Romish priests in that country.²³ This professed purpose, if it had not been extended beyond the improvement of education and the cultivation of their religious faith, may be justly called laudable among its sincere professors; and Elizabeth, assuming it to be what it pretended, had not at first noticed it;²⁴ but the employment of such youths, when formed under this peculiar training, having been discovered by the English government to be frequently seditious and treasonable,²⁵ a remonstrance was made by the queen to Requesens on the subject,

²² Ribadineira, p. 260.

²³ Dr. Allen's Apologie, printed in Henault, 1581. The doctor states the intentions of this seminary to have been, 'to draw divers YOUTHS, who, for their conscience, lived in the Low Countries, to a sole and voluntary study; to a course of common conference and public exercise, to be pursued by their superior's appointment; to provide a perpetual seed and supply of Catholic clergy; to draw into this college *the best wits of England*, that were Catholic bent or desirous of more exact education, or had scrupled to take the oath of the queen's supremacy, or that misliked to be forced to the ministers.' Apol. p. 22, 3.

²⁴ Pollini remarks, that the queen at first thought little of the English college at Douay. p. 509.

²⁵ Camd. 216.

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and the Spanish governor ordered them to quit the Low Countries. The Guises gave them an asylum in France; and the pope, becoming more sensible of their uses, both political and moral, sanctioned their establishment at Rheims; and gave them also another foundation at Rome, under his personal inspection, patronage, and pecuniary support.²⁶ A third institution of the same sort was formed in Spain;²⁷ from all which, in a few years, above three hundred priests issued and penetrated into England.²⁸ These missioned youths were found to be peculiarly efficacious;²⁹ and Gregory XIII. was so pleased with the prospects which opened to him from their activity, that he placed his Roman foundation of them under the direction of the Jesuits;³⁰ and such patronage and education made these institutions the acknowledged bulwarks of the papal church in the English dominions.³¹ The charge of the English government was, that they entered and traversed the kingdom in disguise, not merely to perform the

²⁶ Allen says, that Heaven 'moved the heart of the pope to erect another at Rome, (p. 24.) to instruct men in all cases of conscience and controversies, and to breed in them a zeal and desire to be priests.' Apol. 25. 'The pope [Gregory XIII.] hath instituted and endowed the said seminaries.' p. 28.

²⁷ Pollini, Hist. p. 506.

²⁸ Pollini, p. 509. So Ribadineira: 'They formed in these two seminaries, and transplanted from them, and there entered England more than 300 clerigos, to cultivate *this desert vineyard, full of wild beasts.*' p. 261.

²⁹ 'But that which has most advanced, animated, and strengthened the Catholics, has been the institution of the seminaries, which were made in Rheims and Rome.' Ribadin. p. 258.

³⁰ So Ribadineira declares 'The pope endowed it with good rents, and recommended it to the fathers of the Jesuits, that they might teach and govern the English collegiates whom they should have in it, as they had taught and governed the Germans in the German college, and the clerigos of the Roman seminary.' Hist. p. 260.

³¹ 'These two seminaries have been like rock-built castles, and have given life and salud to the Catholics in England.' Ribad. p. 260.

religious offices of priests; but on the plan, of avoiding all military array in themselves,³² while they acted as spies, and pervaded the kingdom both in town and country, to stimulate others to treason or to disaffection and sedition, and to convey money for such purposes.³³ It pointed out the circumstances on which they ought, when taken, to be examined,³⁴ and asserted that they pursued these practices, made lists of those who would support an invader, and inculcated opinions incompatible with the due authority and safety of all civil government.³⁵

³² The statement of government was published in a tract entitled, 'The Execution of Justice in England,' which Hollingshed has printed in his History, p. 1351-1368. It asks, 'When a foreign potentate has maintained a rebellion, and comforted the rebels by messages and promises to continue, shall no subject yielding obedience to the enemy, that is, a spiall and an explorer for the rebels or enemy against his natural prince, be taken and punished as a traitor, because he is not found with arms or weapons, but yet who is taken in his disguised apparel, with scrolls and writings, and other manifest tokens to prove him a spy for traitors, after he had wandered secretly in his sovereign's camp, region, court or city, and that will secretly give earnest and prest money to persons to be rebels or enemies?' Hollinsh. ib.

³³ 'Let these persons be termed as they list, scholars, schoolmasters, bookmen, seminarists, priests, jesuits, friars, beadsmen, romanists, pardoners, or what else you will; neither their titles nor their apparel hath made them traitors, but their traitorous secret motions and practices.' Hollinsh. ib.

³⁴ 'Examine these. Let it be answered, why they came thus by stealth into the realm; why they have wandered up and down in disguised sort; changing their titles, names, and manner of apparel; why they have enticed and sought to persuade the people to allow and believe all the actions and attempts which the pope has done, or shall do, to be lawful; why they have reconciled and drawn so many people in corners, from the laws of the realm to the obedience of the pope, whom they know to have already declared the queen to be no lawful queen; to have maintained the known rebels and traitors; and to have invaded her majesty's dominions with open war?' Holl. ib.

³⁵ 'These disguised persons came hitherto by command of the pope, to be secret spials and explorers in the realm for him; to deliver by secret Romish tokens, as it were, an earnest or prest to them that should be in readiness to join with rebels or open enemies; pouring into these hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against her majesty and the laws of the realm; and also to kindle and set on fire the discontented subjects with the flame of rebellion; to search and sound the secrets and depths of all men's inward intentions; and to bring

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That these seminaries taught their pupils, that the pope had by the law of God fulness of power over the whole world, as well in temporal as in ecclesiastical matters; that he may excommunicate kings, and, when excommunicated, may unthrone them; and that Elizabeth was in this condition; and that those who came from these colleges into England, were instructed in those principles, and were sent to it to withdraw her subjects from allegiance to her, and to raise insurrection under the seal of confession, in order to facilitate the meditated invasion from Spain and the Roman pontiff, has been recorded by Camden,³⁶ and by other contemporary authorities; and that such doctrines have not been untruly imputed to them, we learn from the most unqualified and detailed assertion of them by cardinal doctor Allen, himself the founder and principal teacher of the seminary at Rheims.³⁷ He did not assert the

into a bead roll the names and persons of all that should be ready to rebel and aid the aforesaid invasion. Holl. ib. Dr. Allen, in his 'Apologie,' while simple doctor, and the head of the Rheims seminary, denies all unlawful and seditious objects. But after he became cardinal, he unhesitatingly professed and inculcated treason by wholesale in his celebrated 'Admonition to the Nobility and People of England,' printed and circulated in 1588.

³⁶ Camd. Eliz. p. 216.

³⁷ It is in his 'Admonition' that he most broadly enforces these tenets. The treatise is very scarce. There is a printed copy in the Jesuits college of Stoneyhurst, in Lancashire, and but few others in England. It contains sixty pages, and is thus entitled: 'An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland concerning the present wars, made from the execution of his holiness' sentence, by the highe and mightie King Catholike of Spaine. By the Cardinal of England. A^o MDLXXXVIII.' His doctrine is, 'Now *all* Christe's sheep, *without exception*, be they *princes*; be they poor men; if they be Christian men, are put to Peter's feeding and government. Now the keys of heaven are given to Christ's vicar, to let in, to lock out, to binde, to loose, to pardon, to punish.' p. xxxvi. 'Such now is the apostolical force and power of Christ's priesthood in the New Testament. SO FAR ABOVE THE AUTHORITY OF EARTHLY KINGS, as the sun is clearer than the moon; heaven above the earth; the soul of man better than his body.' p. xxxvii.

principle as a mere abstract curiosity of studious speculation; but, reminding his readers how it had been enforced before,³⁸ applied it directly and destructively to the English queen.³⁹

We have already shewn that the popes allowed no one to be really and lawfully emperor, whom they did not allow and consecrate:⁴⁰ So this head of the Rheims seminary inculcated the same papal tenet, that no parliament is a legal parliament without the Catholic bishops;⁴¹ that no person could be

³⁸ 'For albeit often else in like cases of revolt from God's church and our father's faith, not only the kings, but also their countries, after divers dreadful censures and sentences, have been, *by supreme authority of Christ's vicar*, given up to invasion, wars, wastes, and final destruction.' *ib.* p. v. I modernise the spelling for the convenience of my reader; *as else for els: been for bene, &c. &c.*

³⁹ 'Yet the pope's holiness ONLY meaneth in Christ's word and power given unto him, and in zeal of God's house, to pursue the ACTUAL DEPRIVATION of Elizabeth, the pretended queen, eftsoon declared and judicially sentenced by his holiness' predecessors, Pius V. and Gregory XIII. FOR AN HERETIC AND USURPER; and the proper present cause of perdition of millions of souls at home, and the *very bane of all Christian kingdoms and states near about her*; that in this ONE WOMAN'S CONDIGN CORRECTION, God's mighty arm may be feared and glorified.' *ib.* p. vii.

⁴⁰ The papal doctrine on royal marriages went also to subject every throne in Europe to the pleasure and command of the popedom; for if any prince married without his previous dispensation, when his rules or the canons and orders of his hierarchy made that necessary, this marriage was deemed an invalid one, and its issue illegitimate, and an usurper of the throne to which it might succeed. It was on this ground that all the Catholics deemed Elizabeth to have been such, and that the pope deposed her, as well as for her heresy. Thus, for Henry IV. to marry the sister of Charles IX. a papal dispensation was necessary, he being a Huguenot; and because for this reason the pope hesitated to grant it, Charles is stated to have forged a dispensation to satisfy the scruples of the lady. The pontiff could withhold the dispensation as long as he pleased; and shake the throne afterwards of any, who ventured to marry without it.

⁴¹ By this Admonition, the cardinal doctor extends these instructions to all the nobility and people of England, in these words: 'Neither may she here allege, that by consent of the states and commonwealth she is lawfully possessed; for that by force she intruded, and constrained many men to give their consent: deposing unjustly the LORDS OF THE CLERGY, WITHOUT WHOM NO LAWFUL PARLIAMENT can be holden in that realm; *nor statutes made* which hath force to authorize prince OR BIND SUBJECTS.' *ib.* p. ix. So that, according to the papal doctrine

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the rightful king of England, whom the popedom did not permit to be so;⁴² and that this was for the benefit of its kingdom;⁴³ and also, that, in addition to this disqualification, Elizabeth was likewise for her 'wickedness' justly deposed.⁴⁴ These doctrines, of the superiority of the papal and sacerdotal power above all temporal authority, even in temporal things, our preceding quotations have proved to have been an antient assumption of the Catholic hierarchy.⁴⁵

But if only teachers like these had acted, the mischievous effects of such an education as they industriously imparted, might have been little else than the distortion of some valuable minds; the dissemination of absurd tenets, and the personal sufferings of the misled individuals, as their honest bigotry might lead them into legal dangers. It was their

of that day, all our laws made since Elizabeth's accession have no authority, and are not binding on the people, because the Catholic bishops did not assist in enacting them.

⁴² 'Over and besides that, she never had consent, *nor any approbation, of the see apostolic*; WITHOUT WHICH, she, *nor any other, can be lawful king or queen* of England, by reason of the antient accord made between Alexander III. in the year 1171, and HENRY II. their king, *when he was absolved*, for the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury, that *no man might lawfully take that crown*, nor be accepted as king, TILL HE WERE CONFIRMED by the sovereign pastor of our souls, which for the time should be.' Adm. p. x. So that this papal right was arrogated before our imbecile John's submission.

⁴³ 'This accord afterwards being renewed about the year 1210, by king John, who confirmed the same by oath to Pandulph, the pope's legate, at the special request and procurement of the lords and commons, *as a thing most necessary* for preservation of the realm from unjust usurpation of tyrants, and avoiding other inconveniences which they had proved, and [which] might easily fall again by the disorder of some wicked king.' ib. p. x.

⁴⁴ 'But howsoever she be descended or possessed of the crown, *her manifold wickedness* had been so heinous and intolerable, that for the same she hath been in person JUSTLY DEPOSED by the sentence of three sundry popes; whereunto if we add the two former censures, condemning her incestuous nativity and generation, we shall find that she hath been condemned by five declaratory judicial sentences of God's church.' Adm. p. x.

⁴⁵ See before, p. 62, vol. 3.

superior instructors, the able and artful Jesuits, who had been appointed their grand masters, who made them the dangerous instruments of treason; and who, resolving upon a deadly warfare against Elizabeth, first entered England⁴⁶ in the year 1580, to begin those campaigns of agitation, sedition and traitorous conspiracy, from which so many crimes, persecutions, legal restrictions, and judicial executions unhappily, but inevitably, resulted.

This celebrated society is universally known to have originated from Ignatius, the Spanish nobleman who exchanged his military enthusiasm for a religious one—a mutation of mind which might have been laudable and beneficial to society, if he had not associated it for ever with all the unpruned Romish superstitions; with an unlimited obedience to the papal see; with an unceasing extension of the pontifical supremacy; with the most passive and devoted submission to their own general; and with an uncompromising and never yielding and never ending warfare against the Protestant Reformation, in every shape, age, and clime. To these five principles, the successors of Ignatius have added a constant endeavor to exalt the papal dignity and power above every sovereign and government, as well in temporal as in spiritual concerns; to be themselves the great rulers of nations, as far and whenever they could obtain the power to become so; and to seek the acquisition of this power by secret machinations, by unknown associations, and by a private confederation of all ranks and classes of the European

⁴⁶ Sanders de Schis. p. 433. Ribad.

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public with their order. All these principles had been adopted by their society, as its permanent characteristics and rules of action, when they commenced their hostilities against Elizabeth; and their activity and enmity had these peculiar dangers, that they grounded them on the doctrine, so fatal to virtue, and so prejudicial to society, that any means, even the most violent when necessary, and the most fraudulent when more expedient, are lawful, which promote the great ends of their order; and that in the sixteenth century at least, the destruction or opposing of heretical sovereigns was allowed, recommended, and pursued in their schools, and by some of their most applauded fraternity.⁴⁷

It is the vow of peculiar and paramount obedience to the pope, as to the whole society, and to his general, as to each individual, which makes the JESUIT and his order at all times so anomalous in society; so regardless of all opposing laws, and so dangerous to all governments. While other religious orders take the three vows of poverty, chastity,

⁴⁷ I admit most cordially that there have been many admirable Jesuits—many persons of that order, who deserve our highest applause, and who in any class of life would have secured our esteem; but these distinguished individuals are neither the true representatives of the general body, nor the exact specimen of its average conduct and character. All might have been such, if the chiefs of the order had never meddled with politics, or with temporal affairs, and had not carried on that unceasing warfare against Protestants, by which they have chosen to be distinguished. But having acted, as a thousand documents shew us that they have acted, it is an ingenious illusion to hold out to us such men as cardinal Bellarmine, Bourdaloue, or Rapin, or even Ignatius himself, as those by whose useful lives and deserved reputation, we are alone to judge of their very mingled and diversely-featured society. The good are good, but the bad are bad, in every class of human nature; and it would be absurd to characterise mankind only from the virtuous, the wise, and the holy. There are such every where; but they are neither the general average, nor the visible majority.

and obedience, Ignatius added to his institution, as a fourth, the special oath of obeying the pope implicitly in all things,⁴⁸ that they might be a militant society, and his religious soldiery, ever moving instantaneously at his command, to establish his faith and power, wherever he should enjoin them to go and operate. Distance, sufferings, laws, governments, dangers, or death, were in no case to produce hesitation or disobedience; and this peculiar subordination to the papacy was soon found to be 'to acknowledge the pope to be superior to every other dignity, and to be in allegiance to him as to every one else, and against all the princes of the earth.'⁴⁹ They made the pope so completely their imperial lord, and, as such, exalted him to such a pre-eminent sovereignty, as to consider him to be their God upon earth.⁵⁰ This looks like strong language; but so in their writings they exhibit him to the world;⁵¹ and however extravagant this notion may sound to our

⁴⁸ Their own historian, Orlandino, says, '*Præter tria religionis vota quartum adderent, nominatim, peculiaris erga pontificem maximum obedientiæ;*' and therefore 'to go wherever he should send them, whether to Christian or unbelieving countries, without any excuse.' *Hist. Soc. Jes.* v. 1. p. 56. So after the death of Ignatius, he says they were called by themselves the '*Votorum quatuor professi,*' because to the '*tria solemnia religiosorum vota,*' they add the fourth, of '*precipue obedientiæ*' to the Roman pontiff, to undertake '*ejus missu,*' any '*peregrinationes*' for religion. v. 2. p. 4.

⁴⁹ 'Ceux-ci au contraire, le premier vœu qu'ils firent, fut de reconnoître le pape par dessus toutes les autres dignitez: et s'obliger a lui par serment lige envers tous et contre tous les princes de la terre.' Plaidoye de M. de Bellay, in 1595. *Mercure Jesuite*, p. 496.

⁵⁰ Deckher, in the preface to his *d'Origine Jesuitarum*, 1611, quotes the jesuit Thomas Stapleton, as styling the pope '*Optimum maximum ac supremum, numen in terris,*' in his dedication to Gregory XIII. of his *In Princip. fid. Christ.*

⁵¹ In the same spirit Isidorus Mosconius says, 'The pope is neither God nor man, BUT BOTH.' '*Papam non esse Deum nec hominem, sed utrumque.*' *De Majest. Instit. Eccles.* l. 1. part 1. c. 1.

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understandings, it is the feeling and the view which appears to be inculcated at Rome, even in the present day.⁵³

The sacerdotal and papal doctrine of the supremacy of the ecclesiastical order upon earth, already remarked to have been an antient idea and a favorite tenet,⁵³ making the kingly dignity subordinate to the spiritual, and the pope the vicar and representative of the Deity upon earth; the pontiff becomes on this system the rightful sovereign of the whole world; and the persons and dignitaries to whom he delegates power, rank, and authority, and these alone, are thereby the legitimate rulers and superiors among mankind.⁵⁴

It was with six companions only, that Ignatius began his new foundation;⁵⁵ and not making at the

⁵³ I was persuading myself to believe, that these old authorities only represented the notions of the Jesuits of their days; but from the Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, I learn that the same ideas are now inculcated at Rome. He was in the *seminario Romano* there when he was twenty years old, in November 1816. He says, 'I heard them one day call the pope God; and heard this title defended by the most learned men of Rome, who told me that he merits such a title, because he has power, not only upon the earth, but likewise over purgatory and in heaven; and because whatever the pope absolves on the earth, is absolved in heaven. They call the pope God upon earth, on account of his power to sanctify and to beatify.' Wolff's Mem. p. 30. prefixed to his *Missionary Journal*.

⁵⁴ See before, p. 350.

⁵⁵ It has not been generally perceived, but it seems to have been the fact, that the exploded doctrine of the divine right of kings was set up expressly to emancipate them from this arrogated supremacy of the popes. It was certainly maintained for this purpose, and with this political object, in France, in the reign of Henry IV. The statesmen and anti-jesuitical divines there, contended that kings were appointed immediately from heaven, and therefore could in no respect owe their power to the pope, or derive it from the church, or be subject to either for it.

⁵⁶ These were, Faber, his first associate; the celebrated Xavier, a friend of Faber's; Lainius at 22, and Salmeron at 19; Bobadilla, and Rodericus. In 1534 they united themselves to Ignatius, to go with him to Palestine. Orland. v. 1. pp. 24, 5. In 1537, when they were at

beginning any political application of it, the first object of their enthusiasm was a missionary expedition to Palestine, to convert the Turkish and eastern infidels; and they directed their attention wholly to this purpose, till, on going to Venice to engage a ship that could convey them to the Syrian shore, they found that the war then raging between this state and Soliman the Great, precluded all passage to the Holy Land.⁵⁶ Disappointed in this purpose, their patriarch went to Rome, with his two companions of the greatest capacity, to devote themselves more especially to the cause and objects of the papacy, and to the propagation of the Catholic faith.⁵⁷ The exertions which they had been hindered from making against the Mahometans, they resolved to direct against the Protestants; and from that time their society,⁵⁸ which soon after obtained

Venice, they renewed their idea of the Jerusalem expedition. Lainius went to Rome, and obtained the pope's consent to their wishes; but assembling at Venice for their navigation, they could obtain no ship or passage, on account of the war. p. 39.

⁵⁶ Ignatius, Faber, and Lainius went to Rome, 'ut sese Romano pontifici cœterorum nomine Catholicæ fidei propagationem et lucra consecrarent.' Orland. 42.

⁵⁷ They assumed then the name of the Society of Jesus. Orland. 42. The name had been taken sixty years before them; for in 1477 was printed at Florence the 'Merito Sancto di Dio,' which declares itself to be composed by the bishop 'Di Fuligna, della congregazione di poveri *Jesuati*.'

⁵⁸ Bobadilla was at first destined to these missions; but he falling sick, Francis Xavier, who was the first secretary of the Society, went in his stead. Orland. 50-62. And became distinguished for his exertions, his converts, and the legendary books which he made and circulated on the life of our Saviour and St. Peter. These eastern missions soon stretched into China. Ricci was the first Jesuit who entered it, and he dressed himself like the Bonzes, and shaved intirely his head and beard. The Dominican, Ildefonso, a natural son of Philip IV. in his *Theatro Jesuitico*, attacked their unchristian conformities and management in Japan and China. He states on the authority of a Franciscan, who was there in 1633, that their converts had nothing of Christianity but the baptism. *Morale des Jesuites*, p. 5. A Jesuit, Gaspar Ferreya, told him, that for thirty years he had never forced the Chinese Christians to hear

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its allowance and establishment from the pope Paul III., divided itself into two great paths:—one, the conversion of the Pagans in the East Indian hemisphere;³⁰ and the other, which has made them so formidable in modern history, and which so particularly endangered Elizabeth, the conversion or suppression of all reformers and reformation, and of every sovereign and power that upheld them, or that should adopt their principles.

The obedience of the members of the society was,

mass; and that he knew no Jesuit who did, not even at Christmas and Easter; that he did not oblige them to abstain from meat, not even on Good Friday; nor to confess once a year; but that he left them at liberty in all these things, as works of supererogation. p. 7. He also declares, that the Jesuits permitted them to continue their sacrifices to the idol Chin-hoam, and to Kunfuzu [Confucius,] in which they offered a swine, a goat, wax candles, wine, flowers, and perfumes. p. 15, 16. Le Pere F. Dias, a Dominican, mentions, that 'When the Jesuits first entered China, they would not allow these sacrifices; but seeing that nobody would then be baptized, they altered their plan, and permitted them.' ib. 31. They invented this device to satisfy their consciences in this allowance of idolatry: they hid a cross among the flowers of these idolatrous altars, and then taught, that if their converts addressed their attention to that, they might perform their ancient rites.' ib. 38.

Ricci introduced another Jesuit, Jules Aloni, to the emperor, to teach him mathematics, and the art military, in which he was well instructed; and thro this person's acceptability, the order established themselves gradually in the 'celestial empire.' p. 4. But jesuitism is not destined to be everlasting. While this page is printing, (October 1828,) I read that the final dismissal of their remaining fragments from China has now taken place. The *Chinese Chronicle*, just arrived in this country, states, that the emperor, 'who assumed the title of Taou Kwang, Reason's Light or Glory, has broken up the European establishment of imperial astronomers, by sending away the last remnants of French and Portuguese talent at Pekin. Some years ago, Padre L'Amiot was permitted to leave the empire. A short time previous to this, four Italian missionaries were dismissed. And recently the two last remnants of Schaal and Ricci's splendid hopes have been allowed or ordered to go home.' Record, 31 Oct. and the Daily Papers.

³⁰ The language of their constitution is, 'Ut omnes perfectæ obediendiæ sedant; superiorem, loco Christi agnoscentes et interna reverentia et amore eum persequentes not only in the external execution of what he enjoins, prompte fortiter, and without excuses and murmurs, however difficult or repugnant, but in the interior resignation of the mind, and true abrogation of their own will.' Regulæ Soc. Jesu, p. 11.

to their general, implicit and unhesitating;⁶⁰ and his obedience was made as submissive and absolute to the reigning pope.⁶¹ The more political direction and organization seem to have been given by those, who were its generals after the death of Laines, and peculiarly by Aquaviva, who governed it during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth.⁶² Under him, it became a machine of the most dangerous activity and power. Its ambition aspired to the subjection of the world.⁶³ It was one of their first principles, that their pupils should be as eager to suffer, as to dare and triumph.⁶⁴ Hence they became as

⁶⁰ The letter of Ignatius, on this obedience, is appended to their rules, dated Rome, 7 Kal. April 1553, in which he lays down, that the obedience of each is to be to the 'proximos superiores' up to the general; and the general's 'erga illum quem Deus ipsi præfecit;' that is, his Vicarius on earth, ib. 229, or, The Pope.

⁶¹ After Laines, the next general or absolute commander of the society, was Fr. de Borgia, a descendant of the duke of Ghent, who governed it until the end of September 1572. Imago Soc. p. 596. Mercurian followed; and in 1581 Claude Aquaviva, one of the younger sons of the duke of Atri, was appointed its general. He was so great a favorite with Pius V. as to be made his chamberlain. He entered the society of the Jesuits at twenty-five, on 22d July 1567, and governed it for thirty-four years, until his death in 1616, at the age of 72. Moreri.

⁶² One of the numerous emblems by which it chose to express its principles in its Imago was, an application to itself of the *Διὰ τῶν ῥα* of Archimedes. It is a cherub moving the whole globe by a complication of wheels and screws, which he turns by a handle, with the underwritten motto: 'Fac pedem figat: et terram movebit.' p. 321. A motto, a machinery, and a purpose, which, as long as the association subsists, ought in no age to be forgotten.

⁶³ Their education and their emblems strenuously inculcated a fervency to endure all things, and to exult in martyrdom. It was a lucky chance that, in the names of their founder, and his most distinguished friend and disciple, they found an anagram which taught this sentiment. Ignatius and Xaverius make, by a transposition of the letters, 'Gavisi sunt vexari;' 'They rejoice to be tormented.' Im. p. 568. Reading one *u* as a *v*, which was an old form of printing this letter, the anagram is complete; and the characters and lives of these two primitive members fully illustrated the idea it expressed. One of their emblems on this point was an ox standing between an altar and a plough, with the sentence, 'In utrumque paratus—agere et pati.' p. 452.

⁶⁴ The Imago particularizes these for the year 1626; Italy, four pro-

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formidable as the disciples of the old man of the Syrian mountains, who seems to have been in the recollection of some of the successors of their founder. Within eighty-six years after their foundation, they had rooted themselves in every quarter of the globe, which, as if its imperial masters, they divided into Jesuit provinces: and that society which received the papal bull for its foundation, on condition that it should not exceed sixty members,⁶⁵ could then enumerate nearly sixteen thousand as the amount of its admitted members;⁶⁶ affiliated to each other and to their chiefs with unalterable fidelity and secrecy; sworn to obey him with unrepenting and never criticising devotion; and moving to every place and action with an unhesitating speed, which they themselves compared to the rapid and irresistible lightning.⁶⁷ To spread Christianity among the

vinces; Sicily, two; Sardinia, one; Spain, France and Germany, each five; Belgium and Poland, each two; and England, one; with colleges, seminaries and residences for Ireland and Scotland. They had five stations in Turkey, and two Greek colonies. In the East Indies, their establishments were at Goa and Malabar: and also in the Philippines, in China, and in Japan. In America, from Canada to Chili, they had seven provinces, colonies and stations. *Imago*, p. 238-47.

⁶⁵ The bull of Paul III. dated 6 Kal. October 1540, expressly says, 'Volumus autem quod in societate hujusmodi *usque ad numerum sexaginta personarum et NON ULTRA* admitti.' *Mercurie Jesuite*, p. 259. But I observe that Ignatius, in his letter to cardinal Pole from Rome, 24 Jan. 1555, says, 'In the house of our profession, and in the Roman and German college, all things are going on better and better; for besides *sixty* persons inhabiting the domum professam, above *seventy* are in the college, and all sciences are taught, except those of law and medicine, with much fruit to ourselves and the external hearers, who exceed five hundred.' *Ep. Poli.* v. 5, p. 118; so that he soon enlarged the number of the society in some shape or other.

⁶⁶ The numbers they state in each, make 15,493 persons in 1626. In the fourteen years which elapsed between that census and the publication of their work in 1640, they declare augmentations to have been made of more colleges and residences in every part. p. 247. They had by that time added ten residentia in Ireland, and call it a vice-provincia. *ib.*

⁶⁷ The picture is lightning darting, with the words 'Societas et

heathen, was the operation of the moveable wings of their enlarging body ; but to combat the reformers and their Reformation in Europe, in every shape and by every means, and at every hazard, was the peculiar battle for which their members zealously prepared themselves, and to which their leaders urged and missioned the self-devoting bands.⁶⁸

At that period, one of the most unfortunate tendencies of the human mind in the highest ranks, was a recklessness of human slaughter, and the use and patronage of assassination.

This propensity became more dreadful in its practice, when the consecrated orders of life both urged and taught it. We find the cardinal Granville, Philip's minister of state, secretly promoting the murder of the prince of Orange;⁶⁹ and the same

Missiones expedita. Imago, 324. Another engraved emblem ingeniously implies some of their effecting means. It is a mirror, with the motto '*Omnibus, omnia.*' *ib.* p. 452. Their engraved image of their prompt obedience to the pope is, a shepherd inciting and sending out his dog, with '*Emicat ad initium pastores,*' p. 322. Another of this sort, for the comparisons which it implies, approaches impiety: It is the Deity giving commands to his angels. p. 325.

⁶⁸ The Imago avows this, '*Luthero cum suis opponitur Ignatius et societas,*' p. 552 ; and cites the words of the bull of Gregory XIII. in their support, '*Fines societatis, fidei propagatio et defensio,*' *ib.* ; but they pursued the warfare so implacably as to contrast themselves with Luther and the Protestants, with this manifest and coarse untruth, '*That infamous apostate, from corners and the lowest dregs of the people, brought forward into the field not only men illiterate, but notorious for their impiety and infamous life, and for the corruption of their morals—the foulest harpies of the sacred pages.* On the other hand, our society of Jesuits opposes to this a noble legion, ready and quick in hand and tongue.' Imago, 562. Now certainly the patrons of the Reformation comprized some of the noblest, greatest, most learned, and most intelligent persons and minds of Europe, at the time when this sentence was written.

⁶⁹ In his intercepted letter from Madrid, of 6 July 1580, to the provost Morillez, he censures the agent who had mentioned 'the band imperial contre l'Orangie.' 'He can no more keep a secret than a woman. It is not a band imperial, but the kings: 25 or 30,000 crowns will be paid to him, qui le donnera vif ou mort ; c'est contre lui seul

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direful principle was patronised by Jesuits of high name, and was avowedly meditated by some to be put in action against Elizabeth. The individual who made this acknowledgement, indicated, by the phrases of his allusions, the extent of the combination, as well as the personal nature of its object.⁷⁰ The destroying consequences to the Protestant cause every where, if the queen of England could be removed, were stated by this Jesuit in his confidential disclosure;⁷¹ evincing her to have been indeed the rock of safety, at that time, to the Reformation, in all its European establishments.⁷²

que l'on s'adresse; a reçu argent pour faire depescher l'Orangier et est encores après.' p. 8 and 10.

⁷⁰ Sir Francis Walsingham furnishes us with an instance of this, in his dispatch of 2 March 1572: 'Of late I caused one, under the color of a Catholic, to repair unto one Darbshire, AN ENGLISH JESUIT, in Paris, for that I understood there is a concurrency of intelligence between him and those of Lorraine, as also with those of the Scottish queen's faction. The party I sent did seem to bewail the evil success that the late practices took in Scotland, especially for that Mather's enterprise was also discovered. To this the JESUIT answered, that the evil handling of matters was the cause that they took no better effect; 'notwithstanding,' said he, 'be of good comfort, and assure yourself THERE ARE MORE MATHERS IN ENGLAND THAN ONE, who will not admit [omit.] when time shall conveniently serve, to adventure their lives in seeking to acquit us of that lewd woman,' meaning her majesty. 'For,' saith he, 'if she were gone, then would the hedge lie open, whereby the good queen that now is prisoner, in whom resteth the PRESENT right of this crown, should easily enjoy the same; for beside that all the Catholics within the realm of England are at her devotion, there are divers heretics that are well affected towards her. I tell you truly, she lacketh no friends in the English court. As for her liberty, there are some good men that will venture a joint to bring it to pass.' Lett. in Cab. p. 173.

⁷¹ He added, 'For if she were once possessed of the crown of England, it will be the only way and mean to reform ALL CHRISTENDOM, in reducing them to the Catholic faith. Therefore you must think that there are more heads occupied in this matter than English heads. There are more ways to the wood than one. Therefore be of good courage, and ere ever one year be at an end you shall know more.' Cabala, ib. p. 172, 3. Mather's plot, see before, in this History, p. 265.

⁷² Walsingham justly said at the close of his letter, 'Her majesty may see how much they build upon the possibility of that dangerous woman, whose life is a step unto her majesty's death; for that they

But the principles and conduct of the Jesuit fraternity, under its government by Aquaviva, were more publicly manifested in France in a later part of Elizabeth's reign.

On 27th December 1595, Henry IV. was stabbed in his mouth by a young scholar of the Jesuit college at Clermont, who had aimed at his throat; but the king, happening to lean forward at the moment, received the blow on his upper lip.⁷³ This person's examination disclosed his education under the

repute her for an undoubted successor, or rather, which is more danger, for a right inheritor.' Lett. ib. p. 173.

It is a curious fact, and it indicates what a real anomaly of dissenting and discordant parties the name and external frame of the Roman Catholic church embraces in its apparent, tho but nominal and political unity, that the THREE FIRST GENERALS of the JESUITS were attacked by the Spanish inquisition. IGNATIUS, the sainted founder, was arrested, in 1527, at Salamanca, as a fanatic, and an illuminati, and for 22 days was kept in confinement. He was also three times denounced as a heretic. Llorente's Hist. Inq. 371, 2.

LAINEZ, the second general, was denounced to the inquisition as suspected of Lutheranism, and of the heresy of the illuminati, ib. 365; but, being at Rome, he succeeded in evading the jurisdiction of the Spanish tribunal. ib. 366.

ST. FRANCIS DE BORGIA, the third general, who succeeded Lainez in 1565, and died 1572, was accused as favoring the heresy of the illuminati, and only escaped the prisons of the inquisition by hastening to Rome, as soon as he heard that his person was to be secured. His treatise on Christian Works was twice placed in the inquisitorial index, as a denounced book, in 1550 and in 1583. Llor. Hist. p. 373.

Several other Catholic saints and their works are also mentioned by Llorente, as denounced by the inquisition. So that either they or the tribunal were heretical, and yet both pass for sound Catholics—evidently shewing that sects and dissenters, in some respects or other, abound as much in the Romish as in the Protestant churches; but by not throwing off the name, a public semblance of unity is preserved, amid real discrepancy and continual battle; as the Jesuits also proved in their attack on the Jansenists.

⁷³ The king stooped at the moment to embrace a gentleman kneeling to him, whom he was much attached to. Chatel had aimed his knife at the throat, because he thought the dress on other parts might not have been penetrated. He said he did it because it would be useful 'a la religion Catholique apostolique et Romaine.' He was 19 years of age. Recit. du Procéd. Mercure Jes. p. 473-5.

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Jesuits,⁷⁴ and that he had learnt from his preceptors that it would be a laudable act to kill a heretic king whom the pope had not approved of.⁷⁵ A sufficient force was dispatched to the college; and among the papers found there, some writings of the Jesuit priest Guignard were secured,⁷⁶ in which treasonable doctrines of the same sort had been deliberately penned by this individual,⁷⁷ who acknowledged them to be his MSS.⁷⁸ Both he and Chatel were tried and executed.⁷⁹ Gueret, another

⁷⁴ He had been three years with the Jesuits; and the last time under the Jesuit father Gueret. *ib.* 476. He thought the deed would lessen his pains when in a state of damnation, which he expected to be his lot. Being asked if he had been put by the Jesuits in their chamber of meditations, which was furnished with pictures of many devils of different but terrifying figures, and to which the fathers were accustomed to send the greatest sinners, under pretence of bringing them to a better life, but really to shake their spirits, and to urge them by such admonitions a faire quelque grand cas; he answered, that 'he had often been in this chamber of meditations.' p. 479.

⁷⁵ 'He said he had heard then, that it was praiseworthy to kill the king: that he was out of the church: that he was not to be obeyed, nor to be deemed king, until he had been approved of by the pope.' *ib.* p. 479.

⁷⁶ *Mercure Jesuite*, p. 480.

⁷⁷ His regret that Henry IV. had not been killed at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was thus expressed: 'If they had opened la veine basilique, the royal vein, we should not have had the fever en chaud mal that we have since experienced.' p. 480. The assassination of Henry III. was called 'an heroic action, done by J. Clement, as a gift of the Holy Spirit. It has been justly praised by Bourgoing, the prior of the jacobins.' p. 481. 'A cruel Nero has been killed by a Clement, a pretended monk, dispatched by the hand of a true monk.' p. 480. 'The finest anagram made on the dead tyrant, was the 'Vilain Herodes.' *ib.* Henry le Valois is convertible into these words: 'If we cannot depose without war, let us have war: if we cannot make war, qu'on le fasse mourir,' 'that the crown of France may and ought to be transferred from the Bourbon family to another. That the Bearnois [Henry IV.] tho converted to the Catholic faith, would be treated more mildly than he deserved, if a monk's crown were given to him in some convent, where he might do penance.' *ib.* In the same MSS. Elizabeth was styled 'une louve d'Angleterre;' the she wolf of England.

⁷⁸ 'Guignard interrogé sur iceux a lui représenter a recogneu les avoir composez et ecrits de sa main.' *ib.* 482.

⁷⁹ Jean Chatel, on 29 Dec. 1595, and Guignard, 7 January following. The 'arrêts' for their execution, stating their offences and condemnations, are in *Mercure Jes.* 482-5.

Jesuit, who had been the immediate instructor of the boy, was banished;⁶⁰ and all the priests and scholars at Clermont, and all others of the society, were ordered to quit the kingdom in three days.⁶¹

Henry IV. was, unfortunately for himself, afterwards prevailed upon to admit the Jesuits to re-establish themselves in France;⁶² and was at last, a few years afterwards, himself assassinated by Ravillac, who had imbibed the principles of Jean Chatel; as his predecessor Henry III. had perished from the dagger of Jacques Clement in 1589.

This doctrine of the laudability and right of assassinating sovereigns, was taught by others at that time, of the Jesuit fraternity;⁶³ and among

⁶⁰ Arrêt, 7 Jan. ib. 487.

⁶¹ The king's arrêt 'ordonne que les pretres et ecoliers du college de Clermont et tous autres soi disans de la dite société, comme *corrupteurs de la jeunesse, perturbateurs du repos public*; ennemis du roi et de l'état, vuideront dedans trois jours.' Merc. p. 484. It also forbid any subject from sending scholars to the colleges of the Jesuits that were in any other country. ib. An apology for Chatel, by F. de Verona Constantin, soon appeared, hailing Guignard as a martyr, and praising him for not acknowledging as king 'celui que l'église a condamné.' Apol. c. 10. p. 238. The author hopes that another attempt will succeed better. p. 249. The Jesuit Bonarscius exalts him to the skies: 'Shall I be silent on thee, O star, so splendid both in heaven and on earth! Thou last unblameable expiation of a house that will have to grieve no more. No day will obliterate the traces of thy blood: all France will concur in my wishes.' Amphitheat. c. 8. The Jesuits printed in Flanders, at Douay and elsewhere, an 'advertissement au Catholiques,' on this arrêt, which was replied to. Cayet has printed the substance of both in his Chronol. Novenaire, p. 438.

⁶² His letters patent, re-establishing them in fourteen towns in France, on certain conditions, dated Rouen, Sept. 1603, are in the *Mercure Jesuite*, p. 538, with the remonstrances of the parliament of Paris against the recall. p. 542. He gave them farther privileges in 1606. ib. p. 553. But these unwise kindnesses of a mistaken expediency did not save him.

⁶³ The doctor of the Sorbonne, after the death of Henry IV. stated to the parliament of Paris, 'that the works of the Jesuits, Mariana, Bonarscius, or Scribanus, and Emmanuel Sa, were circulated among the public, full of the doctrine, that those whom they called tyrants might be killed. He principally complained of the book of Mariana,

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these by the celebrated Mariana, whose book was declared to be such as those learned and grave Jesuits had approved, by whose judgment, the dignified Jesuit whom the general of the society had specially appointed to superintend the publication of its writings, determined his own opinion and sanction.⁸⁴ The following is a synopsis of this part of the book.

MARIANA ON REGICIDE.

This able Jesuit begins his Work with a description of the beauties and antiquities of TALAVERA, because he was born there; and of the conversations which led him to compose his book. He then begins his subject with these topics: Man is a sociable animal, ch. 1. It is better for a state to have one head than many, ch. 2. Should the government be hereditary? ch. 3. On the rules of succession, ch. 4. On the difference between a king and a tyrant, ch. 5. These lead him to his sixth chapter, 'Whether it be lawful to destroy a tyrant.' p. 51.

He derives the power of kings from the people, 'Rex a

'De Regis Institutione.' De Thou, v. 15, p. 111. It was ordered to be torn and burnt by the common hangman. ib. 112.

"Mariana's book is now before me. My edition, which belonged to the late sir Samuel Romilly, is the second edition. The first was printed in 1599, at Toledo. The second is 'Typus Wecheliani. 1611.' It has the two important sanctions for its original publication, from the clergy and jesuits in Spain. One dated from Maria's convent, for the redemption of captives, at Madrid, 30 Dec. 1598; from Petrus de Onna, the magister of the province, who calls its three books 'elegantēs et graves.' 'By the royal directions, I have read these diligently and attentively; and they so pleased me, that I would have given them a second and a third perusal, if time and leisure had allowed. I think it should be printed, and in the hands of every one, especially of those who are in the government of a state.' It has also the deciding permission to print it from the head of his own order in Spain, authorized by its general. This is dated Dec. 1598. 'I, Stephen Hoieda, the visitor of the society of the Jesuits, in the province of Toledo, by special power granted from our general father Claude Aquaviva, give the liberty of printing these three books, which P. J. Mariana, of the same society, has composed, because they have been first approved by learned and grave men of our order: a viris doctis et gravibus EX NOSTRO ORDINE.

subditis accepit potestatem,' p. 42. 'A populo potestatem accepit,' p. 43. And quite forgetful of what his order, the pope-dom, and its hierarchy had done, and were doing, he marks it as a part of the tyrant's character to forbid meetings of the people, and by 'inquisitiones occultas' to take away the liberty of speaking freely and of hearing, 'which is the supreme of servitude, not even to be at liberty, amid so many evils, to bemoan them.' p. 50.

'Such is the ingenium and mores of a tyrant, hateful to God and men,' p. 51. Yet such has been the continual conduct of the papal church to the Protestants in its power. Mariana proceeds: 'How great the power is of an irritated multitude who hate their prince, is shewn by many examples, both old and recent. A *nobile monumentum* has been lately made in France; Henry III. lies slain by the hand of a monk, from a stab in his bowels with a knife—a foul, memorable spectacle, by which princes may be taught, *that impious darings do not occur with impunity*. He was preparing to leave his kingdom to Henry [Henry IV.] though infected from his tender age with bad opinions on religion, and therefore devoted to hell [diris] by the Roman pontiffs, and deprived of his right of succession.' p. 51.

He expatiates on the previous conduct of Henry III. obviously to bring him within his definition of a tyrannus, and to exhibit him as hostile to the Catholic leaguers; and then adds,

'The boldness of a single youth in a short time certainly new-created affairs that were almost desperate. Jacques Clement, studying theology in the college of his order, when he had known from the theologians whom he asked, that a tyrannus might be lawfully killed, having received letters, went to the king's camp to kill him, on 1st August 1589. He went from mass to the king, who was rising from his bed, not dressed; and holding out the letters in one hand, and having covered in the other a poisoned knife, he struck him above the bladder, *insignem animi confidentiam! facinus memorabile!*' 'Having slain the king, *ingens sibi nomen fecit*. He was only 24; of simple talent, and not robust in body, but a major vis strengthened his force and mind.' p. 55, 6.

The reader will judge, from the above expressions, whether the Jesuit applauds or condemns the deed.

He says, 'Opinions were divided upon it: many praising it, and judging it worthy of immortality; others blaming it, and

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denying that any one could, on his private authority, kill a king, though he was of depraved manners, and should degenerate into tyranny.' He gives their reasoning, p. 55, 6; but adds, with manifest pleasure and emphasis, the contrary sentiment.

'So they dispute, who defend the cause of the tyrant. But the patrons of the people have *neither fewer nor less effective defences*. Certainly, a king, when affairs exact, *may be called to account* by the respublica, *whence the royal power takes its rise*, — nor does it so transfer the rights of power unto a prince, that it does not reserve to itself the greater power; because we consider that in commanding the taxes, and making laws, the respublica has always retained it; so that, except by its will, nothing can be changed from the antient state. Besides, we learn from all memorials, that whoever slew tyrants, were always in magna laude. What carried the name of *Thrasibulus in glory to the skies*, &c. To several instances from antient history, he adds epithets of high encomium.

He then subjoins his own sentiments.

I. 'These are the strong points on either side; and, indeed, I see that philosophers and *theologians* agree in this; that a prince who seizes the ruling power by force, on no right, and with no public consent, *may be killed* by any one; may be deprived of his life and sovereignty as a public enemy.' p. 58.

II. 'If a prince holds his government by popular consent or hereditary right, his vices and lusts are to be borne, because princes are not to be easily changed, lest greater evils follow: but if he injures the state; if he plunders public or private property, and *holds the holy religion* and public laws in contempt, and places his courage in pride, in audacity, and in impiety against the powers above, *the matter is not* to be dissembled. We must attentively think how that prince can be made to abdicate, lest evil should be added to evil. Crime should be punished by crime. The most speedy and safe way will be, if there be a power of a public assembly, to deliberate what should be done by common consent.'

III. 'These steps should be observed. He should be admonished, and recalled ad sanitatem; and if he will correct the sins of his former life, no acerbiora remedia should be tried; but if he refuse the medicine, and no hope of healthy conduct remain, it will be lawful, on sentence pronounced, to end his government of the state; and as war will necessarily be excited, to explain

also the councils of defence ; to get arms ready ; to order from the people money for the war ; and if the *respublica* cannot be otherwise defended, to kill by a weapon the prince, declared a public enemy [*principem publicum hostem declaratum ferro perimere.*] p. 60.

IV. ‘ This same liberty may be taken by any private person, who, casting aside the hope of impunity, and neglecting his own safety, will undertake the task of benefiting the state.’ p. 60.

V. ‘ If there be no *facultas* of a public convention, which may often happen, my opinion is, that the judgment will be similar when the state is oppressed by the tyranny of the prince. Tho the right of meeting be taken away from the citizens, the will has not ceased of destroying the tyranny ; of punishing the manifest and intolerable wickedness of the prince ; of repressing his fatal attempts ; I shall by no means think that he has done wrong [*inique eum fecisse,*] who, favoring the public wishes, shall attempt to kill him.’ p. 60.

VI. ‘ Thus it is a question in controversy, Who may deservedly be held a tyrant ? but the right is clear, that it is lawful to destroy a tyrant.’

VII. ‘ There is no danger that many should, by this example, rage against a prince’s life ; nor do we place it in the judgment of every private person, nor of several, unless the public voice of the people occurs, or grave and learned men coincide in the advice.’ p. 60.

VIII. ‘ It would be splendidly done in human affairs if many men could be found with a brave heart, despising life and safety for the liberty of their country : but avarice, always adverse to great attempts, withholds many. p. 60. It would be a great benefit if princes were to be persuaded that if they oppressed the state, they might be killed with praise and glory. The fear would restrain them. The principle is, that the prince should be persuaded, that the authority of the whole republic is greater than that of him alone.’ p. 61.

He admits that the council of Constance censured the doctrine, that a tyrant might be slain by any subject, by treachery and fraud, as well as by open force ; but he adds, ‘ I do not find that Eugenius and his successors, on whose consent the sanctity of ecclesiastical councils rests, approved of this censure.’ p. 62.

He then discusses, if a tyrannus may be killed by poison, p. 63. He says, ‘ It is more brave to rush openly upon him, but not less

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prudent [non minoris prudentiæ] to take an opportunity of fraud and ambush, because this will take place without commotion, and with certainly less public and private danger.' A prince, as he was teaching in Sicily, asked him whether it was allowable to take off a public enemy by poison and deadly herbs: '*We know it has often been done; and indeed what is the difference, whether you kill by poison or weapon, especially with the right granted of using deceit and fraud.*' 'But it is difficult to apply poison to a prince, as he is surrounded with his household, and whose food is first tasted. Yet if opportunity should offer, who will be so refined as to contend that there is any difference in the modes of the death? I do not deny that there is great force in these arguments.' p. 66. 'But the fault of the sufferer remains unknown when he is poisoned by food.' *ib.* Mariana therefore decides '*me auctore, poison should not be given to an enemy in meat or drink.*' p. 67. But his saddle or his clothes may be poisoned; and he quotes instances of deaths from this cause. p. 67.⁸⁵

The assassination of Henry IV. and the outcry of society against such atrocities, did not prevent another Jesuit, with the approbation of his supreme chiefs, from enforcing the same principles in a

⁸⁵ This work had been shewn to Henry IV. in 1602, about eight years before he was killed. He sent for the Jesuit Coton, and asked him if he approved of such doctrines, who answered in the negative. He was desired by the king to write against them, but excused himself at that time from doing so. Seeing afterwards the public emotion, when Henry IV. was murdered, Coton printed a '*Lettre, declaratoire de la Doctrine des Jesuits.*' In this he cited several of his order who had expressed contrary sentiments; and mentions, that in a provincial congregation of the Jesuits in France, in 1606, the general Aquaviva had required that those who had written any thing to the prejudice of the crown of France should be repressed. *Lett. Decl.* p. 8, 9. The Anti-Coton, printed the same year, answered Coton, and mentions his being questioned by Henry IV.; and remarks, that altho in his letter he condemned Mariana, yet it was in terms '*si doux et si douteuses,*' styling it only '*une légèreté d'une plume efforée;*' that it was obvious he was afraid of offending some higher power by too strong a censure.' See Bayle's quotations from the Coton and Anti-Coton, in his *Dict. voce Mariana.*

solemn work on religious doctrines and duties.⁸⁶ In this he teaches, that the pope has the power of directing and correcting princes;⁸⁷ that he may punish heretical princes by temporal punishments; may therefore excommunicate them; deprive them of their kingdoms, and release their subjects from their obedience;⁸⁸ and that he may depose emperors and kings.⁸⁹ That he can do this, because he has the superior, the supreme and absolute power;⁹⁰ that he may depose them for heresy, or schism; for any other crime, and even for insufficiency;⁹¹ and after admonition, may punish them by death.⁹²

The parliament of Paris declared this book to be a scandalous work,⁹³ and summoned the Jesuits before them; when they chose to disavow the sen-

⁸⁶ This was Sanctarellus, in his 'Tractatus de Hæresi, Schismate, Apostasia, sollicitatione in sacramento penitentiae et de potestate Summi Pontificis, in his delictis puniendis.' Printed at Rome 1626, and approved by Vitalesius, the general of the Jesuits, by the vice-heraut of the pope, and by the maistre chantre sacré of his palace. Merc. Jes. p. 836.

⁸⁷ 'Papa habet in principes potestatem directivam; ergo et correctivam.' Merc. Jes. p. 836.

⁸⁸ 'Hinc infero, quod S. Pontifex potest hæreticos principes punire etiam pœnis temporalibus quapropter non solum eos excommunicare; sed et regno privare; eorumque subditos ab eorum obedientia liberare.' ib.

⁸⁹ 'Papa potest deponere imperatorem et reges pro delictis,' ib.; and this without a council, and because 'Papæ et Christi unum tribunal.' ib. An identification of those two very dissimilar characters, which, however natural to a Roman Catholic's ear, sounds very repulsively to every other Christian.

⁹⁰ 'Et quod, summam supremam et absolutam potestatem habeat papa,' ib.

⁹¹ 'Papa potest deponere reges non solum propter hæresin, aut schisma, aut aliud crimen tolerabile in populo; sed etiam propter insufficientiam.' ib. p. 837.

⁹² 'Potest papa reges monere; et morte punire.' ib.

⁹³ Their first arrêt is dated 13th March 1626. See it in the *Mer-cure*, p. 840.

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timents, as to themselves,⁸⁴ but admitted that their general and the pope approved of them.⁸⁵

The Jesuits may have since disavowed such doctrines, or at least apparently so; but the question was not, in the days of Elizabeth, What their order would approve of or resolve upon, or choose to sign, one or two centuries afterwards; but, what they sanctioned, taught, or were recommending then?⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Le 14 May 1626, les Jesuites ont été mandez à la grand chambre. Messieurs leur ont demandé; 'Do you approve of this wicked book?' Cotton, the provincial of these provinces of Paris, accompanied by three others, answered, 'If it be necessary, we are ready to write against it, et d'improver all that he has said.' ib. 841.

⁸⁵ The parliament said, 'Do you not know that this iniquitous doctrine has been approved by your general at Rome?' Answer: 'Yes; but we who are here, ne prouvons mais de cette imprudence; and we blame it with all our force.' Le Parl. 'Tell us if you believe the pope can excommunicate the king; release his subjects from their oath of allegiance, et mettre son royaume en proye.' Les Jes. 'O gentlemen! as to excommunicating the king, he who is the eldest son of the church, will take care never to do any thing which will force the pope to this.' Le Parl. 'But your general, who has approved of this book, holds for infallible what it contains. Are you of a different belief?' Les Jes. 'He who is at Rome cannot do otherwise than approve of what *the court of Rome approves*.' Le Parl. 'And your belief?' Les Jes. 'Is quite contrary.' Le Parl. 'If you were at Rome what would you do?' Les Jes. 'We should do as those who are there do.' Merc. p. 842-4. When pressed further on this point, they desired time to consult together. The court granted them three days; and then on 16th March 1626, they signed a declaration, 'that they disavowed and detested the doctrine.' See it in Merc. Jes. 845. The parliament, the next day, ordered all the Jesuit colleges in France to subscribe a similar disavowal, as prepared by the Sorbonne, on pain of being proceeded against as traitors and disturbers of the public peace. See their second arrêt, p. 846-7; and the Sorbonne's censura, p. 847-850; and that of the university at Paris, 854-7.

⁸⁶ I insert this remark, because, in 1761, 'The model of a declaration was sent to the five provincials of the Jesuits in France, by the chancellor Lamoignon; and a copy of it was desired to be returned to him, signed by the priests and young jesuits of all the colleges and houses in that kingdom,' and they all signed it, by which they stated: 'First, that they hold and profess that in no place, under no pretence of tyranny, or vexation from persecution; on no account of religion; under no other possible pretence, is it lawful, or can it be made law-

The great danger to all existing princes who had any differences with Rome, or who were not of the Catholic church, was not so much in these temporary publications recommending murder and treason, as in the rooted opinion of the papal hierarchy:—That as no part of the priesthood was subordinate or subject to any temporal prince or power, they never could be guilty of treason to any king; because they never were his legal subjects, never answerable to his legal tribunals, and never punishable by any secular law or power.⁹⁷

ful for any person, whatever be his state or condition, to make any attempt, directly or indirectly, on the persons of sovereigns; or to speak, write, insinuate, favor, or do any other thing which can tend to endanger their safety; that they condemn and detest, as pernicious and as DESERVING THE EXECRATION OF ALL AGES, any doctrine to the contrary, which may be found in *any works* that may have been composed, either by any member of this society, OR BY ANY OTHER PERSON, *whosoever he may be.* Butler's Hist. Mem. of the Jesuits, p. lxxvii. This document, if it be as sincere as it is emphatic, proves that the Jesuits of 1761 are not like those of 1570 or 1588. It also affords us the authority of the Jesuits themselves, that our remarks on the conduct and principles of such men as cardinals Pole and Allen, pope Pius V. and Dr. Sanders, and their congenial characters, have not exceeded the sober and moderate truth; because no words of ours amount to more than the phrase applied by this document to such persons and their writings, 'DESERVING THE EXECRATION OF ALL AGES.' We do not wish to add to this reprobation. But have they then expunged the collect and saint-day of Pius V. from their devotional calendar?

⁹⁷ Thus the Jesuit, Emmanuel Sa: 'The revolt of a clericus against the king is not a crime of treason, because the clericus is not the subject of a king.' Aphor. des Confess. Ed. 1600, Voc. Clericus. It was in 1604 that the parliament of Paris, by their president, Du Harley, stated to the king, 'As the name and vow of the society of the Jesuits is universal, so the propositions in their doctrine are uniform. They acknowledge no superior but our holy father, the pope, to whom they are sworn to fidelity and obedience in all things. They hold it for a maxim indubitable, that he has power to excommunicate kings, and that an excommunicated king is but a tyrant; that his people may rise into insurrection against him; that with all who live in their kingdom, he who has *any order*, however small, in the church, whatever crime he may commit, cannot be judged guilty of treason, because they are not the king's subjects, nor triable as such. All ecclesiastics are exempt from the secular power, and may with impunity lay their

This doctrine applied even to Roman Catholic sovereigns, but still more so to all Protestant princes. These were all considered as continually reigning without right, and no sovereigns at all, because they were heretics or schismatics, and not approved of by the pope; and if excommunicated, they might be killed by any one as usurpers and tyrants.⁹⁸

These principles destroyed all allegiance in the subjects who held them, and all safety to their ruling sovereigns.⁹⁹ Nor can we separate the books which teach them, from the full approbation of the rulers of the society, for it was one of their peremptory and most enforced regulations, that no publication should be made by any of its members without their general's permission.¹⁰⁰ But it will be just to make the important distinction, that these were the principles of the

bloody hands on sovereigns, tho anointed. This is what they write, and they impugn the opinion of those who hold contrary propositions.' *Remonstrances de la Cour de Parl. Merc. Jes. p. 543.*

⁹⁸ Andre Philopater stated this fully in 1593: 'It is not only certain, but a matter of faith, that every Christian prince who departs from the Catholic faith, and seeks to draw others from it, loses all right to his power and dignity. His subjects are absolved from all oaths of fidelity; and if they have the power, they may and ought to expel him from every Christian state, as an apostate and heretic.' *Reponse a l'Edit d'Elizabeth, sect. 2, N° 157.* Bellarmin wished to limit this to those whom the pope deposed. *Controv. l. 5. c. 7.* But Bridgewater, Emmanuel Sa, and others, give more latitude.

⁹⁹ De Thou states, that at Louviers, in 1591, the bishop of Evreux was taken, 'a famous theologian.' 'His books were secured, and among his papers was found a writing, in which he justified the assassination of Henry III. and endeavored to prove 'qu'il etoit permis de tuer le roi de Navarre.' v. 11, p. 362.

¹⁰⁰ The doctrines of several eminent Jesuits, on treason and regicide, are quoted in the *Resumé de la Doctrine des Jesuites*, printed at Paris in 1828, from their published works; and that it is among the rules of this institution, that no book shall be published without the permission of the general. 'If after any corrections the author makes any corrections, he shall be severely punished. The revisers in the provinces must send their observations to Rome, and wait for the orders of the general. Those who publish without permission, shall be punished corporally.' *Monclar's Compte Rendu.*

Catholic clergy only; and not the general tenets of the Catholic laity.

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In England, the laity, while left to themselves, were usually loyal in their conduct, considered as a body; and as to their majority, whatever may have been their private wishes and sentiments; but many individuals, often of great rank and influence, were perpetually drawn off into the treasonable persuasions; and so liable were they to be so affected, that there never was a full certainty of any lay Catholic, that he would not be induced to adopt and act upon these disturbing principles, because it could not be foreseen up to what period he would keep his mind from being governed by his disaffected priesthood.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ It was not Jesuits or the clergy only, who maintained these doctrines, for even the lawyers were drawn to their side, and wrote in their behalf. In 1588, Louis d'Orleans, an avocat, published his 'Reponse des Vrai Catholiques François à l'avertissement des Catholiques Anglois,' and in this he maintained these abominable sentiments, and directed them also against Elizabeth.

He urges that excommunication for heresy 'includes, by a necessary consequence, deposition,' p. 324. That it would be 'inutile' without it. 326. That the council of Lateran, on which the pope founded his bulls of deprivation in 1585, gave him that power, 295-7: That Philip's elder son and presumptive heir was put to death for his heresy, p. 460, an assertion which reveals to us what the papal advocates considered at the time to be the real cause of the death of Don Carlos: That heresy in the master deprives him of all power over his Catholic serf, 285; and, like adultery, is a sufficient cause for the separation and dissolution of marriage, 284: That a heretic is worse and more detestable than a Turk, Pagan, Jew, or any infidel, p. 271: That no war is so just as against them, p. 267: That the pope and prelates have the power, against all heretic kings, of absolving their subjects from their oath of allegiance, 261: That the extirpation of heresy is the duty of a king, 254; and that Elizabeth was a natural child and a bastard, as the pope had declared her mother's marriage null, p. 50. He calls her Jezebel, p. 25, and inveighs against her laws as to the Catholics, p. 25-29. He applies all he has said of the pope's bulls against Henry IV. to those which had been issued also against Elizabeth, 306; he declares it to be certain, that both England and Ireland are 'the patrimony of St. Peter,' and had paid 'cens et tribut annuel' to the holy see, till Henry VIII. in 1534 revolted from it. 'We say the pope cannot only declare your kings inhabiles de votre royaume, but can appropriate it to himself' in the case of

Up to this hour, Elizabeth is considered by most, if not by all Catholics, both laity and clergy, as a queen *de facto*, and not *de jure*; as one reigning without right, and against right; and in theory, therefore, an illegitimate usurper.

heresy, as Philip Augustus confiscated to himself all John's Norman dominions, as those of his liege vassal.' p. 306. The popes may punish 'the felony of the English as their vassals.' p. 309. 'Have not the princes of the world a most corrupted judgment, to suffer these seeds of a state poison to live?' *ib.* Such were the doctrines and writings of the papal supporters, by which the life and crown of Elizabeth were assailed in 1588.

That these doctrines were no verbal theories or merely papal declamations; but were acted upon even by the Romish laity, whenever they promoted a lay object, we repeatedly find in the documents of this period. One instance is now before my eye. In February 1585, the earl of Derby went as ambassador to Paris, from Elizabeth to Henry III., to invest him with the order of the garter, and who received him magnificently. But Thomas Morgan, the agent of the queen of Scots at Paris, resolved, if possible, to counteract this cordial and honorable reception. He reported what he had done for that purpose, to Mary, on 25 Feb.: 'To the end that the English should want some part of the honor they expect, I thought good *to intimate secretly* into the heads of the cardinals and good prelates of the church, THE SENTENCE OF EXCOMMUNICATION denounced by Pius V. against her of England, which *sithence is yet in force*; and was never revoked: and so I alleged, that the said cardinals and prelates might not assist with their presence any ceremony, which is put to favor the excommunicate: and for the maintenance hereof, *I have delivered among them a true copy of the said sentence.*' Four cardinals and many prelates met to debate on this insidious piece of malice, and 'thereupon the cardinal of Bourbon declared, that he thought *not with his presence* to assist and honor the negotiations of the queen of England.' Lett. in Murd. p. 468. Now Pius V. had been dead thirteen years. This was written only the year before Mary's trial, and evinces the light in which she and her confidential agents considered Elizabeth, and the spirit in which they were acting towards this queen. It was with this person that Babington, in the July following, concerted his plot to assassinate Elizabeth; and Morgan recommended both the plot and plotter to Mary, by his letter to the queen, of 26 July 1585, printed in Murdin, p. 453.

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FIRST ENTRANCE OF THE JESUITS INTO ENGLAND—SEVERE STATUTES AGAINST THEM AND THE SEMINARISTS, FOR THEIR TREASONABLE PRACTICES—PLOTS AGAINST ELIZABETH'S LIFE—POPISH DISTURBANCES IN IRELAND.

It was at Midsummer 1580, that Jesuits came into England for the prosecution of those objects for which their English pupils had been trained.¹ The two first 'entered privily; travelled up and down secretly over the country, and to popish gentlemen's houses in disguised habits; sometimes of soldiers, sometimes of gentlemen, sometimes as ministers, and sometimes as apparators, lustily performing what they had in charge.' Of these two, 'Parsons, who was constituted superior, a man of seditious and turbulent spirit, brake so far forth with the papists about deposing the queen, that some of them thought to have delivered him into the magistrates hands.'² The queen about the same time issued a proclamation, commanding those who had children or relations beyond the seas, to recall them; and forbidding

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¹ Campian and Parsons led the way. Campian had been missioned by the Jesuits at Rome to Bohemia for eight years; after which he was sent to England, and passing first to Rheims to confer with Allen, entered our island 24 June 1580. Ribad. p. 508, 9.

² Camden Eliz. p. 217, 18. The number of names they assumed as they shifted their appearances, we see from Garnett's indictment. This Jesuit came into England in 1586. He lived here under the several appellations of Wally, Darcy, Roberts, Farmer and Phillips. State Trials, v. 1. p. 240.

any to receive into their houses seminary priests or Jesuits, on pain of being proceeded against as the favorers and supporters of rebellious and seditious persons.³ The entrance and progress of the Seminarists and Jesuits, were managed with great address and secrecy; but the privy council obtained such information of their number and practices, as to deem it necessary to apply for the aid of parliament, to repress the growing mischief. A statute of great severity was enacted for this purpose,⁴ and was enforced on several persons afterwards, who chose, in prosecution of their own purposes, to violate its provisions and to dare its punishment. It was a melancholy truth, arising from the dire necessity of the case, that the features of the national laws became unusually stern; and their execution fatal to the lives of many; and that the government assumed a conduct of rigor, suspicion, and punishment towards its Catholic subjects. But it is clear that the

³ Camd. 217. Sanders de Schis. p. 441-3. The official document charges them with coming with special mandates from the pope, to withdraw the subjects from their legal obedience, and to instigate them to something by which the public peace would be disturbed. Sand. p. 442.

⁴ On 23 Nov. 1584, the statute was passed, which, reciting, 'That Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests made such beyond the seas, have been sent, and daily come into England, of purpose, as hath appeared, as well by sundry of their own confessions as by other proofs, to withdraw subjects from obedience, and to stir up rebellion and sedition and open hostility,' ordered all such who had been ordained since Midsummer 1559, to depart the realm within 40 days, or as soon as wind and weather served; and no others to come into England, under the penalties of high treason. It was also made felony to receive such, knowing them to be so. Englishmen brought up in any foreign seminary, were to return within six months, and take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or to be reckoned traitors. None were to send money to any Jesuit or seminary priest, nor their children, beyond seas, without a licence; and to know of such Jesuit and priest, and not to discover them, was to be subject to fine and imprisonment. Stat. 27 Eliz. c. 2.

harshness and severity were reluctantly resorted to:⁵ and no one who wilfully enters a country in direct contradiction to its established laws, and therefore in defiance of them, has a right to complain of their penal inflictions. He voluntarily incurs the evil, which he braves and suffers from; and it was the peculiar character of these laws, that they were defensive; not attacking measures. The proscription did not precede the offence, nor the penal law the disturbing mischief which compelled it into existence. The warfare was neither desired nor provoked by Elizabeth. Her inveterate enemies chose to assail her with mysterious conspiracy and undermining rebellion;⁶ and then had the ingenuity and the

⁵ When 'the popish faction published in print, that the bishop of Rome and Spaniard had conspired together to conquer England, of purpose to give courage to their party, and terrify the rest,' the queen published an admonitory edict, declaring 'that she had attempted nothing against any prince, but for the preservation of her own kingdom, nor had invaded the provinces of any other, tho often provoked and invited.' She exhorted her faithful subjects to continue immoveable in their allegiance: and 'the rest, she commanded not to provoke the severity of justice; for she would no longer offend in such sort, that by sparing the bad, she should be cruel against herself and her good subjects.' *Camd.* 218.

⁶ One of these is the Jesuit Ribadineira, who, with all the facts before him, chose in 1594 to write, that 'all the miseries which the Catholic church had suffered from Gentiles, Arians, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, Mahometans, Hussians, and Huguenots, or from any other diabolical sect of heretics and pagans, might be seen as in a mirror, in this persecution of Elizabeth.' p. 534. He then subjoins, 'The cause of their death was their confession of the Catholic faith, and not recognizing the queen's supremacy.' p. 538. But he admits that the English government published that this was not the true cause of their death; but, 'that they had devised, at Rheims and Rome, the death of the queen, and conspired against the kingdom, and were procuring other princes to invade it and to usurp the crown.' *ib.* p. 538. He is pleased to add, 'These things they sought to prove by false witnesses, hired and paid!!' *ib.* His own connections in his society and its records, and his papal friends, and their published books, must have taught him to know, that the charge of the English cabinet was not untrue; tho later writers may have repeated such assertions from honest ignorance.

sincerity to deny their own treasonable or seditious purposes; and to assert that the remedial statutes which the welfare of the nation had, in the judgment of its government, and to the conviction of the general population, made indispensable, were a cruel, uncaused, and Neronian persecution of unoffending piety, and of peaceful innocence. But such virtues would have ensured the respect of Elizabeth, under every form of worship. It was against the Criminal, the Agitator, and the Traitor, that the harsh statutes, to which she gave the regal sanction, were alone directed.

The life of Elizabeth was now repeatedly aimed at. A book was published, exhorting 'the queen's women to commit the like against her, as Judith had done, with commendations, against Holofernes.'⁷ As she passed down the river, a man 'discharged his piece upon her majesty's barge, and hurt certain persons in her presence.'⁸ Dr. Parry, who had

⁷ Camden El. p. 262. This was in 1584. As the author could not be traced, the printer suffered for it. There was an absurd scandal raised by the Spaniards, (Camd. 199,) which Ribadineira repeats, that she employed Egremont Radcliffe to kill don John of Austria. But he was Philip's agent and pensioner. He is thus noted in Murdin's State Papers: 'Egremont Radcliffe came to Madrid 2d May 1572. The king gave him in July 300 ducats, and 2d September 200 more. On 10th September he departed for Milan, where the king gave him a ducat a day. He returned thence a year after, and at his return the king gave him 300 ducats. He departed from Madrid toward France in May 1574.' Murd. 243.

⁸ I derive this fact from the old book, 'Leicester's Commonwealth,' published with the name of Robert Parsons, Jesuit. He says of the act 'by error, as was thought;' and that 'sir Christopher Hatton, in a very great assembly, made an eloquent oration, at the pardoning and delivery of him from the gallows.' p 96. We have the account of another project of assassination from Elizabeth herself, in lord Shrewsbury's letter of 18th October 1582. 'Her majesty told me, that on a time having had notice of a man who had undertaken to execute mischief to her, and the stature and some scars of his face being described to her, she happened, as she was in progress among a multitude of others, to discover this man; yet, not being astonished at the

opposed the act against the Jesuits in the house of Commons,⁹ being accused by a person with whom he had been tampering, was taken up, and confessed that a Jesuit at Venice had applauded his design;¹⁰ which was to assassinate the queen, and had recommended him to the pope's nuncio there, under whose sanction he applied to the pope.¹¹ At Paris he learnt that many English Catholic priests, with their usual rightness of feeling, pronounced his design to be utterly unlawful.¹² But as he had pledged himself to it in Italy, he would not relinquish it, if he should obtain the pope's allowance and absolution.¹³ He advised with a Jesuit at Paris, who commended him in confession,¹⁴ and he wrote the

view of him, she called my lord Leicester, and shewing the party to him, he was apprehended, and found to be the same.' Lodge Illust. 2. p. 288.

⁹ He 'was the only man that stood up to speak for them [the Jesuits], declaiming that the said law was cruel, bloody, full of desperation, and hurtful to the English nation.' Camd. 272. From 1570 to 1580 he had been one of the queen's household servants, but being then disgraced for wounding a gentleman of the Temple, he became discontented; and in September 1582, went abroad to Italy. Confess. in State Trials, 1. p. 122.

¹⁰ 'There I became acquainted with father Benedicto Palmio, a grave and learned Jesuit. I conceived a *possible mean* to relieve the afflicted state of the Catholics, if the same might be well warranted in religion and conscience by the pope or some learned divines. I asked his opinion: *he made it clear*; commended my devotion; *comforted me in it*.' Parry's Confess. in State Trials, v. 1. p. 122.

¹¹ 'And made me known to the nuncio Campeggio, resident there for his holiness. *By his means* I wrote to the pope, *presented my service*, and sued for a passport to go to Rome. Answer came from cardinal Como, that I might come, and should be welcome.' ib.

¹² 'State Trials, p. 123. The Jesuit Creighton was one of these honorable opposers of this assassination. Camd. 273. Yet even he could embark in a plan of treason. See note 21.

¹³ 'Notwithstanding all these doubts, I was gone so far by letters and conferences in Italy, that I could not go back, but promised faithfully to perform the enterprise, if his holiness, upon my offer and letters, would allow it, and grant me full remission of my sins.' ib. 123.

¹⁴ 'I wrote my letters, 1st January 1584, and *took advice upon them in confession* of father Annibal a Codreto, a learned Jesuit in Paris;

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pope accordingly.¹⁵ In March 1584, he received cardinal Como's letter from Rome, expressing the pontiff's plenary indulgence and remission of all sins,¹⁶ applauding his good resolution, and exhorting him to persevere, and perform his holy and honorable thoughts.¹⁷

was *lovingly* embraced, *commended*, confessed and communicated at the Jesuits, at one altar, with the cardinals of Vendosmi and Narbonne.' *ib.*

¹⁵ 'Whereof I prayed certificate, and enclosed the same in my letter to his holiness, to lead him the rather to absolve me, which I required by my letters, in *consideration of so great an enterprise*, undertaken without promise or reward.' *ib.* 123.

¹⁶ 'In March last, while I was at Greenwich, came letters to me from cardinal Como, dated at Rome the last of January before, whereby I found *the enterprise* commended and allowed, and myself absolved, in his holiness' name, of all my sins, and willed to go forward. That letter I shewed to some in court. *It confirmed my resolution to kill her*, and made it clear in my conscience that it was lawful and meritorious.' *ib.* 123. It appears from a manuscript of these times, recently printed from the British Museum, by Mr. Ellis, in his *Second Series*, that the queen had a most narrow escape from this man, who, having once been her servant, obtained easily an access into her palace. The writer states: 'Doctor Parry, that had vowed to kill her, *being alone with her* in the garden at Richmond, and then resolved to act that tragedy, was so daunted with the majesty of her presence, in which he saw the image of her grandfather Henry VII. (as he himself confessed,) that his heart would not suffer his hand to execute that which he had resolved.' Ellis, v. 3. p. 192.

¹⁷ The Italian letter of cardinal Como is printed in the *State Trials*, p. 125. It is worded in a cautious official generality, not specifying in the document the deed that was to be done, but referring to Parry's letter, 'le lettere de V. S. del primo,' and stating that the pope could not but praise 'non puo se non laudare la buona dispositione et resolutione che scrive de tenere verso li servitio et beneficio publico, *nel che* la santita sua l'essorta di PERSEVERARE con farne riuscire li effetti che V. S. promette.' After granting the indulgence and remission, it ends, '*Metta dunque ad effetto li suoi santi ed honorati pensieri.*' *State Trials*, p. 125. The man had made this confession before lord Hunsdon, sir Chr. Hatton, and sir F. Walsingham, on 13th February 1585, and was put on his trial twelve days afterwards, when he acknowledged the confession, and that his cause had been allowed by the pope, and 'was to have been executed in England, if it had not been prevented,' p. 126; but finding that these admissions would not save him, he altered his tone, cried out in a furious manner, 'I never meant to kill her; I will lay my blood upon queen Elizabeth and you.' p. 127. When he was asked as usual, why judgment of death should not be awarded against him, he said, 'He did see that he must die, *because he was not settled.*' *ib.*

The confession of F. Throckmorton is only an additional evidence of the secret dealings with Spain and the Guises of France, for the invasion of England, and for the exaltation of Mary, which the authorities in our preceding chapters so abundantly prove.¹⁸ But the concealed practices of those who were conspiring, led Walsingham and Leicester into a countermining mode of deception, and therefore of fraud, which no motives can justify.¹⁹ It is

I have not seen it explained what these words meant, nor could I myself understand their import, till happening to read Parsons' book against Leicester, (quoted in the preceding note 8) I perceived that it was a cant or covert phrase of the Romish partisans, and implied, 'because he was not of the Protestant party.' One of the speakers in Parsons mentions that the feeling watchword of the Catholics was, 'Whether you be settled or no? And if you answer yea, and seemed to understand the meaning thereof, then are you known to be of the faction, and so to be accounted and dealt withal for things to come.' Leicester Com. p. 99.

Such was the appetite for personal murder in those days, that the Irish soldier who in 1566 stabbed the bishop of Ossory and his servants in Ireland, 'had committed forty-five murders with his own hand.' Camd. p. 291. He soon after fell by the hand of another fellow as sanguinary. ib.

¹⁸ See it in Camden, p. 264. It involved the Pagets. He stated, that Charles Paget was sent privily into Sussex, under the counterfeit name of Mope, where the duke of Guise purposed to land; and that he had imported the matter to Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. ib. On his arrest and confession, lord Paget and Mr. Charles Arundel privately withdrew from the country. ib. 261.

¹⁹ Paget, and 'others devoted to the Romish religion, grievously bewailed among themselves, that the queen, without their deserts, was alienated from them thro the subtle practices of Leicester and Walsingham; that they were unworthily disgraced and ignominiously used: that singular kinds of fraud were invented; privy snares laid, that they might, whether they would or no, thro improvidence, be entangled in the snares of high treason; and that there was at home no hope of safety.' This was the charge of the Catholics who had been led to betray themselves, and we find that they were drawn to it by fictitious papers and insidious spies, for Camden confesses, 'Certainly, to grope men's minds, there were used some subtle devices indeed. Counterfeit letters were privily sent under the names of the queen of Scots and the fugitives, and left in papists' houses. Spies were sent abroad every where, to gather rumors and lay hold of words. Reporters of vain things were admitted, and many called into suspicion.' Camd. 262. But yet, when we read the private letters of Ch. Paget and Morgan, in Murdin, 435-532, we cannot

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a great weakness of judgment, as well as of spirit, to fight evil by its counterpart. The upright and honorable course must in all things be the most efficacious: no other permanently or substantially benefits; and as far as providence may condescend to favor any human transaction, we may be sure that it will never assist what we do that is wrong. In every measure of obliquity, its aid will be withheld; and a defeating tendency, producing new embarrassments, will accompany our erroneous and evaporating subtleties.

The papers found on the Scottish Jesuit Creighton, when he was overtaken by some Netherland pirates on his voyage of treason to his own country,²⁰ gave further lights on the forming conspiracy, and involved the queen of the Scots as a party.²¹ In these documents the pope and Spain were noticed as parties. The point of invasion was to be in Scotland, and the combined forces were to march thence into England.²² The aid of the Catholics generally was assumed, though not as promised.²³ Compulsory

doubt the reality of their secret and illegal practices, nor of those of the friends whom they notice. Morgan's recommendation to Mary's favor, in his testamentary letter, when he was arrested at Paris and afraid of the result, shews some of the English nobles and gentlemen who were thus acting for her. 444-6. ²⁰ Camd. 266.

²¹ Mr. Townshend has printed one of the originals of these papers, lately found by Mr. Lemon in the State Paper Office, in his 'Supplementary Letter to Mr. Butler,' ed. 1826. The plot is mentioned as 'set down for execution, to which the queen of Scots was privy.' The original has this note: 'The Jesuit had instructions to the pope, in the name of the Scottish queen and son, which he tore asunder at the time of his apprehension.' Towns. p. 63.

²² 'Dunbarton to be the landing place for the ships out of *Spain* and *Italy*.' 'As soon as the forces of the *pope* and the *king of Spain* were disembarked, the Scottish king in person to march into England; a bishop created by the pope was to come with him.' Creighton's paper. Towns. p. 70, 1.

²³ 'They assure themselves of the assistance of the Catholics.' *ib.*

junction was to be enforced.²⁴ The Catholic lords were expected to co-operate;²⁵ and the priesthood were every where diffused, and ruled the minds of their adherents.²⁶

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Altho this combination of designs for her personal assassination by some, and for invading her with a foreign army by others, was both irritating and disquieting, the queen persevered in that mixture of clemency and precaution, which reflects honor on her courage and moral principle. She forbade the examiners to use tortures, and the judges from putting any one to death under the late statutes.²⁷ She resolved to banish instead of punishing those Seminary priests and Jesuits who were most active or dangerous; and issued a commission for that purpose,²⁸ under which seventy of them were taken out of the country.²⁹ Her alarm could be only in-

²⁴ 'The pope's Excommunication to be published in England. All persons to be declared guilty of treason, and lose their lives if they did not join the army of the queen of Scots by a certain day.' ib. 71.

²⁵ 'The Catholic lords and gentlemen, they affirm, not by conjecture, but upon assured knowledge, will join them.' ib. 73.

²⁶ 'The priests are dispersed thro all the shires in England, and govern the Catholics.' ib. 73. This paper also stated, that 'ALL the Catholics, without exception, desire it,' [the enterprize,] and that the 'yeomen are most part Catholics,' ib. 73; 'and in Durham all were Catholics.' ib. 71. This paper is indorsed, 'An Extract of a Discourse found about Creighton.' ib. 73.—In 1583, a private gentleman, one Somervill, was incited to a project of assassinating the queen. This was imputed to a priest, who was found guilty as an accessory. Camd. 257.

²⁷ Camd. 262.

²⁸ Mr. Townshend has printed the commission, from the original in the State Paper Office, dated 15 Jan. 1585. Supple. p. 75. In May of that year, the bishop of Chester urged the necessity of a commission, because the country was full of Seminarists, and the people were disorderly. One priest, Holford, who had been in England two years, confessed that he came over to persuade the people to disobedience, and refused to leave the country, and declared his readiness to die at Tyburn. Lett. in State Paper Office. Townsh. 78.

²⁹ Camd. 262. So numerous were the individuals of this party seeking her destruction, that on 1 Dec. 1583, sir Edw. Stafford thought it expedient to notice to her those whom he found or heard of at Paris. 'There was never more of our naughty people in France than there is

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creased by the assassination of the prince of Orange about this time.³⁰ The Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, was reprimanded for supporting these conspiracies, and was ordered to leave the country;³¹ and a general association of the higher orders, and of the respectable and other classes, in England, was formed to defend her from assassination; to search out these treasonable plots, and to prosecute their authors.³² These personal dangers never in-

now, nor that speak so villainously nor so plainly against your majesty, nor that seek every hole open, where there may be some practices found against you. I take a course of a shew of mild dealing with every body, which maketh the least evil of them not afraid of me. By this means, I hope that there shall no matter be of ripeness that can come to their hands, but I shall have an inkling of it.' Hard. 1. p. 198.

³⁰ Camd. 270.

³¹ Camd. p. 263.

³² Camd. 266. It received in 1585 a legal shape by the appointment of 24 of the privy council, or lords in parliament, to inquire and punish. *ib.* 275. It is thus described in lord Burghley's letter of 27 Oct. 1584, to lord Cobham: 'Your lordship hath lately heard how, upon a consultation in council, it was recorded, that there should be a bond of union or association, made by such noblemen and others, principal gentlemen and officers, as should like thereof, *voluntarily* to bind themselves to her majesty, and every one to the other, *for defence and safety of her majesty's person* against all evil willers. Whereupon all the council have already subscribed and sealed such bond. I send your lordship a true copy thereof. There are like made by all the judges, serjeants and principal officers at Westminster. The like is made by the gentlemen and justices of the peace in sundry counties. Now, considering I am sure that many or most part of the justices of peace in Kent will not be behind others, I have thought good to impart thus much to yourself, that your lordship may make this known to such of your acquaintance in Kent as you shall think convenient; *leaving it voluntarily* to their own judgment, whether they will hereupon enter into the like union and assurance.' Lodge, v. 2. p. 300. Her successor, king James, has left us this evidence of his knowlege of her personal danger: 'Her life was divers times assaulted by privy murderers, *expressly dispatched from Rome* for that holy service.' His Works, p. 463. Wright, a priest of Douay, who was consulted by some English Catholics for his opinion, Whether it was lawful for them to defend the queen against the Spaniards? and who told them it was NOT lawful, mentions this design against her: 'It is certain, as a certain Spaniard that was present afterwards told me, that Mendoza procured by all means to intercept the queen, travelling between London and Greenwich, and in her boat, for it was then summer, to carry her to Dunkirk, a prisoner, by a band of soldiers; and in a certain night *they prepared* all things to finish this business.' Strype, v. 3. part. 2. p. 585.

timidated this intelligent queen. The constant rectitude of her intentions produced its natural reward of serene fortitude and interior comfort; and her sincere and rational piety elevated her mind to that Power, whose protecting guardianship, the wisest in all ages have resorted to as their best security; and on which the christianized spirit is invited with resigning confidence to rely.³³

³³ The public thanksgiving by the House of Commons expressed gratitude to Heaven for having 'of late revealed and made frustrate his bloody and most barbarous treason, who being her natural subject, most unnaturally violating thy divine ordinance, hath secretly sought her blood.' The general thanksgiving has an appearance of being her own composition. As she was so materially concerned in the object of it, and was fully qualified to word it herself, it is likely that she would express her supplication and gratitude in her own language, rather than use the phrases of any other pen. It is therefore subjoined as a probable specimen of her devout impressions:—

O Lord God of Hosts! most loving and merciful Father! whose power no creature is able to resist: who of Thy great goodness has promised to grant the petitions of such as ask in Thy Son's name, we most humbly beseech Thee to save and defend all princes, magistrates, kingdoms, countries and people, which have received and do profess Thy holy word and gospel: and namely, this realm of England, and Thy servant ELIZABETH, our queen, whom Thou hast wonderfully *preserved* from manifold perils and sundry dangers, and has of late revealed and frustrated the *traitorous practices and conspiracies* of divers against her. O heavenly Father! the practices of our enemies, and of the enemies of Thy word and truth, against her and us, are manifest and known to Thee. Turn them, O Lord! if it be Thy blessed will; or overthrow and confound them, for Thy name's sake: suffer them not to prevail. Take them in the crafty wiliness that they have invented; and let them fall into the pit which they have digged for others. Permit them not ungodlily to triumph over us. Discomfit them; discomfit them who trust in their own multitude: and who please themselves in their subtle devices and wicked conspiracies.

O loving Father! we have not deserved the least of these Thy mercies which we crave; for we have sinned, and grievously offended Thee; we are not worthy to be called Thy sons. We have not been so thankful to Thee as we ought, for thy unspeakable benefits poured upon us. We have abused this long time of peace and prosperity. We have not obeyed Thy word. We have had it in mouth, but not in heart; in outward appearance, but not in deed. But Thou art merciful and ready to forgive. We therefore come to Thy throne of grace, confessing and acknowledging Thee to be our only refuge in all times of peril and danger. By the mediation of Thy Son, we most heartily pray Thee to forgive us our unthankfulness, disobedience,

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It was in Ireland that these Romish machinations assumed the formidable shape of that rebellion, which they were unable to excite effectually in England. For many years, this valuable but misled island had been the theatre and focus of jesuitical and papal intrigues and insurrections.

It was in September 1570, that Stukely, mentioned in the preceding chapter, went to Spain to plan with its government for its invasion of Ireland, 'whereby heresy might be expelled, and true Catholic religion planted.'³⁴ The archbishop of Cashel, tho a pensioner there,³⁵ discouraged his object, because he did not wish to see Ireland under the power of Philip; but the king eagerly received and favored him.³⁶ He satisfied Philip that the Irish chieftains would support his invasion;³⁷ and declared the same

hypocrisy, and all other sins; to turn from us Thy displeasure; and to draw our hearts truly to Thee, that we may daily increase in all goodness, and more and more fear Thy holy name, O Lord of power! and Father of mercy, to whom, with Thy Son and Holy Spirit, be all glory and all honor for ever.'

³⁴ See before, p. 381, note 18; and sir F. Walsingham's dispatch of 19 March 1570, Cabala 59. On 14th June 1578, Dr. Th. Wilson, our ambassador at Lisbou, sent the letter to the queen, on Stukely's intended expedition, which is in the British Museum, Nero, B. 1. p. 206.

³⁵ The Irish prelate told sir Francis, that 'he had departed out of Ireland about two years past; after that, he embarked for Spain, where he hath continued ever since, having received ever after his arrival very honorable entertainment at the king's hands, who yearly gave him 2000 ducats pension.' Cab. 58.

³⁶ 'The king, after conference had with him, appointed him a very fair house, and gave him 6000 ducats, and a daily allowance for the maintenance of the table, which he taketh to be great, for he spendeth at the least thirty ducats a day.' Wals. Lett. ib. There is a long list of Englishmen whom the king of Spain was supporting, and of their pensions, in Murdin, p. 242-4. T. Stukely received 27,576 ducats, and also a pension of 600 ducats, and W. Stukely 400. ib. 243.

³⁷ When Philip mentioned to the archbishop, that Stukely had 'assured him that he had dealt so, before his coming, with the Irish nobility, as he should find them ready to receive such forces as he should send,' the prelate 'wished the king not to be so light of belief,'

of a part of Elizabeth's army, with whom he had been successfully tampering.³⁸ The invasion was to be made at the end of that Spring.³⁹ CHAP.
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This rebellious state of Ireland had been produced by the preceding and persevering exertions of the Romish clergy. In 1549, the bishop of Valence had sailed from Scotland to Ireland, to concert with the Irish chiefs the transfer of its sovereignty to the French government.⁴⁰ He conferred 'with O'Neil and his assisters;' with the patriarch of Ireland, who, tho 'blind of both his eyes, had been divers times at Rome by post;' and with the bishop of Roy, who 'had been also at Rome;'⁴¹ and after remaining three weeks with the latter, returned to Scotland,

as Stukely, tho a gentleman born, 'had been a pirate on the sea; of life dissolute; in expences prodigal, and of no substance;' but the king replied, that he 'was recommended to him by his ambassador, who willed him to credit whatsoever he reported.' Wals. Lett. ib. 69.

³⁸ The duke of Feria told the archbishop, that Stukely 'hath won a great number of the queen's garrison to be at his devotion, as well soldiers as captains. We honor him here with the name of the duke of Ireland.' Lett. ib. 60.

³⁹ Ib. 61. Of the Irish prelate who was now suing for the queen's leave for his return, Walsingham remarks, 'Two Irishmen, sent from him out of Spain, were the cause of Roche's enterprize, and that he was sent for out of Spain by the cardinal of Lorrain.' ib.

⁴⁰ Sir James Melville, then a lad, accompanied the episcopal ambassador, who 'past first into Ireland to know more particularly the likelihood of the offers made by O'Neil, O'Donnel, O'Doggerty, and Caloch; willing to cast off the yoke of England, and become subject to the king of France, providing that he would procure the pope's gift of Ireland, and then send to their help 200 hacbutters, 200 light horse, and four cannons.' Mem. p. 9. The manner in which two English friars, who had fled out of England, supplied the bishop, on his landing in Ireland, with the means of his sensual indulgencies, is another evidence of the corrupt habits of the antient Catholic clergy. ib. p. 10, 11. But he was punished, by his Irish companion 'licking clean out a phial of the only most precious balm that grew in Egypt, which Solymán, the great Turk, had given in a present to the said bishop, after he had been two years ambassador for the king of France in Turkey, and was esteemed worth two thousand crowns. She believed it had been ordained to eat, because it had an odoriferant smell.' Melv. Mem. p. 10, 11.

⁴¹ Melv. 11.

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and from thence finally went to France;⁴² and in the following year to Rome, when the pope not pleasing the French king, 'the dealing between France and O'Neil ceased.'⁴³

When the Guises and the papal system became predominant in France, the traitorous dealings in Ireland were renewed. In 1571, the cardinal of Lorraine was the chief director of them for the French cabinet.⁴⁴ These practices were continued in 1572, when Walsingham complained of them as a violation of the peace between the two governments.⁴⁵ The fruits of these schemes appeared in those insurrections, which the English viceroys had to combat and subdue. At the eve of St. Bartholomew's massacre, their suppression seemed to be nearly completed;⁴⁶ but in the next year new rebellions began, which the earl of Essex went to repress.⁴⁷ Others again occurred in 1576, which being imputed to burthensome exactions of the lord lieutenant, the

⁴² Melv. 12.

⁴³ Melv. 15. Henry II. forbade his subjects to send to Rome for bulls, 'which, together with the agreement with England, put the pope in a great fear that France would become Protestants for despite.' *ib.* In 1567, O'Neil attempted a serious rebellion, but was defeated by sir Henry Sidney, and soon perished. *Camd.* 87-9.

⁴⁴ In Walsingham's dispatches of 4 and 8 April 1571, *Digges*, 73-5, 6, we find the cardinal in action. In that of 22 April, the duke of Anjou (afterwards Henry III.) was taking up the subject, p. 79, even while treating for his marriage with Elizabeth. p. 83.

⁴⁵ See his dispatch of 22 Feb. 1572. An officer taken prisoner in Ireland 'confesseth that the cardinal of Lorraine set him up to stir up a rebellion in Ireland.' *Digges*, p. 167.

⁴⁶ Lord Burghley, on 22 August 1572, wrote to Walsingham, 'The stirs of Munster are well overcome, the chief rebels fled, and the rest conquered. In Connaught some stir hath been by the earl of Clanrickard's son, for which his father was imprisoned, but now delivered, and promiseth to appease the troubles. This day the earl of Ormond came hither out of Ireland, who hath done there great service.' *Digges*, 238.

⁴⁷ *Camd.* 175.

queen ordered the grievances to be moderated;⁴⁸ but no lenity was effectual; new commotions succeeded,⁴⁹ because the foreign excitement and fuel were never wanting. Spanish troops were in the country, and the papal authority was avowed and acted on.⁵⁰

To the same country, the Jesuits had also directed their earliest attention; two of their original founders, Salmeron and Paschasius, had been sent to Ireland before the visit of the bishop of Valence,⁵¹ whose activity increased the number and anti-protestant feelings of the papal adherents.⁵² Salmeron was twice there as the legate of Paul III. attacking the reformed church with his powerful and vehement declamation, by his voice as well as by his pen.⁵³ Pius IV. also dispatched the same Jesuits to the same place, for the benefit of their bold exertions.⁵⁴ Ireland was made one of the vice provinces of the Jesuit monarchy,⁵⁵ and its natives occupied two colleges, with one seminary in Spain and another at Lisbon.⁵⁶ But the most daring of the

⁴⁸ Camd. 192.

⁴⁹ Ib. 198.

⁵⁰ 'The earl of Desmond and his brother, tho lurking and hiding their heads, signified to the lord justicer, in a long letter, that they had undertaken the protection of the Catholic faith in Ireland, and that, *by the authority of the bishop of Rome*, and they advised him to join with them for the salvation of his soul.' Camd. p. 211.

⁵¹ Orland's Hist. Jesuit, 85. Franciscus Zapata joined them.

⁵² 'They found *all* the Irish chieftains but one, and he was going to imitate the rest, adopting Henry's reformation, and about to bind themselves with an oath to burn all the pope's letters, and to deliver up in fetters to the viceroy all who were of the Romish way.' But these Jesuits soon changed them to very opposite feelings; (Orland. ib. p. 88) and thus laid the foundation of Ireland's present state.

⁵³ 'Hæreses et impietatem expunxit stylo; voce perstrinxit; utrobique potens et vehemens.' This is a part of his Elogium sepulcrale, in the Imago Soc. Jes. 291.

⁵⁴ Imago Soc. Jes. p. 215.

⁵⁵ With ten residentia. Imago, p. 247.

⁵⁶ The colleges were at Salamanca and St. Jago. The seminaries were at Seville and Lisbon. Imago, 242. That it was not the English government only which accused the Jesuits of *conspiracy*, we may see

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papal missionaries was Sanders, the calumniating historian of the English Reformation; we may add also that he was one of those victims to his party animosity, whose career ended in personal wretchedness and political discomfiture.⁵⁷ The warfare

by sir Edward Stafford's dispatch of 26 Dec. 1583 to Elizabeth, from Paris. He says of the French prince, monsieur, or the heir presumptive of the crown of France, 'When he heard of this villanous act of Somerfield's confession, he grew in a great choler, and swore deeply, which he commonly doth not, that *the Jesuits* only were the setters on of these enterprises, and that, if he were king, he would rather hang them with his own hand, than suffer any of them to live, with many bitter words against them.' Hardwicke's State Pap. v. 1. p. 217. This prince did not live to succeed Henry III. He was the duc d'Alençon, who had so long sought Elizabeth's hand. He was buried 27 May 1584. Murdin's State Pap. p. 405.

⁵⁷ Dr. Sanders went from Rome to Madrid, in November 1573. The king of Spain gave him 320 ducats, and he was remaining in that country in 1574. Murdin, p. 243. On 1 July 1579, he landed from thence, with a small Spanish force, in Kerry, with Fitzmorris, to begin a new rebellion, which, after the usual portion of calamity from such transactions, was suppressed. Camden, 208-11. The chief authors of it perished. Other revolts followed as ineffectually. In 1580, seven hundred Italians and Spaniards were landed in Ireland; Camd. 213; and Sanders at last, in 1584, being forsaken of all company, and troubled in mind for the adverse success of the rebellion, wandered up and down thro woods, forests and hills, and found no comfort, and was miserably famished to death. Camd. 258. The official declaration, in 1580, thus speaks of him and his exploits: 'The pope's hostile proceedings, in open wars against her majesty in Ireland, where one of this company, Dr. Sanders, a fugitive, and a principal companion and conspirator with the traitors and rebels at Rome, was, by the *pope's special* commission, a commander, as in the form of a legate, and some time a paymaster for those wars.' Hollings. 1361. Mr. Ellis, in his Second Series, has printed, from the British Museum, the address of 'Father Sanders to the Catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland, to stir them to rebellion,' v. 3. p. 92-7. It is dated 21st Feb. 1580, and thus, with wilful falsehood, speaks of Elizabeth: 'What mean you, to put yourselves in so horrible danger of body and soul, for a *wicked woman*, neither begotten in true wedlock, nor esteeming her christendom, and therefore deprived by the vicar of Christ, her and your lawful judge? Forsaken of God, who justifieth the sentence of his vicar; forsaken of all Catholic princes, whom she hath injured intolerably; forsaken of divers lords, knights, and gentlemen of England, who [for] ten years past take the sword against her. See you not that she is such a shameful reproach to the royal crown, that whoso is a friend indeed to the crown, should so much the more *hasten to dispossess her* of the same? See you not, that *the next Catholic heir* to the crown, FOR THE POPE WILL TAKE

excited and maintained by all these agitators, and by the restless chieftains against the government of Elizabeth and its religion, produced much bloodshed, devastations, and misery to the people; but was unable to wrest this interesting and self-afflicting Island from the English crown. It was greatly benefited by some English and Scottish colonists,⁵⁸ whose superior cultivation, and wiser life, founded many towns and peopled many districts, which lessened and checked the vicious and destructive wars of the native peasantry. Of these conflicts, one of the last will sufficiently describe their general nature;⁵⁹ and the features which an antient traveller

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GOOD ORDER THAT IT SHALL REST IN NONE OTHER BUT CATHOLICS, must account all of them for traitors, that spend their goods in *maintaining a heretic* AGAINST HIS TRUE TITLE AND RIGHT? What will ye answer to THE POPE'S LIEUTENANT, when he, bringing us the pope's and other Catholic princes' aid, *as shortly he will*, SHALL CHARGE YOU with the crime and pain of heretics, *for maintaining an heretical pretended queen* AGAINST THE PUBLIC SENTENCE OF CHRIST'S VICAR? Ellis, p. 94, 5. He has also printed one of the papal indulgences of Gregory XIII. for making war 'gerendi bellum' against Elizabeth. It is granted to James Geraldino Domino de Kiericourithi. It styles the queen 'Deo et hominibus infesta.' It is addressed to all the prelati, principibus, comitibus, baronibus, totique clero, nobilitati et populis Hiberniæ; and is dated from Rome, 25 Feb. 1577: 'We exhort you strenuously to assist the said James, and not to fear the woman who is bound with the fetter of anathema,' &c. And it grants to him and his assistants a plenariam veniam, and remission of all sins, in the same form as to those going to war contra Turcas. ib. 94. Dr. Sanders was then so great a favorite with the Catholic church, that in the Lansdowne MSS. is a letter from Brussels to the king of Spain, intreating his interest with the pope to have Sanders made a cardinal, that he may 'diligently advance the *negotia Angliæ*, and do honour to the consistory by his prudentiam singularem.' Ellis, p. 97.

⁵⁸ Camden, 291. The details of the plan for founding English colonies in Ireland, dated 21st Dec. 1585, are printed from the State Paper, in Murdin, p. 545, and are interesting to read.

⁵⁹ In 1585, the rebellion began in Ulster, where 'a popish bishop had formed a new consociation,' Camd. 288; and spread into Connaught. 'They began it unawares to harry the country villages with fire and ravenous depredations, and to destroy forts and strong holds. They invited the Hebridian Scots to join them. The governors, Richard Bingham and earl Clanrickard, with the horse, defended the champaign country; while the governor's brother entered the woods

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soon afterwards remarked and sketched, as he visited the country, may now be recollected, as affording a gratifying evidence that IRELAND NOW IS the pleasing contrast with what IRELAND THEN WAS, in every civil, social, natural, and national object of comfort and improvement. Her remaining evils are as removable as those which have disappeared; but order, loyalty, tranquillity, education scriptural and intellectual, intelligent religion, and useful knowlege, must be added to her native spirit, her kindly sensibilities, her spontaneous disinterestedness, her plain-hearted honesty, and her teachable docility; or her best qualities, as well as her deteriorating ones, will become only instruments of mischief and torment to herself, to her neighbors, and even to her more distant friends.⁶⁰

with the infantry; hunted them from place to place so hotly, and driving away 5000 head of cattle, that in about forty days they came out of their lurking holes from famine, and submitted themselves. Others persisting, with 2000 Hebridian Scots, to make an irruption into Connaught, Bingham attacked them with his men, levied in haste; hunted them night and day thro by-ways and hard passages, in the thickets and woody countries near the lake Earne, then retiring, as if afraid, to invite them to assemble and advance. They collected, and came forward in battle array, with banners, sounding their bagpipes. He busieth them awhile with light skirmishes, till, by retiring, he had drawn them from the bogs to more firm ground; and till all his forces, in great silence, were come together. Then he sharply charged them; and having slain many, made them give ground, when presently his small shot charged them in front; and he himself set upon them in flank with his horsemen so courageously, that he put their main battle to rout, and drove them to take the river, where they were all slain or drowned, saving fourscore, which swam over into Tyrol. Those which were gone the day before another way, to gather booty, were afterwards almost all of them slain by J. Bingham, and the inhabitants of Sligo. There were slain about 3000 men, and the principal leaders. Of the English few were slain, but many hurt. This was certainly a notable victory; and profitable both for the present and for future times.' *Camd. Eliz.* p. 290, 1. Philippus Honorius, who reported the state of England to Philip II. at the time of the Armada, expressly ascribes the last insurrections in Ireland to Gregory XIII. His words are 'post ultimos illos motus, Gregorii XIII. papæ instinctu factos.' *Angl. Descript.* p. 232.

⁶⁰ The descriptions of Ireland, by Spencer and Davies, are familiar

to many. W. Lithgow's account, who visited it in 1619, before he went to Malaga, is less known.

' There are more rivers, lakes, brooks, strands, quagmires, bogs, and marshes, in this country, than in all Christendom besides. Travelling there in the winter, all my daily solace was sink-down comfort: boggy, plunging deeps kissing my horse's belly, while with ever-mired saddle, body and all, and often set a swimming, both I and my guides were in great danger of our lives. I was never before reduced to such a floating labyrinth, considering that in five months space I quite spoiled six horses; and myself as tired as the worst of them.

' The barbarian Moor, the moorish Spaniard, the Turk, and the Irishman, are the least industrious and most sluggish livers under the sun.

' Their fabrics are advanced three or four yards high, pavillion like incircling; erected in a singular frame of smoke-torn straw, green long-pricked turf, and rain-dropping wattles. Their several rooms or chambers, halls, parlours, kitchens, barns and stables, are all inclosed in one, and that one in the midst of a mire, where, in foul weather, they can scarcely find a dry part whereupon to repose their cloud-baptized heads. Their shirts are woven of the wool or linen of their own nature, and their penurious food semblable to their ruined condition.

' These only titular Christians are so ignorant in their superstitious profession of popery, that neither they, nor the greatest part of their priests, know or understand what the mystery of the mass is, which the one daily see, and the other celebrate. Ask him of his religion! He replieth, what his father and great-grandfather were, that will he be also. Hundreds of better than the common sort have demanded of me, if Jerusalem and Christ's sepulchre were in Ireland, and if the Holy Land were contiguous with St. Patrick's purgatory.

' At the sight of each new moon, they bequeath the cattle to her protection; or if sick or sore, they solicit her to restore them to their health. Most part of them in all their lives, have never a third part food, nature's clothing, nor a secure shelter for the winter cold.

' Our colonized plantations there are daily molested and nightly incumbered with these blood-sucking rebels. Their barbarous cruelty is ever executed, at all advantages, with slaughter and murder upon the Scotch and English dwellers there. These woodcarnes are but the hounds of their hunting priests, against what faction soever their malicious malignity is intended, partly for entertainment, partly for particular spleens, and lastly for a general disturbance of the country, for the priests greater security and stay.

' Their ploughs are drawn by horse-tails, wanting garnishing. They are only fastened with straw or wooden ropes, to their bare rumps, marching all side by side, three or four in a rank, and as many men hanging by the ends of that untoward labor. It is as bad a husbandry as I ever found among the wildest savages alive. The Irish have thousands of both kingdoms daily laboring beside them, yet they cannot learn, because they will not learn to use garnishing. So obstinate are they in their barbarous consuetude.

' The ale-house is their church; the priests their consorts; their exhortations, Fill and fetch more; their text, Spanish sack; their

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prayers, carousing; their singing of psalms, the whiffing of tobacco: their last blessing, aqua vitæ; and all their doctrine, sound drunkenness.' *Lithgow's Travels and Description of Ireland*, in *Morgan's Phenix Britannica*, vol. 1. p. 212-6.

Such were the results that followed the Jesuit mission in Ireland, which, eighty years before this picture was drawn, had succeeded in turning the minds of the native chiefs from the Protestant Reformation and improvements, to the papal superstitions, [see note 52,] and thereby led the bulk of the national population into lasting and ever renewed enmity against the British government, against more enlightening religion, and that civil progression which has made England and Scotland so much happier, so much more respectable, and so much more respected.

CHAP. XXXIII.

ELIZABETH DECLINES A WAR TO RESIST PHILIP IN PORTUGAL, BUT RESOLVES TO AID THE DUTCH PROTESTANTS—LEICESTER EMBARKS FOR HOLLAND—HIS CHARACTER CONSIDERED—DEATH OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY—THE FEELINGS OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES ON HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND VIRTUES.

WHEN the states of Holland in 1582, as their difficulties increased, solicited Elizabeth to take the government and defence of their country, the prospect of personal and national aggrandizement, from the union of the Netherlands with the English crown, might have tempted an ambitious mind to an acceptance of the proposal. But Elizabeth, contrary to the wishes of her most favored counsellor, declined the invitation, from her aversion to usurp the rights of another,¹ as well as from her desire not to pledge her government, until the last necessity, to an inveterate warfare with the Spanish power. She permitted them to have occasional supplies, with the hope of their obtaining equitable conditions of peace and safety, from their antient but oppressing

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¹ That her moral delicacy on this point did not satisfy Leicester, we see from his letter of 8th March 1582, to earl Shrewsbury: 'Touching the matter of the Low Countries, I cannot say much; but this much *with grief I think on*—to see such a country REFUSED as that is. For to her majesty they wholly and simply offered themselves before monsieur was accepted. But her majesty's goodness was such that *she would not possess* what appertains to another. Few princes have so good conscience.' Lodge Illus. 2. p. 262.

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sovereign;² and by her refusal, left the splendid prize to be obtained by the heir presumptive of France; who, by undertaking the enterprise, opened a new career of aggrandizement to his nation, which if his abilities had not been inferior to the great emergency, or if his life had not been unexpectedly abbreviated, might have realized in that age, one of the favorite schemes of the French revolutionists, and of Napoleon, to the unceasing peril of the British islands, by extending the sovereignty of France to the Rhine and the Zuyder Sea.³ He was inaugurated duke of Brabant; but his military efforts were defeated by the Prince of Parma, and in his

² Norris was allowed to be there with some English troops and adventurers, whom the States employed advantageously in Friesland. *Camd.* p. 231. Our valuable antiquary imputes the new habits of drunkenness in England to have been an importation from the Netherlands by these soldiers: 'The English, who of all the northern nations had been *least drinkers*, and most commended for their sobriety, learned, by these Netherland wars, to drown themselves with immoderate drinking; and by drinking to others healths, to impair their own. Ever since, the vice has so spread itself over the whole nation, that in our days the first restrains thereof by severity of laws came forth.' *ib.* 231. What the moist climate led the Dutch to practise, and our troops to imitate there, was continued by them from habit when they returned home, where the cause or excuse for it had no existence. The act of 4 Jac. 1. c. 5. imposed a fine of five shillings on every person convicted of drunkenness.

³ The duc d'Alençon went from England with great honours to Antwerp; but the English serving in these parts so little liked the idea of fighting for French power, that six hundred of the best soldiers went over to the Spanish army, and a part of them were of great use to the prince of Parma. *Camd.* 242. Lord Talbot describes a singular instance of intrepidity in a British seaman on this occasion: 'The evening before Alençon embarked, lord Howard went to see that the ships were in readiness. Being aboard, in the night, by the forgetfulness of a boy, the ship was set on fire in the gun-room. Before it was espied, it had almost got to the powder. By great chance, a man of lord Howard's *laid himself flat in the flame*, and tumbled [*rolled himself*] in it, and so stayed the fire from the powder, till water came, otherwise it had blown up the ship, and all that were aboard. He was scorched both hands and face, and his garments burnt. It is thought her majesty will well reward him for his labor. It was one of the greatest ships.' *Lodge's Illustr.* v. 2. p. 259.

future campaign he sickened and died—an important allotment of events—for it not only prevented that enlargement of the French kingdom, which might have ruined England; but also left the succession of its crown, suddenly open to Henry IV., and thereby to the secure establishment, at that time, of the Protestant reformation in the southern districts of France.¹ The death of don Henry, who had succeeded Sebastian, presented to her a similar temptation to intermeddle with Portugal, to which Catherine de Medicis was making genealogical pretensions; which Philip was advancing, with more right of descent, greedily to seize, and from which don Antonio, the nearest native prince, had been recently expelled, by the every-where employed and indefatigable duke of Alva;² while the pope himself

¹ In December 1583, the duke was alarmed with an intimation that 10,000 crowns had been offered to a man to assassinate him. Stafford, Lett. Murd. 386. Catherine, his mother, went to him in January 1584, to persuade him to her purposes; but tho' he entertained her kindly, yet, 'in the end she could do nothing of that she came for.' ib. 390. At the end of the following spring he died. He was buried at St. Denis, 'with the greatest magnificence, state, and honor, that ever any brother of France had.' Lett. 21st June, ib. 405; and his loss turned the spleen of Catherine against Spain. Sir Edward Stafford wrote, 'The queen mother is the most venomous woman against the Spaniards that ever I heard of; for that she thinketh that the beginning of her son's sickness hath begun by these matters of the Low Countries, she sweareth, by some small oaths, that she will be revenged, and for that intent would fain animate her son, but as yet he is not stirred.' ib. 410.

² Camden, p. 232. Don Henry was a cardinal when Sebastian fell, on 4th August 1578, when the King of Fez, whom he was supporting, while the usurping Moor also died during the battle, of a fever. Henry only reigned two years. On 16th March 1580, a friend observed to Shrewsbury, that the Portuguese had armed 20,000 soldiers against Philip; and that if this king were allowed to 'have Portugal in quiet, with their East Indies and his West Indies, he might embrace and crush the whole world.' Lodge Illust. 2. p. 225. The duchess of Braganza, as the grand-daughter of the preceding king Emmanuel, was the next heir; but Philip, who claimed under his mother, a daughter of the same Emmanuel, obtained the crown by his superior force. On 27th June 1581, earl Sussex stated to Burghley 'the arrival of don

claimed the kingdom as lapsing to him, because its last sovereign, Henry, had been a cardinal.⁶ Antonio came to England, to interest Elizabeth to assist him to rescue his country from its subjugation by Spain. Elizabeth honorably received and bountifully relieved him as a kinsman; but declined involving her nation in a war to expel Philip from his new possession.⁷ Catherine wished the queen to support him; yet it was more to embarrass her with Philip, than to benefit the Portuguese aspirant.⁸

Antonio [in London], which the queen would have to be secret, tho indeed it be openly spoken of. Seeing he landed in France first, I think his first coming here is not without the consent of that king.' Lodge p. 256. The Jesuits, in their *Imago*, speak bitterly of Antonio.

⁶ Hist. Portug.

⁷ His relationship with her was thro the duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III. Camd. p. 232. The card. Granville, in his letter of 6 July 1580, mentions that don Antonio had been 'proclaimed king, par quelques gens viles et menu peuple.' Granv. Lett. This Spanish minister mentions with delight, 'that in his passage thro France, from Artois to Paris, thence to Orleans, and all about towards Nantz, there was not a town, village or castle, from which the new religion had not been taken away, and the old one re-established.' Lett. 11 July 1580. On May 1581, we find Antonio at Tunis, ready to sail to Portugal with an armament, to rescue it from Philip. Sidney's Letters, v. 1. p. 294.

⁸ Camd. p. 232. Catherine about this time, notwithstanding her power, could not, even with the king's aid, command the appointment of an *abbess* at Puissy. Our ambassador on 12 Dec. 1583, thus described her defeat, and the amusing turbulence of even holy nuns. 'Their abbess being dead, they fell to chuse another. Seventy-five voices were for an old woman, one of the nuns, and but 25 for the madame de Perron, the marshal of Retz's sister. Yet the king and queen-mother favoring her, would needs have her to be chosen; and for that intent, sent old Lansac thither, to whom they made very shrewd answers. After, the queen-mother came herself, and would place her in her seat of abbess. The nuns that were against her, came out of their chamber against the queen; insomuch that a day or two after, she made great complaint to my wife of the nuns, and of their evil and disdainful using of her; and assured her that she would be revenged of them.

'She [the queen] went to them again, but they would not open the gates to her. She was fain to make some of her guard to dig a hole under the wall, and get in, to open her the gates. This being done, the nuns, seeing the yard full of guards, every one shut herself up in their chambers, and looking out of the windows, told the queen, that with her pardon, they would be starved there first, afore they would lose their accustomed liberties.

Elizabeth withstood all solicitations to engage her people in a war of difficulty and uncertainty for a foreign succession. She was personally kind both to him and to his children; and limiting her favor to her private beneficence, until one late effort, he died without attaining the regal dominion to which he pretended.⁹

But this forbearance towards the Spanish king neither lessened his determination and attempts, nor those of his confederate, the pope, nor of their conspirators and agents, to dispossess and destroy her. To foment disaffection, and to prepare for insurrections, when the long-planned foreign invasion should take place, were still the persisting efforts of their secret missionaries and more infatuated adherents. For ten years after the northern rebellion, which they had before excited, notwithstanding all the treasonable practices which were afloat, only five papists had been put to death.¹⁰

⁹ The next day *they fell upon madame du Perron*, and BEAT HER *as long as she could stand*, as the author of their harm. The king, upon that, sent his guard thither, and took out two or three of the headiest nuns, and put them in divers houses, in keeping abroad.' Lett. in Murdin, p. 384. So that, tho Catherine and Charles could massacre, without much difficulty, 10,000 Huguenots, they could not so easily master 75 nuns!

¹⁰ The following MS. letters are in the British Museum: Nero. B. 1. concerning don Antonio. On 9 Oct. 1581, Lopez reports to him Elizabeth's favorable disposition towards him. p. 251. In 1586, the same agents stated to the English government the distresses of Antonio and his son Emmanuel. p. 267. On 12 Sept. 1587, don Botelho, his agent at Middleburg, presses lord Leicester for the promised supply of money for raising troops. p. 269. On 12 Nov. 1594, Elizabeth wrote to Antonio, assuring him of the continuance of her friendship, and sent it by his son don Christopher. p. 276. The next year closed his unsuccessful hopes; for on 12 Sept. 1595, this son informed the queen from Paris, of *the death* of his father, and asks her protection for himself and for his brother Emmanuel. p. 278.

¹⁰ Camd. 240. The attempts and projects to assassinate her, were more numerous than were made public. On 24 December 1586, we

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Elizabeth long shrunk from all extreme severity. She met danger after danger with a magnanimity and courage, which few sovereigns would have so patiently exercised. She felt that the guilty agents who were pursuing these seditious and illegal machinations, were the enthusiastic victims of superior employers abroad, whom the arm of punishment could not reach.¹¹ Yet the labors and insinuations of the self-devoting pupils were too perilous to be allowed to continue with legal impunity.¹² They were pursuing a crafty and dark system, with as much privacy as assiduity, of sapping the foundations of the existing government; and thus, on the first external attack, to ensure its unexpected overthrow.¹³ Against these the stern laws, which they

find a private letter from sir F. Walsingham to Lord Leicester, intimating some violent attempt upon her majesty. MS. Titus, B. 7. p. 24.

¹¹ 'The queen, who *never thought* men's consciences *were to be forced*, complained many times that she was driven of necessity to take these courses, unless she would see the destruction of herself and of her subjects, under color of conscience and the Catholic religion. Yet, for the greatest part of these silly priests, she did not believe them to be guilty of practising the destruction of their country; but *those superiors* were they, whom she held to be the instruments of this foul crime; for they who were sent, committed the full and free disposal of themselves to their superiors.' Camden, 240.

¹² We have this strong assertion from Camden, who not only was then living, but was also connected with those who had the best means of information at that time. 'Great number of priests creeping daily into England, privily felt men's minds: spread abroad, that princes excommunicated were to be deposed; and whispered in corners, that such princes as professed not the Romish religion, had forfeited their title and legal authority; and that those men who had entered into holy orders, were, by a certain ecclesiastical freedom, exempted from all jurisdiction of princes, and not bound by their laws, nor ought to reverence them.' Camd. 240.

¹³ Our venerable herald adds this striking fact, 'Some of them dissembled not that they were returned into England with no other intent than, by reconciling in confession, to absolve every one in particular from all oath of allegiance and obedience to the queen, as the bull [of Pius V.] did absolve them at once in general.' ib. 241. I subjoin with pleasure, for it is a pleasure to distinguish the better from the baser mind, that one

had compelled into existence, were at times enforced ; but the few, even from these sources of mischief, who chose to be peaceful and loyal, were left undisturbed by a wise and distinguished toleration, as one of their own party stated to another, who preferred to be an active instrument of treason and destruction.¹⁴ CHAP.
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These continuing practices, and Philip's unusual and unnecessary augmentation of his forces in Flanders, far beyond what the warfare in that country required,¹⁵ and his increasing hostilities against Elizabeth and England, compelled the pacific disposition of the endangered queen, to yield to the more vigorous counsels of her anxious cabinet. The

Catholic, J. Bishop, tho devoted to the pope, wrote against them, and denied that the constitution of Lateran council, on which the pontiffs grounded their authority to depose sovereigns, was a *bonâ fide* act of such a council. He said, 'It was no other than a decree of Innocent III. and was never admitted in England; that the council was no council; nor was any thing at all there decreed by the fathers.' *Camd.* 243. So that, if this *loyal* Catholic was right, his papal master was acting, as other pontiffs before him, on fraud and forgery.

¹⁴ This individual was the Jesuit Mr. Wright. Garnet, who became a provincial of the order, and was afterwards executed for the gunpowder plot, having written to him on his quitting their society, Mr. Wright, in his answer, stated to him, 'It is too common now in England that all Jesuits and Seminaries are sworn enemies to her majesty, intending, persuading, and procuring her death. I can assure you, if such plotting and practising had never been invented, the poor Catholics in England had enjoyed more peace and tranquillity. For my part, because her majesty understandeth that I pretended nothing in England but religion, I have found that favor which perhaps none hath obtained hitherto, which is, that none shall trouble me for my conscience; and so I think many more should obtain, if they proceeded in the same manner. Good sir! resist as much as you can any such Machiavellian treasons; and let her majesty understand that all ambition, covetousness, or any other pretence, is far from us, *whose vocation is religion, and not suppressing of princes!* for, otherwise, I am afraid lest all our priests be rather put to death for matters of state than religion.' *Birch's Memoirs*, vol. 1. p. 359, from the MSS. of Anthony Bacon, brother of lord Bacon.

¹⁵ On 10 Dec. 1583, sir Edward Stafford apprized his court, from Paris, of 'this rumor,' *Murd.* 381; and on the 8th of the following January he sent his cabinet further information upon it.

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assassination of the prince of Orange, which the cabinet of Madrid had been laboring to procure,¹⁶ having by his death,¹⁷ more than by its arms, shaken the stability of the Reformation in his country: Elizabeth at length, in the summer of 1585, decided on supporting the dismayed but unconquered Hollanders, by a public alliance, and with an effective force. Hence, when they besought her to receive them into her protection, she acquiesced in their request. It was indeed no small exertion of intellectual courage to commit her worldly fate, at this juncture, to the issue of such a measure, as to dare and wrestle, single handed, with the great Spanish monarchy, now aggrandized with all the resources of Portugal and its East Indian possessions; but Elizabeth was always great on great occasions, without dramatically acting or ostentatiously affecting to be so; and while Europe wondered at her intrepidity in taking the field against the most formidable potentate then on the globe, she fixed her steady mind resolutely on the necessary contest.¹⁸ She therefore

¹⁶ See the intercepted correspondence of cardinal Granville, quoted before, in Chapter xxxi. p. 359, note 69. In July 1582, Salcedo and Baza were seized at Bruges, for a plot to kill the prince; and also Alençon; at the instigation of the prince of Parma, on the part of the king of Spain. They confessed the fact. Meteren. 217. De Thou, l. 35. c. 16.

¹⁷ He was shot with three bullets from a pistol, by Balthazar Gerard, a Burgundian. Camd. 271. This man confessed that he had previously discovered his design to a Jesuit at Treves, in confession, who kept him in their college, and gave him advice and direction. Strype's Ann. v. 3. p. 309. Elizabeth's letter of 18 Oct. 1584, to the duc de Montpensier, acquainting him that the prince, apprehending such an event, had recommended his five daughters to her care, and stating how she wished to dispose of them, Strype has printed in part from the MS. Titus, B. 2. p. 201, in his app. to vol. 3. p. 276.

¹⁸ Camden thus expresses the continental feeling of this day, on the courage of the determination: 'All the princes of Christendom admired such manly fortitude in a woman, who durst denounce a war against a

entered into a compact with the United States of Holland, to send them five thousand foot and one thousand horse, under a governor general; and to have Flushing, the chief castle of Walcheren, and the isle of Brill, delivered into her possession.¹⁹ Always desirous to exhibit the justice of her cause and the integrity of her meaning, she published a declaration of her public motives in this measure.²⁰ It was indeed become of the greatest importance to England to diminish the Spanish power in its vicinity, because the Romish pontiff was increasing the incentives to Philip to invade it, by teaching him to think that he had a right of succession to its crown; ²¹ an idea the more exciting, as upon such a pretension he had seized that of Portugal.²² His ambition accordingly began to take a serious direction towards the British island.²³

most puissant monarch. The king of Sweden said, that queen Elizabeth had now taken the diadem from her head, and set it upon the doubtful chance of war.' p. 283.

¹⁹ Camd. p. 283.

²⁰ It was printed by Barker, and dated at Richmond, 10 Oct. 1585.

²¹ So sir Francis Englefield, 'the papist agent in Spain,' in his letter to Philip, in Feb. 1585, urging him to invade, adds, 'because you being, after the queen of Scotland, the *nearest Catholic* that is to be found of that blood royal.' Murdin, p. 543. Fulgeam expressed the same idea to Mary, in March 1585: 'If any harm should chance to your majesty, and the king continue in the state he now is, they [the Catholic party] *will have the most puissant king in Christendom* to follow for their relief; who, for the gain of so rich a kingdom, will spare no cost to possess himself thereof, the way thereto being so plain and open.' ib. 542.

²² It is curious, that on the emergency of Philip's claims, the Catholic archbishop of Lisbon, and the other governors of Portugal, upon Henry's death, addressed their letters on Feb. 19, 1590, to this heretic queen, whom at other moments was held out to be so detestable; to which, on 4 April 1590, she sent her answer. They are in the British Museum, MS. Nero, B. 1. p. 230.

²³ Fulgeam subjoins, 'Also his forces shall be found more puissant than in times past, for he is furnishing and building great provision of ships, as he is *fully resolved* to govern at his pleasure, the whole ocean of Spain, France, and England, and thereby *enter upon England* at his

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1585

The covenanted forces were sent from England, under sir John Norris, to Flushing,²⁴ of which sir Philip Sidney was appointed the governor. On the 10th December, Leicester arrived there with a splendid staff, and with a personal guard of fifty archers, fifty halberds, and fifty arquebusses, as general-in-chief of the important expedition.²⁵ To be one of those surprising commanders who discomfit their opponents with irresistible certainty and unreceding progression, like Turenne, Marlborough, Napoleon, or Wellington, and whose presence, therefore, is always victory and triumph to the army and cause which they conduct and support; Leicester, altho received as an angel of deliverance by the suffering Hollanders, had no pretensions. His military experience had been small; and he did not possess those talents for war, which create and command unfailing success, by their eagle foresight, by their rapid conceptions, by their superior combinations, by their lofty confidence, and by their heroic daring: but this was at that time rather a national than an individual defect; because Machiavel, while he admired our bravery, had long before remarked our insular

pleasure, having [when he shall have] recovered the countries of Holland, Zealand, &c.' Murdin, p. 543. 'They founded Philip's claim to the English crown, by deducing his line of descent from John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster.' Ross Success. ib.

²⁴ In August 1585, Norris is mentioned as going with 6,000 foot and 500 horse. 2 Lodge, 314. I am sorry to find of this brave and active officer, that in August 1587, the auditor presented to Leicester, 'exceptions against him for mal-practices in money matters.' See them in MS. Titus, B. 7. p. 88.

²⁵ He crossed with the title of 'general of the queen of England's auxiliary forces, and with a certain kind of command over the admiral of England, and the queen's whole fleet. He went with great preparation and goodly show.' Stow, 711; and Hollingshead, 1424.

deficiency in great commanders;³⁶ and all the wars of Henry VIII. upon the continent, had verified the sagacious observation; and lord Burghley himself had, early in this reign, made a similar remark, as a reason for avoiding continental warfare.³⁷

The character of LEICESTER, amid all his greatness, and magnificence, and power; and amid all the public homage which attended him as the possessor of such advantages, was yet involved, while he lived, in that degree of ambiguity which always creates doubt and obloquy: and from the contrarieties and peculiarities which mark his undeniable conduct, it has not descended more lucidly to us. He is sufficiently known to all, by the vulgar slander, which so many desire to believe, of his being the private minion of Elizabeth: but the real causes of her confidence in him, and the secret features of his apparent mind, have neither been sufficiently studied nor duly understood. It was for himself to have removed the veil, or never to have worn one; but he chose to live so much in masques, and disguises, and labyrinths, that it is his own fault, and not ours, if History—seeking to be just, and even forbearing, that it may not stain itself by sullyng what is honorable, and by babbling slanders instead of facts—cannot now elucidate that course of conduct to his advantage, which he has himself left unexplained and impenetrable. Mystery, if it be ever right in purpose, yet always dims, alarms, and disfigures. Inconsistency creates its own depreciation: and as ‘the sun needs no inscription to distinguish itself

³⁶ Machiav. Oper.

³⁷ See before, ch. xvii. vol. 3. note 52.

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from darkness,' it is to be lamented that any who rise to be the stars of our public fortunes, should ever become nebulous or misty; and like some of the antient pictures of Apelles and Protogenes, require the appended label of designation, 'This is Agamemnon,' and 'This is Achilles.'

The first circumstance which provokes our suspicion in this nobleman, is the extraordinary fact, that after he had been so honored by his sovereign, as to be made the chief personage in her household,²⁸ and to be earnestly recommended by her to Mary for her husband, and thereby to become the matrimonial king of Scotland,²⁹ he should yet be found fully implicated in the treasonable conspiracy of the treacherous English nobility to produce Norfolk's marriage with the Scottish queen, and thereby to substitute her upon the English throne instead of Elizabeth, to whose favor and bounty he owed all his greatness.³⁰ Yet he did thus far assist to carry on this great papal plot, without her suspicion either of the design or of his participation,

²⁸ On 11th January 1556, he was appointed master of the horse; on 4th June, knight of the garter; and two years after, constable of Windsor Castle. When Elizabeth, in 1560, recommended him to Mary for her husband, she created him earl of Leicester, having before granted him the splendid castle and manorial possession of Kenilworth. In the next year he was made chancellor of the university of Oxford. Mem. prefixed to Sidney Papers, p. 44, 5. His other honors and affluent grants and possessions are there enumerated.

²⁹ See before, p. 380, and Cecil's Diary in Murdin, p. 758. Mary at first approved of him, *ib.* 756; but her secretary, Maitland, pressed for Norfolk instead. *ib.* 759.

³⁰ Pembroke confessed that Leicester knew of this proposed marriage, and had at sundry times, with Norfolk and Throckmorton, conferred with him upon it, and that Leicester several times dined with the bishop of Ross at his house, and together with Norfolk, 'communed with the bishop.' Haynes, 535. Throckmorton acknowledged similar facts, p. 541; and also Ross, p. 545.

until, on being at last apprised of it from another quarter, she subjected him and other noblemen to an official examination ;²¹ when he took the opportunity of releasing himself from the difficulty and danger of absolute detection, by confessing, with apparent frankness, so much as he chose to say was all he knew, and by doing this with such additional circumstances and manner, as to persuade the queen that he had not partaken of the secret with any evil intention to her, and with so much penitence, as to obtain her pardon.²² Yet this could only be done by declaring that he was watching those who were seeking to injure her, and joined them only to deceive and to betray. No other representation could have preserved his influence or safety ;²³ and he sent his own servant to Northumberland, after that Earl's flight from his rebellion, to advise with him, and to persuade him to submit to the queen, and had the letter of that agent to produce to Elizabeth as evidence of his seeming sincerity.²⁴ But he had been reckoned upon by sir James Melville before, as one of Mary's real friends, and had been urging his own sovereign to appoint her at once the

²¹ See before, p. 207.

²² On 14th December 1569, the treasurer, marquess of Northampton, signified to Leicester, that the queen, 'Upon the sundry demonstrations of your great and inward grief from the appearance of her late displeasure, and therewith considering your continual means and intercession for appeasing of the same, she is well content to accept your lordship to her presence; not doubting but to find in your lordship that fidelity and earnest duty, that in all former times you have ever professed and shewed towards her majesty.' Haynes, 571, 2.

²³ He confessed that he had sent, as well as Pembroke, privately, letters to Mary on the preceding Easter. See before, p. 208, note 8. Pembroke also mentioned one that he had signed with him. Haynes, 535.

²⁴ See before, p. 221, and the notes.

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heir presumptive to her crown.³⁵ He even attempted, in conjunction with Pembroke, to get the parliament to name her without Elizabeth's sanction: an insidious attempt, which she immediately resented, by subjecting them to a temporary disgrace.³⁶ The more honest Burghley was marked as the opponent of such a design; and Leicester, with resentment, expressed that this statesman was counteracting his measures,³⁷ and libels were circulated against Burghley, for thus daring to do his duty.³⁸ Hence we are not surprised to find Leicester more than once in a state of open quarrel with this faithful counsellor.³⁹ With Sussex, who loyally served Elizabeth against the rebellious Catholics, he was also at variance.⁴⁰ Nor did a reconciliation in her presence prevent a similar discordance in the ensuing summer;⁴¹ and between these intervals, she was so

³⁵ Melville expressly states in 1566: 'My lord of Leicester was become *her plain friend*, and had been *twice* in hand with the queen of England a little before my coming, to declare the queen of Scots second person.' Mem. 160.

³⁶ So Cecil notes in his Diary, that on 27 Oct. [1565,] the queen excluded both Leicester and Pembroke from her presence chamber, 'for furthering the proposition of the succession to be declared in parliament without the queen's allowance.' Murd. p. 762.

³⁷ Melville adds of Leicester, that he 'said, in his anger, that Cecil would undo all.' Mem. 161.

³⁸ 'Oct. 6. Certain lewd bills were thrown abroad against the queen, for not assenting to have the matter of succession proceed in parliament, and also to *charge* sir W. Cecil, the secretary, with *the occasion thereof*.' Cecil's Diary. Murd. 762.

³⁹ The public documents give several intimations of this. Their last explanations with each other appear in their letters, and the minutes in 1585, which are printed in Strype's Annals, v. 3. part 2. p. 379-391.

⁴⁰ In June 1563, Cecil marks in his Diary, '16th, The variance between the earls of Sussex and Leicester;' and on 20th, 'The two earls accorded in the queen's majesty's presence.' Murd. 760.

⁴¹ 'June 16. A discord inter com. Sussex et Leicester, at Greenwich; these appeased by her majesty.' ib. 761.

much dissatisfied with her favored earl, that she committed her feelings to writing.⁴²

While Norfolk was united with the conspiracy of Pius v., Leicester was considered by him to be his secure and apparently his co-operating friend.⁴³ We find him also, after the treasonable acts and concert of the bishop of Ross, with whom he had before had secret conferences at lord Pembroke's,⁴⁴ had been publicly ascertained, yet again in friendly intercourse and services with this prelate;⁴⁵ and not only selected by Charles IX. to be made knight of his order of St. Michael,⁴⁶ but likewise spoken of by both Catherine de Medicis, and himself, and in their private dispatches to their ambassador in London, as a person whom they liked, and relied upon, and were advising with and having

⁴² It is Cecil's statement. '1565. August. The queen seemed to be much offended with the earl of Leicester: and so she wrote an obscure sentence in a book at Windsor.' Murd. 760. That these quarrels were on public matters, on points in which Cecil was opposing Leicester, we may infer from the observation of Robert Melville, Mary's agent in England, to his brother, who, of course, gives the coloring against the opposer. 'The secretary Cecil devised a strange practice against the meeting; which, because my lord of Leicester discovered unto the queen, his mistress, Cecil stirred up the earl of Sussex to forge a quarrel against him; but the queen took the earl of Leicester's part, and finally agreed them.' Melv. Mem. 163.

⁴³ We perceive this from Norfolk's correspondence with him, and allusions to him in his other letters.

⁴⁴ See before, note 30, p. 406.

⁴⁵ This bishop, after he had got out of the Tower, and was at Paris, acting against her for Mary there, thus wrote from thence to the French ambassador at London, on 23 April 1574: 'Present my humble recommendations to earl Leicester, and thank him for the good affection which he bears me.' And again on 29th May in that year, 'Present my very humble service to earl Leicester, thanking him for the great favor which he has shewn me, by that which I have received by my servant. Assure him of every service which I can do to his good grace, with my whole heart.' Murray's MSS.

⁴⁶ It was in January 1566, that he received this French dignity, with his friend the duke of Norfolk. Murd. 761.

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services from⁴⁷ — circumstances not criminal, nor of themselves alone justifying imputed suspicions ; but which take that appearance when viewed in connexion with all his other conduct. And the general effect of the whole of these unquestionable facts, leaves a dissatisfied feeling upon the mind that is calmly investigating, and which endeavors fairly to appreciate his character, even without resorting to the scandal of the day, or to the manifest slanders of his Romish assailants.

Of their viler imputations, the first and greatest arose from his first wife's death ; which roused immediate suspicions, perhaps unwarrantably, in his rural neighborhood,⁴⁸ and so spread, as to lead Cecil to think the circumstances disadvantageous to his good name :⁴⁹ such was also the impression in the French

⁴⁷ Catherine de Medicis, on 4th May 1570, wrote of him to the French ambassador, at London, as one whom they consulted and much relied on. 'I wish you to let the earl of Leicester know this. Following up the propos which he has held with you on it,' &c. This was to no other end but 'to cause him to know *the good will which the king and I bear to him* ; and that we have done and will do all the good offices we can to aid him to attain that which he may desire in this : assuring ourselves *that he will do*, always, all the good offices which he can with his mistress, to keep up the amity which exists between us.' Murray's MSS. On 29th Jan. 1571, Charles IX. bids him to 'intreat earnestly but in the most courteous manner on my part, the queen for her [Mary,] as you say *the earl of Leicester has advised you*.' MSS. ib. On 2d May 1574, we read of Catherine de Medicis mentioning 'a ring for lord Leicester.' ib. On the other hand, there is a letter from the ambassador to Leicester, of 6th Sept. 1570, complaining of *having been* deceived by him, in the British Museum, Calig. c. 2. p. 14.

⁴⁸ She died 8th Sept. 1560, at Cumnore, near Oxford. On 17 Sept. 1560, T. Lever wrote from Coventry to Cecil, and to sir F. Knowles : 'In these parts seemeth to be a grievous and dangerous suspicion and muttering of the death of her which was the wife of my lord Robert Dudley. My desire and trust is, that by your discreet device and diligence, thro the queen's authority, earnest searching and trying out of the truth, with due punishment, if any be found guilty in this matter, may be openly known.' Haynes, 362. This seems to be only one of those angry surmises which sometimes arise on sudden deaths, but unjustly.

⁴⁹ In his reasons against the queen marrying Leicester in 1563, the fourth is, 'He is infamed by death of his wife.' ib. 144.

capital.²⁰ Yet as these are most fully told by one of his most rancorous revilers,²¹ the mode of her death does not necessarily imply a producing criminality.²²

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²⁰ On 28 Oct. 1560, sir N. Throckmorton wrote from Paris, 'The bruits be so brim and so maliciously reported here, touching the marriage of the lord Robert, and *the death of his wife*, as I know not where to turn me, nor what countenance to bear. Sir! I thank God, I had rather perish and quail with honesty, than live and beguile a little time with shame.' Hardw. State Papers, v. 1. p. 122.

²¹ It is the Jesuit Parsons who, in his 'Dialogue,' afterwards called 'Leicester's Commonwealth,' first printed abroad in 1584, and transmitted by the English Jesuits into this nation, (Sidney Mem. 61.) thus narrates it: 'When his lordship was in full hope to marry her majesty, and his own wife stood in his way as he supposed, he did but send her aside to the house of his servant Forster, near Oxford; where shortly she had the chance to fall from a pair of stairs, and so to break her neck; but yet without hurting of her hood that stood upon her head. But sir Richard Varney, who by commandment remained with her that day alone, with one man only, and had sent away perforce all her servants from her to a market two miles off, can tell how she died. His man being taken afterwards for a felony in the marches of Wales, and offering to publish the manner of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison; and sir Richard dying about the same time in London, said to a gentleman of mine acquaintance, that all the devils in hell did tear him to pieces. The wife also of Bald Butler, kinsman to my lord, gave out the whole fact a little before his death.' Parsons' Leicester. Commonw. p. 22. This book was in 1585 translated into French, and circulated abroad. On 14 January 1585, C. Paget wrote to Mary, that Leicester supposed her 'to be privy to the setting forth this book against him, and will persecute you to the uttermost.' Murd. p. 437. So Morgan, on the next day, stated to her, 'It was told me that Leicester should say, that the book written against him tendeth all to your honor, and to his ruin, and therefore he would provide thereafter.' Murd. 456.

²² I have known three persons perish from falling down stairs accidentally. One in full health, by missing the first step at top, as moving rapidly to the staircase; another, a large heavy gentleman, who, in going to his chamber up the staircase, by some accident overbalancing on one side as he raised his foot, swung over the short iron balustrades before he could recover himself, on the marble pavement of the hall below; and a late eminent physician, going from his study at midnight to his bed-room, stumbled backwards, and in the morning was found dying at the foot of his staircase, this November 1828. Therefore lady Leicester's fall might have been accident, not murder; and as other ways would have more certainly and quietly killed her, and this violence might have only maimed her, it seems, in the absence of all other evidence but the fact of her death, to be too much of a surmise as to the cause, to be justly charged as guilt upon her husband. If he had then views on any other lady, it is unlikely that such an incident, from its probable imputation, would have been resorted to by a man so acute, and under the scrutiny of such a sagacious and reflective queen.

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By his connexions with Mary and Norfolk, he had been favoring the plots of the Romish party in the kingdom. Yet that he gave them afterwards some unknown but unpardonable offence, we may infer from the fact, that their writers have become his most implacable assailants.⁵³ The Spanish Jesuit paints him with branding characters;⁵⁴ and the Catholic Dr. Sanders regrets that the sister and predecessor of Elizabeth did not execute him when she had the power.⁵⁵ But it was Parsons, the clever and persevering disciple of St. Ignatius, who devoted an entire pamphlet to defame him;⁵⁶ and the great

⁵³ The new and expatiating title chosen for the French version of Parsons' book, in 1585, for its continental circulation, is one specimen of this determination of its authors and disseminators to destroy him, if words and charges could have this effect. 'La vie abominable, ruses, trahisons, murtres, impostures, empoisonnements, pailliardises, atheismes, et autres tres iniques conversations, due quelle ià usé et use journellement le my lord de Lecestre, machiaveliste, contre l'honneur de Dieu, sa princesse,' &c. Sid. Mem. 61, 2.

⁵⁴ It is Ribadineira who styles him 'hombre sin Dios, sin fe, sin ley;—without God, without faith, without law, (p. 315,) which I interpret to mean, that he had become a decided opponent of the machinations of this Jesuit's order: for we may fairly ask, if, with those machinations, they could themselves have much of Dios, fe or ley?

⁵⁵ Sanders declares that Leicester was 'tantorum malorum auctor; ' that Mary, the preceding queen, 'was thought to have done nothing, in all her life, more *incommodius*, than that she did not execute him when she had the power, on his being condemned with his father.' De Schis. p. 327, 8.

⁵⁶ This book, now usually entitled 'Leicester's Commonwealth,' is in the form of a dialogue between a gentleman and a lawyer, on the 'Defence of the public Justice,' then recently published by Elizabeth's government. It is directed principally against Leicester, and thus blackens him with every crime. That, to marry 'his minion, dame Lettice of Essex,' he poisoned her husband in his journey from Ireland; that he overthrew the archbishop of Canterbury for not allowing him two wives at once, p. 21.: That 'when in full hope to marry her majesty, he caused his own wife to be murdered,' p. 22: That 'after this he fell in love with the lady Sheffield,' and 'had the same fortune to have her husband die quickly,' p. 23: That 'cardinal Chatillan having accused him to the queen, died on his return of a burning fever [from poison], p. 24: That Mrs. Draycot was also poisoned, with the

papal champion, and half-sainted Dr. Allen, with concurring hatred adopting the slanders and party malignity of his precursor, selects him as an object of his peculiar denunciation.⁶⁷ The abuse of unreasonable or inveterate enemies, is at all times rather our praise than our disgrace; and as Cecil was a more active and effective public adversary to the papal conspirators than Leicester was, their peculiar vituperation of this execrated earl, looks like their revenge for private treachery, or the unforgiving disappointment of excited hope. Their attacks are full demonstration that his conduct, whatever it was, whether that of a partisan becoming an informer, or a deserter, or of an invited friend proving but a penetrating spy, had yet effectually thwarted the papal schemes, and fixed on Leicester their most envenomed hate. The

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earl of Essex, p. 25: That he invited sir Nicholas Throckmorton to a supper at his house, who died that night of poison, 'given him in a salad there,' p. 27: That he attempted to poison the earl of Sussex and monsieur Siniers, 28; and, that after visiting lady Lennox, at Hackney, she fell immediately 'into such a flux' as killed her; and that 'she, and all near her, were fully of opinion that my lord had procured her dispatch at his being there,' p. 28. All these, and other villanies, are enlarged upon, so as to destroy all credibility in the accusation, from the unnatural accumulation of atrocities which they lay upon him; proving only the depth of the hatred he had excited in the Romanists.

⁶⁷ It is in his 'Admonition' that the cardinal distinguishes him by this urbane designation, venturing beyond Parsons, for he chuses to suppose the queen an accomplice in the wife's death: 'In which sort, besides others whom we need not note, she hath exalted one special extortioner, whom she took up, first of a traitor, and worse than nought. To have the more freedom and interest [with her] he, as *may be presumed, by her consent*, caused his own wife cruelly to be murdered; as afterward, for the accomplishment of his like brutish pleasures with another noble dame, it is openly known he made away her husband; who now, of an amorous minion, advanced to higher office, degree, and excessive wealth, is become her chief leader in all her wicked and unwonted course of regiment; her instrument for the destruction of the nobility *by many indirect means* and of the ruining,' &c. &c. Admon. p. xviii.

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 { now inscrutable by us ;—

‘ We, distant mortals, lost in doubts below ;

‘ But guess by rumor, and but boast we know.’

But it is for us also to recollect, that he was vindicated from the criminations of Parsons, as to Essex, by his brother-in-law sir Henry Sidney ;⁸⁸ and that as to the general aspersions of the calumniating book, his nephew, the honored and beloved sir Philip Sidney, wrote an earnest denial, characterising the vituperative publication as he thought it deserved,⁸⁹ and challenging the anonymous libeller to come forward and maintain, by his courage or by proof, what his secret pen had maliciously invented.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Sir Henry, then lord deputy of Ireland, wrote to the council of England, on the earl of Essex's death in Ireland in 1576, ‘ That he had made a diligent enquiry into the affair, and found that by the earl of Essex's own relation, it was usual for him to fall into a bloody flux whenever he was disturbed in mind ; that his body retained the same colour in his sickness as in perfect health ; no spot, no infection appeared, no falling off of the hair or nails, and when his corps was opened, there were no visible signs of poison seen on him ; none of his physicians had advised any manner of application against the force of poison, and that his cupbearer was falsely accused of having intermingled it with his wine.’ Sidney Pap. Mem. prefixed, p. 48. Lord Leicester did not marry the countess till 21st September 1578, *two years* after her husband's death. Their only son died in July 1584, but she survived him till Christmas-day 1634. *ib.* 69.

⁸⁹ It is printed by Mr. Collins, from the MS. in the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers, p. 62-8. He arraigns the writer, not only for ‘concealing his name when uttering such dishonorable falsehoods,’ but also for ‘counterfeiting himself to be a Protestant.’ p. 62. He says, with some justice, that it is ‘so full of horrible villainies, as *no good heart* will think it possible to enter into any creature.’ ‘It may rebound upon himself the vile reproach of a railer, but never can sink into any good mind.’ p. 63. He vindicates the Dudley ancestry and their connexions with great earnestness and feeling.

⁹⁰ He closes indignantly with, ‘To thee I say, thou therein liest in thy throat, which I will be ready to justify upon thee, in any place of Europe where thou wilt assign me a free place of coming, as within three months after the publishing hereof I may understand thy mind. Till thou hast proved this, in all construction of virtue and honor, all

From a consideration of all the preceding circumstances, it may not be an unfair conclusion, to reject the private scandals as the exaggeration of popular surmise by wilful or credulous malignity; but to infer, that he chose to take in political society, the peculiar and hazardous position of mingling in the dealings and of obtaining the confidence of all parties, and especially of those whom he knew or suspected to be inimical to government, or weaving plots against it, in the dangerous period between 1566 and 1572; in order that he might choose whether he should ultimately promote or subvert them, and advance his own importance by their success, or by betraying them. Eagerly courted by

the shame thou hast spoken is thine own. So if I do not, having my life and liberty, prove this upon thee, I am content that this lie which I have given thee, return to my perpetual infamy,' p. 68. I admit that the sword is no decider of moral evidence, nor bravery a criterion of moral truth. But sir Philip could not do more than to meet what were mere assertions, by contradictory assertions: to hold up their author as a liar in their publication, and to put his own life to the hazard, if his epithet was incorrect. No Christian can approve a duel, nor a challenge to fight one: but neither would any Christian have written such a book. As nothing like evidence accompanies the charges, common justice to each other seems to require us, in this unsubstantiated state, to deem them but a fugitive portion of that circulating scandal which, tho it amuses society, neither benefits nor becomes it. That Mary's party strove with peculiar industry against Leicester, we see from many indications. - When he was in Holland, her confidential agent Morgan, at Paris, assured her, in March 1586, 'My poor advice and labor shall not want to give Leicester all dishonor, which will fall upon him in the end with shame enough, tho for the present he be very strong in the fields and towns of that country.' Murd. 494. On 20 July 1585, the same Morgan wrote to her, 'Leicester is a great tyrant in the realm, where Catholics be so plagued. Leicester is not born to do good to God's people.' ib. 449. Leicester had many channels of connexions with Mary's friends. We see one instance in what Morgan also told her: 'The said Hotman is a great Huguenot, and much addicted to Leicester. He is a kinsman to the Hotman that serveth your majesty in your council here.' Murd. 444. But Morgan, as if to counterwork Leicester, said he would get her ambassador 'to deal with old Hotman, to see whether the other may be made an honest man, and an instrument to serve your majesty.' ib.

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the disaffected and conspiring, from his high station and commanding influence he became inevitably their governing head, so far as he chose to act; and yet, by always so shrouding and limiting his agency as never to commit himself beyond what he could safely avow or plausibly explain, he was enabled to govern the combining aristocracy by their hopes and by their fears; and to have the benefit of their recommendation and support; while he kept at the same time, through their powerful confederation, the queen his mistress always in his power.

Possessed of her confidence, from her ignorance of his secret conduct, he knew how far she trusted him, and was enabled to discern, at what point or time she was beginning to doubt. In the instance of his confessing at once, when questioned about Norfolk, with apparent frankness and duty, as much as he could consistently with his personal security acknowledge, and then making the most humble and loyal submission as to his future conduct,⁶¹ we perceive how he turned the eye of further suspicion from himself, and could even assume a merit in the allegation, that he had acted to reconnoitre and explore, in order that he might baffle or control. While his own mind was undecided whether to subvert or support the government, his very hesitations would benefit it by procrastinating the execution of the ripening schemes; and as events led him, after his temporary disgrace, to resolve to uphold his royal mistress, he could make himself an important instrument of her personal and political

⁶¹ See before, note 32.

safety, by continuing still in apparent concert with the conspirators; and by embarrassing or baffling their projects with insidious advice or by private partial discoveries to his royal mistress, who, supposing him to know only what he revealed, would admire his penetration, while she reaped the good effects of his counsels.^m If Mary had chosen him for her husband instead of Darnley or Norfolk, he might have fulfilled the whole wishes of the grand confederacy, by dispossessing Elizabeth and seating the Scottish princess in her stead. But, failing in this object, it never became his superior interest to dethrone his English benefactor; and therefore whatever may have been his original intentions, or might have been his conduct, if the secret plotters had decreed him, instead of Norfolk, to have the hand of the northern Helen; yet when that became impossible, either from the opposition of Rome, because he was a heretic, or from the pride of the more high-born nobles, on account of his inferior ancestry, it was no longer his advantage to throw down

^m That he was in correspondence with some of the exiles in 1570, we learn from lord Morley's letter to him from Bruges, in the September of that year, who intreats his assistance to obtain the queen's clemency; who writes to her by his advice; puts his son under his protection; informs him of lord Seton's coming to Flanders, and promises, 'From thence I will give your lordship such advices as I can learn.' Haynes, 604, 5. In October he was more earnest, as he found Elizabeth more indisposed to favor him. *ib.* p. 621. On 20th July 1585, Morgan wrote to Mary, from Paris, 'I am always full jealous of such as depend or have to do with Leicester, unless I know them.' He adds, of one Blunt, 'His father was kin to Leicester. This Blunt and his elder brother, and their mother, being all Catholics, are all forced to fawn upon Leicester, to see if thereby they may live quiet; and by Leicester's means they have been more quietly handled than some others. I have warned and prayed him earnestly to deal with your son to beware of Leicester.' Murd. 448, 9. The epithet 'Machiavelite,' given to the earl in the French title-page, would lead us to infer that the Romanists considered him to have been playing a double part with them.

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Elizabeth. She increased her favors as his services became more signal; and in such conspiracies as incessantly attacked her from 1570 to 1586, abundant opportunities must have offered to a man with his connexions, to have contributed frequently to her welfare. Raised gradually by her to all the affluence, consideration, and honors, which he could safely desire, both his vanity and his ambition were satisfied. He could not be greater unless he was seated on her throne, and to that, her resolution was fixed never to exalt any one; contented therefore with being the second person in the kingdom, after Norfolk's fall, he applied the whole energies of his powerful mind, for he had an intellect of more than ordinary vigor and perspicacity, to make that crown secure and permanent to her, from whom, all the grandeur and enjoyment of his worldly idolatry, so profusely and pre-eminently flowed upon him. But this deciding conduct frustrating for ever all the hopes of his papal friends, may have been the cause that he became the object of their bitterest hatred and most vindictive reprobations. From the time of Norfolk's execution, we may believe that he served his queen ably and faithfully; and in conjunction with the intelligent and straight-forward Burghley, and with the far-searching and ever-vigilant Walsingham, mainly contributed to her preservation and triumph, amid attacks and dangers, which no other English sovereign has had equally to endure, or has succeeded in surmounting.

He was received at Flushing by its governor, and his nephew, the justly applauded sir Philip Sidney, and welcomed there, and by the cities of Zealand and

Holland, with triumphal arches, votive tablets, feasting and every public honor,⁶³ which joy, gratitude and patriotism could devise. They were so exuberant in their confidence, as to convey to him at once, as if he had been a Roman dictator, the chief government and absolute authority over their provinces, by a solemn instrument, appointing him their governor and captain-general.⁶⁴ Attended by a goodly guard, he began to assume a kingly spirit and courage, when Elizabeth, who knew his ambitious temper, and dreaded the effect of this excited flattery and elated mind, rebuked them for investing him with a power which she never meant herself to assume over them, and desired them to revoke it;⁶⁵ and severely reprimanded him for accepting a princely title and authority, inconsistent with her own declarations, with the instructions he had taken with him, and with the subordination to her cabinet council, by whom she meant his conduct to be guided.⁶⁶

⁶³ Camd. 292.

⁶⁴ Ib.

⁶⁵ She wrote to the estates general, 'That to her disgrace, they had without her knowledge passed the absolute government of their provinces to Leicester her subject, whereas she had utterly refused it herself, and had in writing declared to the whole world that she would only relieve the afflicted state of her neighbors, and in no ways take upon her any sovereignty over them. She directed them therefore to turn Leicester out of that absolute authority, whose commission she had limited.' Camden, p. 293.

⁶⁶ How severely must his swelling pride have been mortified, to receive from her, in the midst of his princely dreams, this emphatic letter! 'How contemptuously you have carried yourself towards us, you shall understand by the messenger whom we send unto you for that purpose. We little thought that one, whom we have raised out of the dust, and surrounded with singular honor above all others, would with so great contempt have broken our commandment, in a matter of so great weight, and so highly concerning us and our honor. Of this, tho you have but small regard, contrary to what you owed by your allegiance, yet think not that we are so careless of repairing thereof, that we can bury so great an injury in silence or oblivion. We therefore COMMAND YOU, that, all excuse set apart, you do forthwith, upon your

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Leicester was humbled to the earth, and perceived the precipice to which his vanity had blindly led him. With correct and rapid judgment, he receded immediately from the dignities and power which he had too eagerly embraced; and by this instantaneous self-mortification, and by his penitential letters and lowly submission, he allayed the displeasure of his majestic sovereign.⁶⁷

His campaign was active. He sent Norris to relieve Grave, which the prince of Parma was besieging, and would have saved it, if its young commander had not prematurely yielded it, for which he was condemned to die. He forced the island of Batavia; and when the Spaniards encamped before Venlo, sir Roger Williams headed a night attack upon them, and penetrated to the prince of Parma's camp; but was not strong enough to rescue the town.⁶⁸ Sir Philip Sidney, with a son of the prince of Orange, surprised Axel, but failed, from treachery, at Graveling.⁶⁹ Leicester himself attacked and captured Duisberg; and soon afterwards that encounter occurred, in which the pride of England, and the admiration of Europe at that time, sir Philip Sidney, received his mortal wound.⁷⁰ He

allegiance which you owe us, perform whatsoever our vice-chamberlain shall declare unto you in our name, *upon pain of further peril.*' Camd. Eliz. p. 293. It is hardly possible to read this attentively, and to believe that she had ever given Leicester the power of charging her with any undue intimacy. This is the tone of the high and elevated sovereign, secure in her unforfeited rectitude, and not of one who had compromised her character by dishonor.

⁶⁷ Camd. 293.

⁶⁸ Camd. 293, 4.

⁶⁹ The governor invited the approach, by intimating a wish to surrender, but with the perfidious plan and preparation to destroy the forces that came. *ib.* 294.

⁷⁰ The continental impression, from his manners and conduct, was vinced so early as his 19th year, when he travelled abroad in 1572.

had improved the taste of his countrymen, and secured a literary reputation by his popular 'Arcadia,' in his twenty-sixth year,⁷¹ and had been a liberal patron, both to arts and to letters; to mechanical skill and to moral worth.⁷² He had abandoned, by the queen's command, an expedition to America, which he was planning with sir Francis Drake,⁷³ to be appointed lord governor of Flushing, and was serving under Leicester with increasing reputation, when on 23d September 1586 the earl was informed, that three thousand Spanish cavalry were moving with a convoy of provisions to relieve Zutphen, with as many infantry. A very inferior English force was sent out to meet them, and sir Philip was one of those, who, at the head of two hundred of his countrymen,

Charles IX. was so pleased with his deportment, as to make him one of the gentlemen of his chamber. Collins' Memoirs, 98. And the haughty don John of Austria changed his first reserve towards him as a stranger, to cordial attentions, beyond those which he exhibited towards the public ambassadors. The prince of Orange pronounced, that in him Elizabeth had one of the ripest and greatest counsellors of state in Europe. 'Men of affairs in most parts of Christendom corresponded with him.' A volume of letters, in all languages, from the most learned men of all countries, was at Penahurst, when Collins printed his Memoirs. ib. 99. His travels extended to France and Germany, thro Austria and Hungary into Italy; returning along the Rhine into Holland and Flanders, and reaching England in 1576. At twenty-one, he was sent by the queen, as her ambassador, to the emperor and German princes, gaining great credit by his conduct, and returned to England in 1577. ib. 100. He was born 29 Nov. 1554. ib. 98.

⁷¹ Retiring from court, he composed his prose romance in the summer of 1580, of which fourteen editions had been printed when Collins wrote in 1746. It was dedicated to his sister the countess of Pembroke; and his family were so interested by it, that the lower panels of a room at their seat at Wilton were finely painted with representations of its scenes and stories. Coll. 102.

⁷² 'His bounty was such, that there was not an approved painter, skilful engineer, excellent musician, or other artificer of fame, that did not make himself known to this famous spirit, or that found not in him a true friend without hire. He was the common rendezvous of worth in his time.' Lord Brooke's Life of him.

⁷³ Lord Brooke's Life, p. 82.

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breaking thro the foot, charged successfully a body of eleven hundred of the chief cavalry of the enemy.⁷⁴

His horse fell under him, but, mounting another, and advancing to a repetition of the attack, a musket-ball shattered his thigh above the knee.⁷⁵ He would not dismount, but rode back to the camp in all the agony of the wound ;⁷⁶ and as he passed, displayed that trait of human kindness to a poor fellow sufferer, which has immortalized his memory, even more than his accomplishments and literature.⁷⁷

For sixteen days there were hopes of his recovery ; but tho his surgeons still expected it, he felt symptoms which induced him to infer that he was dying, and desired the presence of the ministers of religion. He joined them in devotion with great fervor and sensibility,⁷⁸ and then conferred with

⁷⁴ See Leicester's letter of 23 September, in Collins, 104, 5.

⁷⁵ He had put on his complete armor before they moved ; but happening to meet the marshal of the camp but lightly armed, his emulation—must we not as truly say his vanity ?—unfortunately for himself, led him to put off his cuirasses, and by that unnecessary bravery threw aside the protection which would have averted the wound : a secret influence of destiny ! exclaims his biographer. It is nearer truth to say, that the petty vaunt, unworthy of his high character and real merit, produced its own punishment. It was the ebullition of a momentary pride, inconsistent with the generous greatness of his habitual mind. But such was the spirit of the day, that lord North, tho bruised in the knee with a shot, left his bed to join this encounter, and in only one boot, because the other could not be put on. Leicester. lett. ib.

⁷⁶ His uncle says, ' he met him coming on horseback, not one jot appalled for his blow, which is the most grievous that ever I saw with such a bullet.' Lett. p. 105.

⁷⁷ Lord Brooke thus records it : ' The horse, furiously choleric, forced him to forsake the field. Passing by the rest of the army, where his uncle, the general, was, and *being thirsty with excess of bleeding*, he called for drink, which was presently brought him. But, *as he was putting the bottle to his mouth*, he saw a poor soldier carried along, ghastly casting up his eyes at the vessel ; which sir Philip perceiving, took it from his head, and delivered it to the poor man, with these words : *Thy necessity is yet greater than mine*. When he had pledged the poor soldier, he was carried immediately to Arnheim.' Life, p. 144.

⁷⁸ ' Before them he made such a confession of Christian faith, as no

them as a philosopher and as a Christian, on the animating belief of the immortality of the soul.⁷⁹ The arrangement of his worldly affairs by his will, was his next object of attention;⁸⁰ and he then sought the recreation of plaintive music.⁸¹ His last effort was an affectionate effusion of sympathy with his sorrowing brother; when, collecting his ebbing strength, he uttered to him these emphatic words: ‘Love my memory. Cherish my friends. Their faith to me may assure you that they are honest. Above all, govern your will and affections by the will and word of your Creator. In me, behold the end of this world, with all her vanities.’ He desired his brother to be taken away, and gently expired.⁸²

book but the heart can truly and feelingly deliver. He then desired them to accompany him in prayer, wherein he besought leave to lead the assembly; as, he said, the secret sins of his own heart were best known to himself; and out of that true sense he could more properly apply the eternal sacrifice of our Saviour’s passion and merits to himself. In this, his sighs and tears were ever interrupting their common devotion.’ *Brooke’s Life*, 145–161.

⁷⁹ ‘Instantly after prayer he entreated these divine philosophers about him to deliver the opinion of the antient heathen, touching the immortality of the soul; to see what true knowledge she retains of her own essence out of the light of herself; and then to parallel it with the most pregnant authorities of the Old and New Testament, as supernatural revelation for the divine light of faith to reveal and work by. Not that he wanted instruction or assurance, but because this fixing of a lover’s thoughts upon these eternal beauties, cheered up his decaying spirits, and was, as it were, a taking possession of that immortal inheritance, which was given to him by his brotherhood in Christ.’ *Lord Brooke*, *ib.*

⁸⁰ ‘This will of his remains a witness to the world that these sweet and large, even dying affections in him, could no more be contrasted by pain, grief or sickness, than any sparkle of our immortality can be privately buried in the shadow of death.’ *ib.*

⁸¹ ‘Afterwards he called for music; especially that song which himself had intitled, ‘*La Cuisse rompue*,’ partly, I conceive, to shew that the glory of mortal flesh was shaken in him; and, by that music itself to fashion his heavenly soul into that everlasting harmony of angels, of which these concords were a kind of terrestrial echo.’ *ib.*

⁸² *Lord Brooke*, *ib.* 161. He died 16 October 1586, at Arnheim. His body was conveyed in solemn state to England, and magnificently buried in St. Paul’s cathedral on 16 Feb. 1587. ‘So general was the

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Altho the largest part of three centuries have passed since sir Philip Sidney was withdrawn from the society he adorned, his name has ever since been inseparably associated with the kindest approbation, and with the heartfelt encomiums of his countrymen.⁸³ Every age has ratified the verdict of its predecessors; and it is become a common sentiment, that no one more fully united high birth, cultivated genius, active spirit, intellectual taste, tender sensibility, amiable manners, delicate honor, noble accomplishments, high principle, liberal courtesy, generous humanity, and affectionate religion, than this admired and regretted knight. In him the queen lost a subject who had counselled her with the earnestness of sincere loyalty while he lived,⁸⁴

lamentation for him, that *for many months* after it was accounted indecent for any gentleman of quality to appear at court or city in any light or gaudy apparel.' Pref. to *Arcadia*. This public sympathy shews that his death was of the greatest advantage to his countrymen, by fixing the attention of all on his numerous virtues; and by their general praise, inciting many to imitate what every one admired.

⁸³ That it was not his own partial nation who so highly estimated him, we perceive by the letter to him from Tunis, in May 1581, of don Antonio, the unsuccessful competitor with Philip II. for the crown of Portugal, signed 'The King;' in which, after stating that his affairs go on extremely well, and that he is equipping a second expedition of 7,000 men, with which he means to go, expressly adds, 'Tho many more should go, if I did not see you in the company, I shall say, *it has not its proper number*.' 'Write to me often; preserve me in your friendship.' Sid. Lett. 1. p. 294.

⁸⁴ It was in 1580 that he took the liberty of writing to Elizabeth, when she was balancing on the proposed marriage with D'Alençon, a long letter, to dissuade her from it. It has some interesting passages. She had told him, that the fear of contempt from her subjects for a long reign, was one reason which inclined her to it. On this he remarks, 'What is there within you that can possibly fall into the danger of contempt? Our minds rejoice with the experience of your inward virtues; our eyes are delighted with the sight of you. The longer a prince reigneth, the more he is esteemed. No man ever was weary of well being. Good increased by good, maketh the same good both greater and stronger; as abuse, growing upon abuse, according to the nature of evil, with the increase of time, ruins itself. But in so rare a govern-

and who, in the hour of pain and possible death, was eager to express his esteem and attachment to her, when no worldly motives could have caused it.⁸⁵ Amid this universal conviction, it is not sur-

ment, where neighbours' fires give us light to see our quietness; where nothing is wanting that true administration of justice brings forth, certainly the length of time rather breeds a mind to think that there is no other life but in it, than that there is any tediousness in so fruitful a government. Examples of good princes ever confirm this. The longer they lived, the deeper they sunk into their subjects' hearts.

'That uncertain good should bring a contempt to a certain good, I think is beyond all reach of reason. Common sense would teach us to hold that jewel dear, the loss of which would bring us to we know not what. Virtue and justice are the only bonds of people's love. Many princes have lost their crowns, whose own children were manifest successors: and some have had their own children used as instruments of their ruin. Not that I deny the bliss of children, but only shew that religion and virtue are of themselves sufficient stays.

'The last proof in this contempt would be the venomous matter which certain men, impostered with wickedness, should utter against you. Certainly, not to be evil spoken of, neither Christ's holiness, nor Cæsar's might, could ever prevent or warrant; there being for that no other rule than so to do, as that they may not, justly, say evil of you. Whether your majesty have or not done this, I leave to the sincereness of your own conscience; to the wisdom of your judgment in the world; to your most manifest fruits and fame throughout Europe.

'Truly in behalf of your subjects, I durst with my blood answer it, that there was never monarch held in more precious reckoning of her people. And how can it be otherwise? No; no; most excellent lady! Do not raze out the impression you have made in such a multitude of hearts. Let not the scum of such vile minds bear any witness against your subjects' devotions. The only means of avoiding contempt are, Love and Fear. Love, you have by divers means sent into their souls. If any thing can stain so true a form, it must be the trimming yourself, not in your own likeness, but, in new colors to them. Against contempt, if there be any, which I will never believe, let your excellent virtue of piety, justice and liberality, more and more shine. Let such particular actions be found out, by which you may gratify all the hearts of your people. Let those in whom you find trust, and to whom you have committed trust, in your weighty affairs, be held up in the eyes of your subjects. Lastly, doing as you do, you shall be, as you are, the example of princes; the ornament of this age; the most excellent fruit of your progenitors, and the perfect mirror of your posterity.' Sidn. Lett. v. 1. p. 292, 3.

⁸⁵ Leicester mentions in his letter to sir Th. Heneage, written the day after his nephew's wound: 'I would you had stood by to hear his most loyal speeches to her majesty; riding a long mile and a half upon his horse ere he came to the camp, not ceasing to speak still of her

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prising that Poetry, the literature of awakened feeling, the solace of plaintive mind, and the endeared recreation of the most cultivated talents, should have been profuse in its tributes to a man so amiable and so beloved. SPENSER, whose gentle spirit, chivalric taste, and sweet harmonies of diction, were peculiarly congenial with his honored theme, has devoted to him some of his most mellifluent verses.* To his

majesty ; being glad if his hurt and death might any way honor her ; for her's he was while he lived, and God's if he died. He prayed all men to think that the cause was as well her's as the country's, and not to be discouraged ; ' For you have seen such success (he added) as may encourage us all. And this my hurt is the ordinance of God by the hap of this war.' Lett. in Collins, 105.

* Spenser represents him as a shepherd, in allusion to his ' Arcadia,' and gives him accordingly a pastoral name. I quote the pages from Mr. Todd's valuable and complete edition :

A gentle shepherd born in Arcady,
Of gentlest race that ever shepherd bore ;
About the grassy banks of Hamony
Did keep his sheep, his little stock and store ;
Full carefully he kept them day and night
In fairest fields, and Astrophel was hight.
He grew up fast in goodness and in grace,
And doubly fair both in his mind and face :
Which daily more and more he did augment
With gentle usage and demeanor mild ;
That all men's hearts, with secret ravishment,
He stole away and weetingly beguiled.
Ne spite itself, that all good things doth spill,
Found aught in him, that he could say was ill.
His sports were fair ; his joyaunce innocent ;
Sweet without sour ; and honey without gall.
And he himself seem'd made for merriment ;
Merrily masking both in bower and hall.
There was no pleasure, nor delightful play
When Astrophel soever was away.

After remarking, that altho he was much noticed by all, yet that one lady alone, Stella, fixed his attention, the poet proceeds :—

To her, he vowed the service of his days ;
On her, he spent the riches of his wit :
For her, he made hymns of immortal praise.
Of only her, he sung, he thought, he writ.
Her, and but her, of love he worthy deemed ;
For her, the rest but little he esteem'd :

own elegy, our sweet bard attached 'the doleful lay of Clorinda,' as the composition of the sister of his Astrophel,⁸⁷ and also the lamenting compositions of two other friends.⁸⁸ Besides these, a student

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Nor her with idle words alone he woo'd,
And verses vain; yet verses are not vain;
But with brave deeds to her sole service vow'd,
And bold achievements her did entertain,
For both in deeds and words he nurtur'd was,
Both wise and hardy; too hardy, alas!

His bodily accomplishments are thus enumerated:—

In wrestling, nimble; and in running, swift;
In shooting, steady; and in swimming, strong:
Well made to strike; to throw; to leap; to lift;
And all the sports that shepherds are among:
In every one he vanquished every one;
He vanquished all; and vanquished was of none.

Todd, Sp. v. 8. p. 51-5.

⁸⁷ This seems to have been written by Sir Philip's sister, the accomplished countess of Pembroke. The pleasing verses thus end:—

But that immortal spirit, which was deck'd
With all the dowries of celestial grace—
O! what is now become of it? a dead!
Ay me! can so divine a thing be dead?
Ah no! it is not dead; ne can it die;
But lives for aye in blissful Paradise;
Where, like a new born babe, it soft doth lie
In beds of lilies wrapt, in tender wise.
There thousand birds, all of celestial brood,
To him do sweetly carol, day and night,
And with strange notes, by him well understood,
Lull him asleep, in angelic delight:
While in sweet dream to him presented be,
Immortal beauties which no eye may see.
There liveth he in everlasting bliss;
Sweet spirit! never fearing more to die,
Nor dreading harm from any foes of his,
Ne fearing savage beasts more cruelty.
But live thou there, still happy; happy spirit!
And give us leave, thee, here thus to lament;
Not thee, that dost thy heaven's joy inherit,
But our own selves, that here in dole are drent.

Todd, Sp. 64, 5.

⁸⁸ The first is under the name of 'The Mourning Muse of Thestylis,' and in less euphonious Alexandrines, expresses a congenial feeling:—

But thou, O blessed soul! dost, haply, not respect
Those tears we shed, tho full of loving pure affect.

of the Temple expressed his feelings in verse,²⁰

Having affixed thine eyes on that most glorious throne,
Where, full of Majesty, the High Creator reigns ;
In whose bright shining form, thy joys are all complete ;
Whose love kindles thy sprite ; where happy, always one,
Thou liv'st in bliss that earthly passion never stains ;
Where from the purest spring, the sacred nectar sweet
Is thy continual drink ; where thou dost gather now
OF WELL EMPLOYED LIFE, th' inestimable gains.

Todd, p. 74.

Another *ECOLOGUE* was devoted to memorialize him, by a companion of his travels, under the name of Philisides :—

--- Unhappy Albion !
When shalt thou see, among thy shepherds all,
Any so sage ; so perfect ? Whom, uneath
Envy could touch for virtuous life and skill ;
Courteous, valiant, and liberal.

Apostrophising himself, as he remembered their journeys together, the author adds,

What luckless destiny hath thee bereft
Of thy chief comfort ; of thy only stay ?
Where is become thy happy wonted state ?
Alas ! wherein, thro many a hill and dale ;
Thro pleasant woods, and many an unknown way,
Along the banks of many silver streams,
Thou with HIM yodest ; and with him did scale
The craggy rocks of Alps and Apennines ;
Still with the Muses sporting ! while those beams
OF VIRTUE, kindled in his noble breast,
Which after did so gloriously forth shine.
Alas ! who now is left that like him sings ?
When shall you hear again like harmony ?
Lo, where, engraved by his hand, yet lives
The name of Stella in yon laurel tree.
Happy name ! Happy tree ! fair may you grow,
And spread your sacred branch, which honor gives
To famous Emperor's and Poets' crown.

Todd, p. 80.

Another ELEGY.

²⁰ The *Elegy* written by Matthew Roydon, has these pleasing lines :

You knew ; who knew not Astrophil ?
That I should live to say I knew,
And have not in possession still !
Things known, permit me to renew.
Of him, you knew his merit such,
I cannot say, you hear too much.

and also others;⁸⁰ nor did our respected and elaborate Daniel forget him.⁸¹ Oxford and Cambridge

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Within these woods of Arcady
He chief delight and pleasure took :
And on the mountain Parthenie
Upon the crystal, liquid brook,
The muses met him every day,
That taught him sing, and write, and say.

A thousand graces one might count
Upon his lovely cheerful eie ;
To hear him speak, and see him smile,
You were in Paradise the while.

A sweet, attractive kind of grace ;
A full assurance given by looks ;
Continual comfort in a face,
The lineaments of gospel books.

I trowe, that count'nance cannot lie,
Whose thoughts are legible in th' eye.—Todd, p. 85.

⁸⁰ In a long Epitaph by another friend, we have this warm tribute of regard :

To praise thy life, or wail thy worthy death,
And want thy wit ; thy wit, high, pure, divine,
Is far beyond the power of mortal line,
Nor any one hath worth, that draweth breath.
Kent, thy birth days ; and Oxford, held thy youth.
The fruits of age grew ripe in thy first prime.
Thy will, thy words ; thy words, the seals of truth.
Whence to sharp wars, sweet honor did thee call ;
Thy country's love ; religion ; and thy friends.
Of worthy men, the marks, the lives, and ends :
And her defence, for whom we labor all.
What hath he lost, that such great grace hath won ?
Young years for endless years ; and hope, unsure
Of fortune's gifts, for wealth that still shall 'dure.
O happy race ! with so great praises run !—Todd, p. 91, 2.

Of another anonymous tribute, one stanza may be cited :

He was, wo worth the word ! to each well thinking mind,
A spotless friend ; a matchless man ; whose virtue ever shin'd :
Declaring in his thoughts, his life, and what he writ,
Highest conceits, longest foresights, and deepest works of wit.

Todd, p. 94.

⁸¹ OUR DANIEL.—This old poet composed an address to his departed spirit, with a recollection that they had sometimes written poetry together.

To thee, pure spirit ! to thee alone address'd
Is this joint work ; by double interest, Thine.
Thine, by thy own ; and what is done of mine,
Inspired by thee, thy secret power impress'd.
My Muse with thine, itself dared to combine ;
Let thy fair beams give lustre to the rest.

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added their contributions;²² and even king James endeavored, on such a subject, and with unusual success, to catch a ray of Parnassian inspiration.²³

O ! had that soul, which honor brought to rest
Too soon, not left, and reft this world of all
That man could show, which we perfection call ;
This precious piece had sorted with the best.

To thy great worth, which Time to times enrol ;
Wonder of men ! sole born ! soul of thy kind !
Complete in all. But heavenly was thy mind ;
For wisdom, goodness, sweetness : Fairest soul !
Too good to wish ; too fair for earth ; refin'd
For heaven, where all true glory rests confin'd.
And where but there, a life without control ?

3 Chal. Poets, 550.

²² A volume of Poems, on his memory, by Oxford Scholars, was printed in quarto there, in 1587 ; and one from Cambridge was published by A. Neville, in the same year. Collins, 109.

The contemporary author, who composed his ' Leicester's Ghost ' to satirize his powerful uncle, yet thus distinguishes Sidney :

The court in him lost a brave courtier ;
The country lost a guide, their faults to mend :
The camp did lose an expert soldier :
The city lost an honorable friend ;
The schools a pattern their right to defend.

The court, the country, with the schools and city,
For SIDNEY's death still sing a mournful ditty.—p. 30.

²³ Of this king's epitaph lord Hardwicke remarks, ' It is singular, that among the different elegies made upon sir Philip after his death, king James's verses are the most elegant. They are worthy of a scholar of Buchanan.' Hard. State Papers, v. 1. p. 330. Spenser addressed to him his Shepherd's Calendar, 1579 : ' To him that is the President of nobleness and chivalry ; ' and thus also noticed him in the sonnet to his sister, prefixed to the Fairy Queen, in 1590.

- - - - - That most heroic spirit,
The heavens pride, the glory of our days,
Which now triumpheth, thro immortal merit
Of his brave virtues crowned with lasting bays
Of heavenly bliss and everlasting praise ;
Who *first* my muse did lift out of the floor,
To sing her sweet delights in lowly lays,
Bids me, most noble lady ! to adore
His goodly image, living evermore
In the divine resemblance of your face.—p. 48.

And in 1591, dedicating to her his ' Ruins of Time,' he styles him ' the hope of all learned men, and the patron of my young Muses.' p. 340.

CHAP. XXXIV.

LEICESTER'S RECALL—NEW CONSPIRACY TO ASSASSINATE ELIZABETH, BY SAVAGE—AND BY BABINGTON—THEIR CONDEMNATIONS—MARY'S TRIAL—ANOTHER PLOT FORMING BY THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR—DEATH OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

THE Campaigns of Leicester in the Netherlands, had the effect of preserving Holland from subjection, and of keeping the Spaniards from penetrating beyond some of its frontier towns; but neither emancipated Flanders, nor destroyed the Spanish forces, which were acting in the Netherlands. The English army was not sufficient for exploits so brilliant; nor had Leicester, tho not deficient in mind, activity, or courage, the talent to make his inferior means formidable to his adversaries, by those exertions of skill and enterprise by which some generals have achieved what, until successfully executed, seemed romantic and impracticable.¹ Differences arose

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¹ The intellectual abilities of Leicester are favorably displayed in his able letter of 8th February 1586 to sir F. Walsingham, stating his reasons for accepting from the states general the absolute government of their country. Hardw. v. 1. p. 311-4; and also from his other correspondence. Davison's report to him, of 17th February, shews the great displeasure of Elizabeth at the circumstances, and his great exertions in three audiences to abate her anger against the earl. ib. 301-10. The greatest cause of offence was, that Leicester had taken the offered dignity in express violation of her previous command, and had neither informed her of the appointment, nor consulted her upon it. But the earl again appears to us with some ambiguity, in his rebuking letter to Davison, for not being successful in reconciling the queen with him, as in the notes of his agent in the margin, Davison denies some of Leicester's assertions, and notices his suppression of the fact, that the queen had forbidden him to act as he had done. Hardw. p. 318-20.

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between him and the states general.² Two English officers, under the mingled influence of bigotry and bribery, thro the instrumentality of doctor Allen, delivered up Daventer and the fort of Zutphen, by treachery, to the Spaniards;³ and tho the character of their countrymen was redeemed by others in a brave defence of Sluys,⁴ and in achievements before Zutphen, which remind us of the heroes of Homer and their individual exploits,⁵ and especially in that conflict where Sidney fell,⁶ yet at length

² Camden, p. 295 and 394.

³ Sir William Stanley gave up the important town of Daventer. His garrison was 1300 English and Irish. Being himself a papist, he sent for priests to convert them, that they might become a seminary regiment for the formation of a Catholic army against Elizabeth. Allen sent the priests, Camd. 354; and Strype notices, from a publication in 1595, that he also obtained for the revolting troops two months pay from the Spaniards. Annal. v.3. p. 622. But the Spaniards could not trust them, and, as Camden states, poisoned York, and moved the regiment about, 'exposing it to dangers, and so neglecting it, that some perished miserably for lack of food, and some ran away one after another. Stanley went to Spain, and offered to invade Ireland, but no credit was given to him.' Camd. 354.

⁴ The prince of Parma had fired 17,000 shot into it, and made a large breach, before sir Roger Williams, sir Fras. Vere, and capt. Nicholas Baskerville, would give it up, and then only surrendered, after Leicester had retired from an ineffectual effort to relieve them. Camd. 354. Stow's narrative of the actions of the English forces in Holland, taken chiefly from the account of Segar, and of his cousin H. Archer, who had served there, furnishes an interesting detail of the main circumstances. 713-8, and 730-740.

⁵ In defending the fort, a Spaniard charged Mr. Edward Stanley with a pike, who, seizing it, grasped it so fast, that when the soldier drew it towards him, Stanley chose to be pulled up with it, that he might get that way on the battlement. His unexpected presence and daring attack so terrified the garrison, that they fled before him out of the redoubt, and the next night abandoned also the larger fortification, and all its ammunition. Leicester knighted Stanley for his intrepidity, and besides an immediate present of forty pounds, settled on him for life a yearly pension of an hundred marks. Camd. 95.

⁶ 'Sir John Norris gave the first charge, and with his pistol in his hand offered to discharge it on a brave man; but not going off, he struck it on the head of the enemy, and overthrew him. Lord Willoughby, with his lance in his rest, met captain George, the commander of all the Albanese, and unhorsed him, so that he fell into a

Leicester was recalled to England; not unwillingly,⁷ as he had been compelled to abandon the display and power, which, at the outset of his career, he seems to have been contemplating.⁸ The Dutch then appointed Maurice, the youthful son of their assassinated prince of Orange, the governor of their provinces in his stead. He had to act against the prince of Parma, the ablest general of that busy day, who was now seeking to neutralize and disarm Elizabeth, ever anxious for pacification, by his diplomatic

ditch, and cried out, 'I yield to be your prisoner, because you are a seemly knight.' The lord came not to take prisoners, and passed on with his curtle-ax in his hand so furiously, that it was wonder to see. The earl of Essex exclaiming, 'For the honor of England, my fellows! follow me,' placed his lance in his rest, and overthrew the first man, and then with his curtle-ax behaved himself surprizingly. Sir William Russel, with his cornet, charged so terribly, that after he had broken his lance, he exerted himself with his curtle-ax with such vehemence, that the enemy reported him to be a devil, and not a man, for where he saw six or seven together he rushed thither, and so behaved himself with his weapon that he soon separated their friendship.' Stow, 737.

⁷ Stow thus portrays him, from some eye witness on his final return: 'As he sat in his chamber, he clapped his hands upon his legs, saying, 'These legs of mine shall never go again into Holland. Let the States get others to serve their mercenary turn, if they will make themselves rich, for me they shall not have.' p. 713. He declared to Burghley, in his letter of 30 September 1587, 'that he had lost by his voyage 25,000*l.* clear of all expenses, besides all I received, being before at least 8,000*l.* in debt.' Hard. 1. p. 344.

⁸ We may infer this from what Elizabeth had been informed of his intentions, and which greatly roused her displeasure. 'It was told her majesty, that my lady was prepared to come over presently to your excellency, with such a train of ladies and gentlemen, and such rich coaches, litters and side-saddles, as that her majesty had none such; and that there should be such a court of ladies, as should far surpass her majesty's court here. This information did not a little stir her majesty to extreme choler and dislike of all vain doings there, saying with great oaths, 'She would have no more courts under obeisance but her own, and would revoke you from thence with all speed.' The writer [Th. Dudley] assured the lord treasurer and vice-chamberlain that, *as far as he knew*, the information was false.' It is probable that Leicester soon saw the necessity of laying aside such projects. 'This being told to her majesty, did greatly pacify her stomach.' Hardw. vol. 1. p. 299.

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but insincere correspondence.⁹ The boy Maurice at length triumphed, both over him and over the still more active marquis Spinola, his successor.¹⁰

Internal perils began now to increase against the English queen. Sixtus V. had succeeded to the tiara, and republished the bull of excommunication against her, with his own additions and authority.¹¹ The party of Catholics in the kingdom had been enlarged by the activity of the Jesuits and seminary priests,¹² and was now more formidable and

⁹ Sir F. Walsingham, on 12 Nov. 1587, apprized Leicester of this. 'A letter from the duke of Parma to her majesty has bred in her such a dangerous security, that all advertisements of perils and danger are neglected.' Hardw. v. 1. p. 359. The king of Denmark had also sent an ambassador to mediate a peace, but ineffectually. Stow, 720. Camden. Parma's offers were only to amuse the government, and to veil his own purposes. So to divide and dishearten the Dutch, a report was spread that Elizabeth was making peace with Spain. Burgh. Lett. Hardw. v. 1. p. 337, and Leic. Lett. p. 340.

¹⁰ He was the second son of the celebrated prince. Davison, in February 1586, in his audience with Elizabeth on behalf of Leicester, described this prince as 'a child, poor, and of little respect among them.' Hardw. p. 303. But Stow, on his great appointment two years and a half afterwards, more justly characterizes him as, 'tho young, yet of great observation, and good experience in their wars; who being a native and of mild disposition, concurred better with the humour of the States and common people than any that were before him. He fought great battles; conquered certain provinces, and won sundry strong cities and castles from the Spaniards.' p. 713.

¹¹ Sixtus acceded to his tiara in April 1586. That he planned, like his predecessors, against Elizabeth, we see by an expressive paragraph in the French envoy's (Fontenay) letter to the queen of Scots, in 1586, of the articles of his negotiation, with the answers of her son JAMES; one of these is, 'DELIBERATION DU PAPE, R. d'Espagne et D. de Guise, CONTRE la R. d'Angleterre en faveur de la R. d'Ecosse. Si votre majesté accepte et desire, quel'on avance ou entretienne, it is necessary to know immediately your resolution on the whole.' Murdin, 554, and the postscript of JAMES in page 557.

¹² In lord Burghley's notes on the dangerous state of the realm in 1586, he remarks, that these missionaries 'have seduced people that were not before instructed in our religion. And while these persons have used great diligence and secrecy to win our people, *our bishops and clergy* have, *neither* secretly nor publicly, *used any diligence* to teach the unlearned. So that the papists have gained from these few years more than in many years before.' Strype Eccl. v. 3. p. 624.

dangerous than before.¹³ Elizabeth felt and publicly avowed her feeling of her personal danger, but was not dismayed by it, and earnestly expressed to her parliament, her sense of their provisions for her safety.¹⁴ Yet if the estimation of the state of England by the agent of Rome, is to be considered as a correct account of the disposition of the Catholics, and of their comparative number, the government was in greater peril of being circumvented or subverted by the landing of any force that could maintain itself till the friends of the papal cause

¹³ Sir Philip Sidney's description of this portion of our population, in the year 1580, deserves our citation, as it was made to the queen as his deliberate judgment on this subject. 'Men whose spirits are full of anguish; some being infected by others, whom they accounted damnable; *some having their ambition stopped, because they are not in the way of advancement*; some in prison and disgrace; some whose best friends are banished practisers. Many think you are an usurper; many think also that you have your right disannulled, because of the pope's excommunication: all burthened with the weight of their conscience. Men of great numbers, of great riches, because the affairs of the state have not lain on them; of united minds, as all men that deem themselves oppressed naturally are. With these, I would willingly join all discontented persons, such as want and disgrace keep lower than they have set their hearts to be; such as have resolved what to look for at your hands; such as Cæsar said, 'to whom a civil war is necessary,' and who are of his mind; 'I had rather fall in the field than in the forum.' These be men so much the more to be doubted, because, as they embrace all estates, they are commonly of the bravest and wakefullest sort, and most know the advantage of the world. This double rank of people, how their minds have stood, the northern rebellion, and infinite other practices have well taught you. At present they want nothing so much as a head.' Sidney's Letters, v. 1. p. 288.

¹⁴ When she dissolved her parliament on 29th March 1585, her speech was, 'My Lords, and ye of the Lower House! My silence must not injure the owner so much, as to suppose a substitute sufficient to render you the thanks that my heart yieldeth you; not so much for the safe keeping of my life, as for the neglecting your private future peril, in regarding only my present state. No prince can be faster bound than I am, with the link of your good will. I can for that but yield you a heart and head to seek for ever all your best. I know no creature that breathes, whose life stands in more peril than mine own, who entered not into my state without sight of manifold dangers of life and crown, as one that had the mightiest and greatest to wrestle with.' Stow, 702.

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could assemble and join it, than either the queen or her ministers may have believed.¹⁵ In 1586, this branch of the population had been excited to a renewal of their objects and wishes by a fresh introduction of the Jesuit missionaries.¹⁶ Averse to the deprivation of life, the queen had in the preceding year caused thirty-two of the intruded seminary priests and Jesuits to be deported out of the kingdom, and landed at Boulogne;¹⁷ but in this, four of the more offending were executed for treason at Tyburn.¹⁸

In the summer of 1586, the country was alarmed

¹⁵ The papers found on the Jesuit Crichton, stated, 'First, all the Catholics, without any exception, do favor, or rather do greatly desire some such enterprise. The faction of the Catholics in England is great; and able, if the kingdom were divided in three parts, to make two of them. But because there is no fortress in all the country where they may remain in surety while they gather their forces together, and the officers of the queen have always an eye over them, they dare not rise without some beginning of forces.' It thus divides the realm into two parts, 'one, the earls, barons, knights and esquires; the other is of *yeomen*, the *most part* of which are Catholics.' Strype Annals, v. 3. p. 602. The writer of this seems to have overrated the numbers of his party.

¹⁶ So one of them, Parsons, in this year reported to cardinal Allen, after he had landed, that they had had a very happy journey to England, that 'their arrival in the island did in a wonderful manner refresh and cheer the Catholics, who had before complained that they were forsaken by the society, and that the shepherds, discouraged by difficulties, would forsake their flock, which had never more need of them.' Strype, p. 600. Garnet, the Jesuit, who was implicated in the gunpowder plot, and who suffered for it, came at this time into England, in July 1586, as sir John Croke stated on his trial. State Trial, 1. p. 242.

¹⁷ Stow, p. 710.

¹⁸ Two on 21 Jan. Devorox and Barber: and two others, Thompson and Lea, on 20 April. Stow, 719, 720. It was a harsh punishment, like that of many felonies to which death has been too promiscuously and rashly attached by our former laws; but as they came into the island after the statute had made it treason for such persons to enter into it, stay 40 days, and act as they did, they voluntarily and wilfully chose to incur the legal sentence and the penalty; and as such, their case was an act of deliberate suicide: for all criminal or unauthorized martyrdom is so.

by the detection of a conspiracy for that general rebellion¹⁹ to which the disaffected Catholics had so long and so eagerly looked, and for the assassination of Elizabeth. The guilty plotters were apprehended.

Of these, Savage confessed that he had been incited by Dr. William Gifford, at the seminary at Rheims, to swear to kill the queen, and that his tempter suggested the plan.²⁰ He came to England for the purpose, but had not summoned his resolution to the perpetration, tho further urged by letters from his continental instigators, when he learnt that Anthony Babington and several others were also forming a similar plot.²¹ One of these, Ballard, a priest, being taken up, he agreed with Babington to make an immediate attempt;²² but the complete discovery

¹⁹ Stow, 728. It was discovered at last to Walsingham, by Gilbert Gifford, a priest, one of the conspiring parties. Camd. 305.

²⁰ He said, "Gifford charged him to forbear no time, nor place, but to murder her. As her Majesty should go into her chapel to hear divine service, Savage might lurk in the gallery, and stab her with his dagger; or if she should walk into her garden, he might shoot her with his dagg; or if she did walk abroad to take the air, as she would often do, and rather, as Gifford said, accompanied with women than men, and these men slenderly weaponed, Savage might assault her with his arming sword, and so make sure work; and tho he should be in extreme hazard of his own life, he would be sure to gain heaven thereby." Sav. Confess. in State Trials, v. 1. p. 122.

²¹ Ib. Savage was described by his conspiring friend, Chornock, thus: 'Savage and I were acquainted. He was of Barnard's Inn, and I of Furnival's. We both served in the Spanish camp together. He was an excellent soldier, a man skilful in languages, and learned besides. He introduced me to Ballard.' State Tr. I. p. 132.

²² Then came Babington to Savage, saying, 'Ballard is taken, all will be bewrayed; What remedy now? Savage answered, None; but to kill her presently.' 'Then, go you to court to-morrow, and execute the fact.'—'Nay, I cannot go to-morrow, my apparel is not ready, and in this apparel I shall never come near the queen.' Babington gave him his ring and money, to get the clothes; but the next day, suspecting something, fled, and all was discovered.' Conf. ib.

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of the nefarious projects by the cabinet, intercepted their prosecution.²³

The plot of Babington originated from Ballard, one of the seminary priests of Rheims. After visiting the Catholics in England and Scotland, and ascertaining their feelings, he returned to France at Easter 1586, and concerted and framed with the Spanish ambassador, and Charles Paget, a man devoted to Mary, a scheme for the invasion of England by Spain.²⁴ He returned to this country in the disguise of a military officer; and there devised the villany with Babington, an ambitious young man of good family, whom Mary's agents had seduced when in France;²⁵ and both agreeing that no invasion would avail as long as Elizabeth lived, Babington resolved to ensure her destruction by not leaving its execution to Savage alone, but by procuring five other determined gentlemen to co-operate.²⁶ Babington acknowledged that Morgan, a friend of Mary, had

²³ Savage had served under the prince of Parma. It was in the autumn of the preceding year, that Gifford had solicited him to include Leicester in the attempt. p. 122. The doctor assured him that the assassination would be 'just and meritorious;' and referring him to others in the seminary, at supper, for their opinions, they affirmed to him, that it was lawful, because she was an heretic, an enemy to true religion, and a schismatic person.' *State Trials*, p. 122.

²⁴ *Camd.* 302. He had 'for five or six years ranged thro many parts of the realm, disguised in apparel, and under several names.' *Hardw.* v. 1. p. 225, 6.

²⁵ *Camd.* 302. 'He returned to London on Whit-Sunday, the 22 May, and within four or five days after conferred with Babington.' *Hard.* p. 226. The solicitor general described him, 'being a popish priest, he came in a grey cloke laid on with gold lace, in velvet hose, a cut sattin doublet, a fair hat of the newest fashion, the band being set with silver buttons; a man and a boy after him, and his name captain Fortescue.' *State Trials*, I. 130.

²⁶ *Camd.* 303. *Hard.* 226. 'These things, with many other material circumstances, were voluntarily confessed by divers of the principal conspirators.' *Hard.* ib.

introduced him to the bishop of Ross, her ambassador, and that under their recommendations he corresponded with her;²⁷ and in one letter to her, he stated the plot in which he had engaged.²⁸ She answered him in a cipher, which Titchborne, one of his confederates, assisted to read, and a copy of which he produced to Ballard and the rest.²⁹ Several gentlemen united in the conspiracy, and met frequently to contrive for its effectual execution.³⁰ But the man sent from France to England, to put Savage in mind of his vow, revealed what he knew to Walsingham, who by his instrumentality carried on their secret correspondence with Mary,³¹ till sufficient proof being obtained of the criminality of all the confederating parties, Ballard was arrested at Babington's house, as he was about to depart for France; to secure the foreign aid which had been promised;³² the others were also taken, and the elaborate plot was immediately disconcerted. The seven principal conspirators were first tried in the middle

²⁷ His confession, Hard. p. 227. Babington was a gentleman of some social respectability, for his friend and confederate, Titchborne, thus spoke of him: 'Before this thing chanced, we lived together in most flourishing estate. Of whom went report in the Strand, Fleetstreet, and elsewhere about London, but of Babington and Titchborne. No threshold was of force to brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for.' State Trials, I. p. 133.

²⁸ Hard. p. 227. A letter of Mary to Babington, of 28 June, from Chartly, and a long letter from him to her, intimating his intended enterprise, were produced on Mary's trial, and are in the State Trials, I. p. 141, 2.

²⁹ Hard. 228. The substance of her answer is given in p. 230-3.

³⁰ The associates of Babington were the Catholic gentlemen, Edward Windsor, brother of lord Windsor; Thomas Salisbury, of a knightly family in Denbighshire; Charles Tilney, a gentleman of an ancient house, and one of Elizabeth's gentlemen pensioners, whom Ballard had then lately reconciled to the Roman church; Titchborne; E. Abington, whose father had been under-treasurer of the queen's household, and six others. Camd. 33.

³¹ Camd. 305.

³² Camd. 306.

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of September, and admitted the substance of the charges, according to the degree of their individual participation.³³ Elizabeth appears to have had a narrow escape.³⁴ The next day, the other seven were also found guilty, and all were executed.³⁵

The certainty that Spain had resolved on a powerful invasion of England, that a formidable party in the island had invited it; and that Mary was by her letters and agents soliciting it and concurring in plots for the destruction of Elizabeth, determined the government to subject the Scottish queen to an arraignment and trial for high treason; and in the month after the preceding convictions, a commission was

³³ After Ballard had declared upon his arraignment, 'I confess, sir, I am guilty,' Babington was questioned: 'Then began he with a mild countenance, a sober gesture, and a wonderful good grace, to declare the beginnings and proceedings of his treason, which was according as he was indicted, and according to Savage's confession. In the end, he laid all the blame on Ballard for bringing him to his destruction.' Salisbury declared that he had positively refused to kill Elizabeth, but admitted that he had practised to bring on a Spanish invasion, and to deliver the queen of Scots. *State Trials*, I. p. 124. When sentence was to be passed after their conviction, Babington protested that 'before I met Ballard I never meant to kill the queen; but by his persuasions, I was induced to believe that she was excommunicate, and therefore lawful to murder her.' *ib.* 125.

³⁴ It appeared that Barnwell went to Richmond to reconnoitre, to see when she walked abroad, her company, and what weapons they had. Returning to London, he told Babington it was a most easy thing to kill her. While he was surveying the queen, this penetrating lady observed him, and thought he had some particular object.—Sir Christopher Hatton mentioned to him, that if others had remarked him as well as she did, he should never have taken the news to Babington. Barnwell's answer was, 'What I did was only for my conscience sake, and not for any malice or hatred to her.' *State Trials*, I. 125. So greatly had the Romish doctrines spoilt his mind.

³⁵ See their trials, p. 127–33. On the 20th September, the first seven were hung, but by the inhumanity of the executioner, Ballard and Babington, being cut down alive, were embowelled in that state. *Camd.* 308. The queen, hearing of this cruelty, sent express orders that the others should not be cut down till they were quite dead. It is a great improvement of our criminal punishments, that such revolting appendages to them are now either abolished or obsolete.

issued by the crown, to the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, thirty peers, seven knights, the three chief judges of the law courts, and two other judges, and two of the privy council, to try this unfortunate, and not innocent, lady.³⁶ On the intention being announced to her, she objected to the right of making her responsible like a subject.³⁷ The chancellor and treasurer asserted to her, 'that neither her imprisonment, nor her prerogative of royal majesty, could exempt her from answering in this kingdom.'³⁸ She denied their allegation; they reasoned with her on this point; but she persisted in her objection, till lord Burghley telling her that they would proceed on the morrow, whether she attended and answered or not, she added, as they parted, 'Search your consciences: look to your honor. God reward you and yours for your judgment against me.'³⁹

The next day, October 12, the judicial commissioners assembled; and she came to them with a protestation, that she was no subject of the queen's, was an absolute queen herself, and was not constrained to appear before any judge whatever; but now appeared personally, to refute the crimes objected against her.⁴⁰

1586.

³⁶ State Trials, I. 138.

³⁷ 'It seemeth strange to me, that the queen should command me, as a subject, to appear personally in judgment. I am an absolute queen, and will do nothing which may prejudice either mine own royal majesty, or other princes of my place and rank, or my son. My mind is not dejected, neither will I sink under my calamity.' State Trials, I. p. 139.

³⁸ 'She answered, that she was no subject, and would rather die a thousand deaths than acknowledge herself to be one; considering that by such an acknowledgement, she should both prejudice the height of royal majesty, and confess herself to be bound by all the laws of England, even in matter of religion; nevertheless, she was ready to answer to all things in a free and full parliament.' ib. 139.

³⁹ Ib. 140.

⁴⁰ Ib. 141.

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The charge was opened; and she denied that she knew Babington, or had received any letters from him, or had written any to him. She asserted likewise, that she had no knowlege of Ballard.⁴¹ A letter from HER to Babington was then produced, and also the one which he had sent to her, describing his conspiracy.⁴² On this she exclaimed, 'It may be that Babington wrote them, but let it be proved that I received it.' To give her this proof, there were read out of Babington's confession the chief heads of certain letters, which he had voluntarily acknowledged that she had written back to him.⁴³ Continuing still to affirm that he had received none from her, the crown lawyers then produced her own long letter to him, in which she commended his enterprise,⁴⁴ and detailed to him the points he must consider, in order to effectuate it;⁴⁵ directing him to impart it to the former Spanish ambassador to

⁴¹ State Trials, I. 141.

⁴² See them in State Trials, I. 141.

⁴³ State Trials, I. 142. As these made mention of the earls of Arundel and Northumberland, on hearing their names, 'the tears burst forth from her, and she said, 'Alas! what hath that noble house of the Howards endured for my sake!' ib. 142.

⁴⁴ This was dated 12 July 1586. It is given at length in the State Trials, v. 1. p. 143. Two of its first paragraphs are, 'I cannot but greatly praise and commend your common desire to prevent in time the designment of our enemies, for the extirpation of our religion out of this realm, with the ruin of us all. I pray you, assure our principal friends that I shall be always ready and most willing to employ therein my life, and all that I have or may look for in this world.' ib.

⁴⁵ She added, 'Now to ground substantially this enterprize, you must examine duly what forces you may raise among you all; what captains you shall appoint; what towns and ports you may assure yourselves, to receive succors from the Low Countries, Spain and France; what place to assemble the principal company of your forces; what provisions of monies and armor you would ask; by what means the six gentlemen do deliberate to proceed; the manner of my getting forth of this hold.' ib. 143.

England,⁴⁶ and then to prepare for a co-operating and simultaneous insurrection :⁴⁷ after these provisions the six gentlemen were then to act,⁴⁸ and when they had done so, she wished to be released without waiting for the invasion,⁴⁹ and she desired to be immediately apprised when their personal design on Elizabeth should be executed.⁵⁰ She advised them to procure a previous commotion in Ireland;⁵¹ and cautioned them against letting the French ambassador know of their plot, as his master was pursuing

⁴⁶ 'The best resolution in my device is, that you impart the same with all diligence to B. de Mendoza, ambassador for the king of Spain in France, who, besides the experience he hath of the state on this side, I may assure you will employ himself most willingly. I shall not fail to write to him of the matter, with all the recommendations I can; as also, I shall do, in any wise, what shall be needful.' ib.

⁴⁷ 'If your messenger bring you back again sure promise, and sufficient assurance of the succors which you demand, then, thereafter, but not sooner, for that were in vain, take diligent order that all those on your part make, secretly as they can, provision of armor, fit horses, and ready money, wherewith to hold themselves in readiness to march, so soon as it shall be signified unto you by the chief and principal of every shire.' ib. 143.

⁴⁸ 'The affairs being thus prepared, and forces in readiness both within and without the realm, *then shall it be time to set the six gentlemen on work.*' ib.

⁴⁹ 'Taking good order UPON THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THEIR DISCHARGES, [that] I may be suddenly transported out of this place, and meet, without tarrying for the arrival of the foreign aid, which must then be hastened with all diligence.' ib. 143. Thus Mary's suggested plan of operation was, that they should first secure the arrival of a foreign force, than assassinate Elizabeth, then immediately liberate her, and then hasten the bargained invasion.

⁵⁰ 'Now for that there can be no certain day appointed *for the accomplishment of the said gentlemen's designment*; to the end that others may be in readiness to take me from hence, I would that the said gentlemen had always about them divers and sundry scoutmen, furnished with good and speedy horses, *so soon as the design shall be executed*, to come with all diligence to advertize me thereof.' ib. 143.

⁵¹ 'I would also that some stirring were in Ireland; and that it were labored to begin some time before any thing be done here.' ib. 144. She recommended for their 'generals, or chief heads, the earl of Arundel, or some of his brethren, the young earl of Northumberland, the earl of Westmoreland, and lord Paget.' ib.

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a contrary policy;⁵³ and she suggests three plans for their effecting her escape.⁵³—She desired a copy of this momentous letter; denied it to be hers; remarked, that it was easy to counterfeit ciphers, and then ‘shed plenty of tears.’⁵⁴ Walsingham rose immediately to declare solemnly; ‘As a private person, I have done nothing unbecoming an honest man; nor, as I bear the place of a public one, have I done any thing unworthy of it. But I confess, that being very careful for the safety of the queen and realm, I have curiously searched out the practices against them.’⁵⁵ Mary said she was satisfied; prayed him not to be angry; remarked, that spies were men of doubtful credit; and then again burst into tears, with the exclamation, ‘I would never make shipwreck of my soul, by conspiring the destruction of my dearest sister.’⁵⁶ The lawyers briefly replied, that this would soon be disproved by testimony.⁵⁷

In the afternoon, the trial was resumed.⁵⁸ She admitted that she had ‘used Babington as an intelligence for her, and for conveying letters and packets; but that she was not to be charged except by her

⁵³ ‘I fear his master entertaineth a course far contrary to our designment, which may move him to discover us, if he had any particular knowlege thereof.’ p. 144.

⁵⁴ ‘The first, that 50 or 60 horsemen, well mounted and armed, should take her away as she rode on the moors:’ the second, ‘to come at midnight, and *set fire on the barns and stables*, which you know are near the house; and while my guardian servants shall come forth to the fire, some of you may surprise the house.’ The third was, to throw carts down near the great gates, and then ‘you might come suddenly, make yourselves masters of the house, and carry me suddenly away.’ *ib.* 144. All these devices shew a mind that had been much accustomed to consult and meditate on such enterprises.

⁵⁵ *State Trials*, 1. p. 145. The same letter is given in the fuller account of her trial, in the possession of the earl of Hardwicke, and printed by him in his *Collection of State Papers*, v. 1. p. 224–250.

⁵⁶ *Ib.*

⁵⁷ *Ib.* 145.

⁵⁸ *Ib.*

⁵⁹ *Ib.*

word, or her writing, and she was sure they had neither the one nor the other to lay against her.’⁵⁰ Her letters to Babington, and his to her, and the correspondence between the topics of both, were then stated ; the production by him of her letters to his confederates, and their confessions to have seen and heard them read ;⁵¹ the declarations, verified upon their oaths, of her favorite servants Nau and Curle, that she had received Babington’s letter and caused it to be deciphered, and had the answer, which was returned to it, written in her name ; and their acknowledgement, that the copies of it, produced by the lords of the council, expressed what had been so sent, were then brought forward ;⁵² and also Nau’s original notes of Babington’s letter, which he had made, on its being read to her when she ordered him to write the answer ;⁵³ and likewise his declaration, that he had taken the points of this letter, article by article, from her own mouth.⁵⁴ She admitted both Nau and Curle to be honest men, but still denied having received Babington’s letter, and imputed the account of her servants to ‘ torture, fear, or the hope of favor.’⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Hardwicke, v. 1. p. 253.

⁵¹ Hard. 234. The confessions were those of Babington, Ballard, Titchborne and Dunne. Ib.

⁵² Hard. 234.

⁵³ Hard. 235.

⁵⁴ Hard. 236.

⁵⁴ Hard. 238. Of these two secretaries of Mary, after their arrest, Burghley thus wrote to Walsingham, on 8 Sept. 1586: ‘ I think Curle will be more open ; and yet Nau hath amply confessed, by his handwriting, to have written by the queen’s inditing, and her own minutes, the long letter to Babington. But he would qualify his mistress’s fault, in that Babington provoked her thereto ; and Morgan prevailed on her to renew her intelligence with Babington.’ Ellis’ first Letters, v. 3. p. 5, 6. Nau’s detention is also thus mentioned in Anthony Hall’s letter to Burghley: ‘ As also the keeping of Jaques de Nau, the Scottish queen’s secretary, six weeks ; I only lying on a pallet in his chamber, until he had discovered all the truth he knew touch-

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The letter of her agent in France, Charles Paget, to her, was then produced, which Curle had deciphered, and in which Paget stated to her his conference with Ballard and Mendoza, their plot for the invasion of England, and the exciting a rebellion in it, and the directions which the Spanish ambassador had given to the priest.⁶⁵ The drafts of five letters written by her to as many persons, stating the plot for an invasion, which her servants Nau and Curle had sworn to, were also brought forward.⁶⁶

Mary 'confessed that she had written to procure invasion and rebellion,' and justified it 'as lawful to obtain thereby her delivery;'⁶⁷ but she persisted to deny her participation in any plan to assassinate

ing the Scottish queen's treasons: testes, Mr. Phillipps, her Majesties decipherer, and Mr. Fra. Milles.' Ellis' second Letters, v. 3. p. 169. It appears to have been at Hall's dwelling that the government watched to arrest Ballard, for he adds, 'As also my house was possessed, at your honor's commandment, certain days and nights, whereby Ballard the priest, and Babington, with others of those traitorous crew, were apprehended in a garden near my house.' ib. 169.

⁶⁵ Hard. 238. State Trials, I. 145. This was dated 26 May 1586. Her own letter to him, of the 20th of that month, was also given in evidence (p. 245,) as attested by Curle, and marked by lord Burghley. It was printed by lord Hardwicke, from the MSS. so marked in his possession. It acknowledges the receipt of five of Paget's letters, besides many others in cipher. She tells him, that there is no way to re-establish her affairs, 'except the king of Spain would take revenge of this queen, whilst France, occupied as it is, cannot help her. Wherefore I desire you to essay to discover clearly if the said king hath any intention to set on this country. I shall travail by all means to make my son enter in the said enterprise; and if he cannot be persuaded thereto, I shall dresse secret band and league amongst the principal Catholic lords of that country, and their adherents, to be joined with the king of Spain; and execute at his devotion, what of their parts shall be thought meet for advancing of the said enterprise.' Hardw. 218, 9.

⁶⁶ Hard. 238. They were dated 27 July 1586. Their contents are stated from p. 239. In the letter to sir F. Inglefield, she mentioned, 'that the principal Catholics of England had, about Easter last, made their complot together, to rise in Leicester's absence.' p. 242.

⁶⁷ Hard. 245.

Elizabeth. In one of her letters to Mendoza, she promised him that if her son would not be 'reclaimed to the Catholic religion, she resolved, as she had title, to give and grant her right in succession of the crown to the king of Spain by her last will and testament.'⁶⁸

The next day, renewing her protestation against their jurisdiction over her, lord Burghley told her it 'was recorded; but that the queen had granted them authority to hold their tribunal; neither do we come with prejudice, but to judge according to the exact rule of justice. We purpose not to object any thing unto you, but what you were privy to, or have attempted against the queen's person.'⁶⁹ Being asked if she wished any thing further, she required to be heard in a full parliament, or to speak in person with Elizabeth; then 'rising up, with great confidence of countenance, she had some conference with the lord treasurer, Hatton, Walsingham, and the earl of Warwick, by themselves apart.'⁷⁰

The court adjourned to the 25th October, when it met and unanimously pronounced her guilty of compassing and imagining the death of the queen.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Hard. 247. See the letter also in the State Trials, I. p. 147. 'She wished them to be kept secret: 'Forasmuch as if it should be revealed, it would be, in France, the loss of her dowry; in Scotland, the breach with her son; and in this country, her total ruin and destruction.' ib. 247. State Trials, 147. 'She confessed that a priest came to her and said, that if she would not intermeddle, both she and her son should be excluded from the inheritance. But she would not tell the priest's name.' State Trials, I. 145.

⁶⁹ State Trials, I. p. 146. Her letters to Dr. Allen, and his to her, of 5 Feb. were also read; he styled her '*My good sovereign!*' Hard. 248.

⁷⁰ State Trials, I. 148.

⁷¹ State Trials, I. 148. But the sameday the commissioners and judges made a declaration, that this sentence did derogate nothing from her son James in title or honor. ib.

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A few days afterwards, the parliament approved and confirmed the sentence, and petitioned Elizabeth for its fatal execution.⁷³ The queen, in answer, desired not to be pressed 'for any present resolution,'⁷³ and expressed at some length her feelings of regret at the conduct of the princess they had condemned.⁷⁴

That Mary was fully involved in the conspiracy for invading Elizabeth, and for an internal insurrection to depose her; and that she patronized the plot of the queen's assassination by Babington and his friends, there seems to be no reasonable doubt; but whether, according to the doctrine of her protest, her social rank as a sovereign exempted her from being amenable for crime, to the sovereign and laws of the country in which she chose to commit it, is a question, not of evidence, but of polity and reason. The immunity of a sovereign against his own subjects, arises from the common good of the country being deeply interested to require, that the highest executive functionary of a nation, who lives and acts for all the orders, and for the whole interest of the state, should be inviolable and irresponsible; and beyond all control, but that of the laws, written or traditional, under which he holds his dignity, and of the co-ordinate authorities in making them, which so happily distinguish constitutional from arbitrary governments. Without this unvarying privilege,

⁷³ See their 'Supplication' in State Trials, I. p. 148, 9.

⁷³ State Trials, I. p. 150.

⁷⁴ State Trials, I. 149, 150. She mentioned one fact of other designs on foot, not then made known to the public. 'It is not long since these eyes of mine saw and read an oath, wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a month.' *ib.* 150.

the sovereign will never be independent, permanent, tranquil, impartial, just, or effective. But this immunity is attached to his throne, rather than to his person; and the principle on which it rests, ceases to operate when he is a resident in another country, in which he holds no magistracy, and to whose people he owes neither duties nor protection. In this, he can claim no rights but those which all its inhabitants possess. His exalted rank entitles him here to no prerogatives; and he must submit to take as favor all those honors and courtesies, which, from his social disposition, he may fairly expect, and which the natural feelings of every upright heart will desire to exhibit. No human power can grant him a dispensation to commit a crime; reason subjects him to the moral order of nature as well as every other individual: and no positive law exists in any clime or state which licenses a king, because he is a king, to overthrow the government under which, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, he is dwelling, nor to injure the persons or the property of any of its people.

In this view, the cabinet, the parliament, and the judges of England, decided that Mary was amenable to its state tribunal for a conspiracy to kill its queen. If it had been otherwise, she might have committed murder with impunity; and if one murder, a thousand, if she had pleased: for the right to do wrong, can in no case depend upon the number of the offences, unless in such a legal anomaly as Turkey presents to us; where, according to an antient prescription arising from anterior compact between the sultan and his subjects, he may, as sultan, put to

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death on any one day fifteen of his people, without cause, objection, or inquiry. In this case, the number becomes the boundary to him between right and criminality; but in no other instance that has become known to our investigating curiosity.⁷⁵

It was on the 12th November, that the Speaker of the House of Commons, in their name, urged to her personally, at Richmond, the execution of the sentence,⁷⁶ and on five grounds, which may be read as representing the general feeling of the great majority of the country on this painful subject.⁷⁷ To

⁷⁵ After the preceding reflections had been written, I found that they had been under the consideration of the cabinet, at that time; for in the 'Objections against bringing Mary to trial, with the answers of the civilians,' in 1586, printed in Strype from his MS. we read, 'A king deposed is not afterwards to be taken for a king.' Thomas Gram. Dec. 65.

'The sovereignty hath a necessary relation to her own subjects; and to such actions as are committed within her own dominions.'

'Each prince, without [beyond] his territories is no more than a private person.' Ff. de hæred. Instit. l. 3.

'Each person, *ratione delicti*, is subject to the jurisdiction of the place wherein he offendeth.'

'The pre-eminency of the person altereth not the cause.'

'Aliens are not exempt from such laws as are of force where they remain.'

'A king passing thro another king's realm, or there resiant, is but a private person.' Strype's Annals, v. 3. pars 2. p. 397-9.

⁷⁶ On 25th November 1586, R. C. wrote to Leicester 'A report of certain petitions and declarations made to the queen from all the lords and commons in parliament, and her majesty's answer thereto,' which was printed in that year by C. Barker, and from which we shall quote, as the most immediate account of her interesting speech.

⁷⁷ These were, that she and her favorers thought she had 'a right, not to succeed only, but to enjoy your crown in possession, and is therefore an impatient competitor, and will not spare any means that may bereave us of your majesty. She is obdurate in malice against your royal person, and therefore there is no place for mercy, since there is no hope that she will desist from most wicked attempts. She boldly and openly professed it lawful for her to move invasion upon you. She thinks it not only lawful, but honorable and meritorious to take your life, as being already deprived of your crown by the excommunication; and therefore it is like she will, as hitherto she hath done, continually seek it by whatever means. She is greedy for your majesty's death, and prefers it before her own life and safety:

this important address, the queen immediately gave a verbal answer, which, being taken down at the time, and printed very soon afterwards, may be recorded as a specimen of her powers of public elocution;⁷⁸ extemporaneous as to its delivery, tho it could hardly be intirely unpremeditated; yet part of it seems to have been the effusion of the moment.

ELIZABETH'S SPEECH.

‘ AS I came to the crown with the willing hearts of my subjects, so do I now, after twenty-eight years reign, perceive in you no diminution of good wills, which if happily I should want, *well might I breathe; but never think I lived.*

‘ And now, albeit, I find my life hath been full dangerously sought, and death contrived, by such as no desert procured; yet am I therein so clear from malice, that I protest it is and hath been my grievous thought, that one, not different in sex, of like estate and my near kin, should fall into so great a crime: Yea, I had so little purpose to pursue her with any color of malice, that, as it is not unknown to some of my lords here, for now I will play the blab, *I secretly wrote her* a letter upon the discovery of sundry treasons, that if she would confess them and privately acknowlege them by her letters to myself, she never should need be called for them into public question. Neither did I it of mind to circumvent her, for then I knew as much as she could confess; and so I did write.

‘ And if even yet, now that the matter is made but too apparent, I thought she truly would repent, and none other would

for in her direction to one of her late accomplices, she advised, under covert terms, that, whatever should become of her, tragical execution should be performed upon you.’ R. C. p 8.

⁷⁸ R. C. gives it as ‘ Her answer, delivered by herself VERBALLY, in her chamber of presence at Richmond.’ p. 12. The title page adds, ‘ tho not expressed by the reporter *with such grace and life* as the same was uttered by her majesty.’ Was this R. C. who thanks Leicester ‘ for the honor you first vouchsafed me from my cradle,’ the Robert Constable employed by him with the earl of Westmoreland on his rebellion? See before, p. 220.

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take the matter upon them for her; or that we were but as two milk maids with pails upon our arms; or that there were no more dependency upon us; but mine own life were only in danger, and not the whole estate of your religion and well doings; I protest, wherein you may believe me, for tho I have many vices, I hope I HAVE NOT ACCUSTOMED MY TONGUE TO BE AN INSTRUMENT OF UNTRUTH, I would most willingly pardon and remit this offence.

‘For your sakes it is that I desire to live, to keep you from a worse. For as for me, I assure you I find no great cause I should be fond to live. I take no such pleasure in it, that I should much wish it; nor conceive such terror in death, that I should greatly fear it. And yet I say not, but if the stroke were coming, perchance flesh and blood would be moved with it, and seek to shun it.

‘I have had good experience and trial of this world. I know what it is to be a subject; what to be a sovereign; what to have good neighbors, and I sometimes meet evil willers. I have found treason in trust; seen great benefits little regarded; and instead of gratefulness, courses of purpose to cross.

‘These former remembrances, present feeling and future expectation of evils, have made me think them happiest that are the soonest hence, and taught me to bear with a better mind these treasons, than is common to my sex. I conceived that had their purposes taken effect, I should not have found the blow before I had felt it, and tho my peril should have been great, my pain should have been but small and short.’—

The queen then gave her reasons, why, instead of proceeding against her ‘by course of common law,’ when ‘she must have been indicted in Staffordshire, have holden up her hand at the bar, and been tried by a jury,’ she had ‘thought it better to commit the cause to the inquisition of a good number of the greatest and most noble personages of this realm.’

She added, ‘We princes are set on stages; in the sight and view of all the world, duly observed. The eyes of many behold our actions. A spot is soon spied in our garments; a blemish quickly noted in our doings. It behoveth us therefore to be careful that our proceedings be just and honorable.

‘But I must tell you one thing more,—

‘In this last act of parliament, you have brought me to a

narrow strait, that I must give directions for her death, which cannot be to me but a most grievous and irksome burthen,

‘ I am not unmindful of your oath, made *in the association* manifesting your great good wills and affection, for safety of my person and conservation of my life; done before I heard it, or ever thought of such a matter, until a great number of hands, with many obligations, were shewed me at Hampton Court, signed and subscribed with the names and seals of the greatest of this land; which as I do acknowledge as a perfect argument of your true hearts, and great zeal to my safety; so shall my bond be stronger tied to greater care for all your good.

‘ But forasmuch as this matter is rare, weighty, and of great consequence, I think you do not look *for any present* resolution. The rather, for that as it is not my manner, in matters of far less moment, to give speedy answer without due consideration.

‘ So in this of such importance, I think it very requisite, with earnest prayer to beseech His Divine Majesty so to illuminate my understanding, and inspire me with His grace, as I may do and determine that which shall serve to the establishment of His church, preservation of your estates, and prosperity of this commonwealth under my charge.

‘ Wherein, for that I know delay is dangerous, you shall have, with all conveniency, our resolution delivered by our message.’⁷⁹

The queen deliberated for some days on this perplexing matter, ‘ in some conflict with herself what to do in a cause so weighty and important to her and to the realm;’⁸⁰ and then sent to both houses a message, ‘ moving and earnestly charging them to enter into a further consideration, whether there might not be some other way of remedy than what they had already required; which was so far disagreeing from her own natural inclination.’⁸¹ There was no affection in this. She had always evinced a desire not to shed blood. She had long hesitated about the

⁷⁹ R. C. p. 13–19. ‘ The answer thus made by her majesty, the lords and commons were dismissed.’ *ib.*

⁸⁰ *Ib.* p. 20.

⁸¹ *Ib.* p. 20.

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duke of Norfolk's execution.⁸² And after she had at last assented to it, she censured lord Burghley for having urged her to the severity.⁸³ Both houses discussed the subject again in their several chambers, and unanimously resolved, 'That there could be found no other sound and assured mean;' and on 24th November, the lord chancellor, with twenty-five of the peers, attended the queen, and enforced their former petition.⁸⁴ She heard them attentively, and then again gave her sentiments, as before, extemporarily,⁸⁵ tho the topics must have occupied her previous thought. Her speech was probably a mixture of previous deliberation and of instantaneous feeling.

HER SECOND ANSWER.

'I have striven this day, more than ever in my life, whether I should speak, or use silence. If I speak and not complain, I shall dissemble. If I hold my peace, your labor taken were full vain. For me to make my moan, were strange and rare; yet such has been my desire and will, that from your consultations some other means might have fallen out to work my safety joined with your assurance; that I must needs use complaint, tho not of you, but unto you and of the cause, for that I perceive by your advises, only my injurer's bane must be my life's surety.

'Either those put in trust by me to supply my place have not performed their duties towards me, or else they have signified unto you all, that my desire was, that every one should do according to his conscience, and in the course of his proceeding should enjoy both freedom of voice and liberty of opinion. It was of a willing mind and great desire I had, that some other means

⁸² See before, p. 276, note 68. Her unwillingness to take the duke's life is there strongly shewn.

⁸³ This we learn from Davison's letter, quoted by Camden, p. 349: 'As she had laid the putting of the duke of Norfolk to death upon the lord Burghley.' ib.

⁸⁴ R. C. Letter, p. 21.

⁸⁵ 'Delivered by her own mouth.' R. C. 27.

might be found out ; wherein I should have taken more comfort than in any other thing under the sun.

‘ And since now it is resolved that my surety cannot be established without a princess end, I have just cause to complain, that I, who have in my time pardoned so many rebels, winked at so many treasons, and either not produced them, or altogether slipt them over with silence, should now be forced to this proceeding against such a person.

‘ I have besides, during my reign, seen and heard many opprobrious books and pamphlets against me, my realm, and state, accusing me to be a tyrant. What will they not now say, when it shall be spread, that, for the safety of her life, a maiden queen could be content to spill the blood even of her own kinswoman ? I may therefore full well complain, that any man should think me given to cruelty, whereof I am so guiltless and innocent ; yea, I protest I am so far from it, that for mine own life *I would not touch her* ; neither hath my care been so much bent how to prolong mine, as how to *preserve both*, which I am right sorry is made so hard, yea, so impossible.

‘ I am not so void of judgment, as not to see mine own peril ; nor yet so ignorant, as not to know it were in nature a foolish course to cherish a sword to cut mine own throat ; nor so careless, as not to weigh that my life is daily in hazard.

‘ But sith so many have both written and spoken against me, I pray you give me leave to say somewhat for myself ; and before you return to your countries, let you know for what a one you have passed so careful thoughts.

‘ Altho I may not justify, but may justly condemn, my sundry faults and sins to God, yet for my care in this government, let me acquaint you with my intents.

‘ When I first took the sceptre, my title made me not forget the Giver, and therefore began as it became me, with such religion as both I was born in, bred in, and I trust shall die in. I was not so simple as not to know, what danger and peril so great an alteration might procure me ; how many great princes of the contrary opinion would attempt all they might against me ; and generally, what enmity I should breed unto myself ; which all I regarded not, knowing that He, for whose sake I did it, might and would defend me.

‘ Then entered I further into the school of experience, be-
thinking what it fitted a king to do ; and there I saw, he scant

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was well furnished, if he either lacked justice, temperance, magnanimity, or judgment. As for the two latter, I will not boast. My sex doth not permit it. But for the two first, this I dare say, amongst my subjects I never knew difference of person, where right was one, nor never to my knowlege preferred for favor, whom I thought not fit for worth ; nor bent my ears to credit a tale that was first told me ; nor was so rash as to corrupt my judgment with my censure, before I heard the cause. We princes may not hear all ourselves, but this dare I boldly affirm—my verdict went ever with the truth of my knowlege. I have not used one sudden resolution in matters that have touched me full near. You will say that with me, I think.

‘ And therefore, as touching your counsels and consultations, I conceive them to be wise, honest and conscionable, and so provident and careful for the safety of my life, that tho I never can yield you of recompence your due, yet shall I endeavor myself to give you cause to think your good will not ill bestowed, and strive to make myself worthy for such subjects.’⁸⁶

After this implied assent to their request, a special French ambassador was sent from Henry III. to deliver from his sovereign an elaborate oration in her behalf, which De Thou was happy to record, as a gratifying specimen of his king’s and nation’s humanity.⁸⁷ But what prince in Europe, in that age, beyond the queen he addressed, made his words the image of his mind, or his delegated voice the ambassador of his heart? While the president DeBellievre was sounding the phrases of his verbal philanthropy, he had in his pocket his secret instructions from his master in whose name he uttered them, to solicit Elizabeth to consign Mary to the scaffold, as their common enemy,⁸⁸ and

⁸⁶ R. C. 27-32.

⁸⁷ De Thou, l. 86. v. 9. p. 627. Bayle calls it, ‘ La plus touchante et la plus pressante du monde pour détourner la reine d’Angleterre de l’exécution de l’arrêt.’ Critiq. Gen. v. 1. p. 31. 3d edit.

⁸⁸ I derive my knowlege of this from Mr. Bayle’s Critique Generale on Mainabourg’s Hist. Calvinism, vol. 1. p. 31. ‘ Mais, comme il

because if she lived, her possible succession would enable the Guises, with whom he was quarrelling, to endanger his crown and safety; a mockery of moral principle, worthy of one of the great authors of St. Bartholomew's funereal day!⁸⁹

Her Spanish and papal friends were also not extremely desirous to save her life. Every plot for her benefit had so signally failed; their discovery had made her so unpopular in England; her character had become so depreciated, and it was so difficult to govern the moveability and versatility of her self-will; which, tho often changing its object, was yet obstinate in pursuing its temporary inclinations,—that the foreign machinators were now settling in the belief, that an absolute conquest of the island, like that by William of Normandy, would alone establish a Catholic prince and a Romish hierarchy within it. Hence the pretensions of Philip II. to the succession, began to be preferred to the claims of Mary.⁹⁰

l'avoua au père de monsieur du Maurier, il avoit une autre instruction secrette, de la main du roy Henry III. pour exhorter la reine d'Angleterre A FAIRE DECAPITER cette ennemie commune de leurs personnes, et leurs royaumes.' ib.

⁸⁹ Bayle adds, 'The reason of such strange conduct was, that queen Mary was kinswoman of the Guises, and devoted to them. So that if the succession of Elizabeth, who was older than her, should fall to her, she would be mistress of three kingdoms; in which case the Guises, supported by her forces, might do what they pleased; and they would have made Henry III. turn monk, and have confined him in a monastery.' Bayle Crit. Gen. Hist. Calv. p. 31.

⁹⁰ In the letter written after Mary's death to a Scotch nobleman, in 1587, to dissuade James from a war, this fact is thus noticed: It is there said of Philip, 'He now pretendeth to be the FIRST Catholic prince of the blood-royal of England, as heir of the house of Lancaster. It was practised even during the queen of Scots' life BY THE JESUITS, and divers gentlemen, to advance him to the crown by way of election, to the prejudice of her and her line, as meetest to restore the Romish authority, both here and elsewhere.' Strype Ann. v. 3. p. 553.

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The fatal sentence against her was proclaimed in December, in the metropolis. Her son, the king of Scotland, now in the twenty-first year of his age, interceded earnestly for his mother's life,⁹¹ tho a portion of his people counteracted his application.⁹² The mind of Elizabeth still hesitated and fluctuated, but had discovered no desire to exact the mortal penalty; when another conspiracy against her life in behalf of the Queen of Scots, but apparently without her privity, produced new alarm in every individual who dreaded her accession. It was devised and promoted by the French ambassador in London, who was of the Guisian faction:⁹³ he had solicited William Stafford, the brother of the queen's ambassador, sir Edward Stafford, then at Paris; so nearly was conspiracy always about her.⁹⁴ His servant, Du Trapps, had conferred with Mody on the scheme,⁹⁵ who proposed to blow up the queen by gunpowder,

⁹¹ Camd. 329.⁹² Ib. 332.

⁹³ Ib. 336. It was discovered in the beginning of January 1587. On the 12th of that month the Frenchman was sent for to lord Burghley's house, and was questioned by him, Leicester, Hatton and Davison, to his great impatience and vexation. The examination is in Murdin, 579-83.

⁹⁴ This Stafford confessed, that on 26th December, going to the ambassador's house, as he was in the habit of doing very familiarly, he found him sitting by his fire with Bellievre, when, taking him by the hand, he led him into a gallery, and said to him, 'Is there nobody that for some crowns will do an exploit?' 'What should that be?' The ambassador answered in plain terms, 'To kill the queen.' Stafford mentioned Mody as 'a discontented man, that would do any thing for money.' The Frenchman desired 'to have speech with him, or that his secretary might have access to him.' His domestic, Du Trappe, continued the subject, and told Stafford, 'You who live here discontentedly, not likely to enjoy any favor, might, by such an enterprise, get the favor of all princes who are the queen of Scots' allies: and *I dare undertake to get you, OF THE POPE, a pension of 10,000 crowns.*' Stafford promised to do it, or find one that would. Murd. 580.

⁹⁵ Du Trapps confessed his conference with Mody on the subject, on 2d January. The ambassador, in great rage, denied the whole; but

in her apartment; an idea which Bothwell had originated, to be afterwards copied by Guy Faux and Catesby, in the succeeding reign.⁹⁶ It was discovered to the government by Stafford.⁹⁷

Alarming rumors of invasion by Spain at Milford Haven; by the Scots from the borders; by the Guises in Sussex, and of a northern insurrection; of Mary's escape, and of London being set on fire, —were dispersed thro the country, and used, to frighten and excite Elizabeth to sign the fatal warrant.⁹⁸ Courtiers and 'certain preachers' strongly

Stafford was confronted with him, and solemnly re-affirmed his statement. *ib.* 582. The Frenchman could not deny that he knew of their intention, but asserted, 'that, as an ambassador, he was not bound to have revealed it to the government, but only to his master.' *p.* 583. Stafford added, that Du Trapps had pursued him with great promises of rewards from the dukes of Guise and Mayenne. *ib.*

⁹⁶ Du Trapps confessed that Mody told him, that 'he was so well known at court, that he could go where he pleased; that knowing the place underneath the queen's chamber, he could easily carry there a cask of 20 lbs. of powder, make a train, and overthrow every thing.' *Murd.* 582. But Trapps thought these things 'but fancies; and wished there was such a man to be found in England as he that did the execution on the prince of Orange.' *ib.* 581.

⁹⁷ *Camd.* 337.

⁹⁸ *Ib.* 338. Who adds, that the Scots report, that Patrick Gray, whom king James had sent to *dissuade* Elizabeth from it, chose treacherously to be one of the 'principal persuaders to it, often inculcating in the queen's ears, that *Mortua non mordet.*' *ib.* 338.

Camden expressly says, not that Elizabeth contrived these things 'with duplicity and artifice,' as even Mr. Hume has allowed himself gratuitously to suppose; but that 'SUCH as bore a mortal hatred against the queen of Scots, in order to strike the greater terrors into Elizabeth, knowing that in the extreme danger of safety, fear excludeth all pity, CAUSED false rumors to be daily spread over all England,' to the effect mentioned in the text, *p.* 338. Mr. Ellis, in his second series, has printed documents which shew that such rumors were spread; viz. the constable of Honiton's order to the mayor of Exeter, dated 2 February, to make 'diligent search and hue and cry every way for the queen of Scots, who is fled, and to embargo the shipping; and stating 'that the direction came from M. Howard, esquire.' The mayor did so, and next day wrote to lord Burghley, to inquire into the truth of the report. Ellis, v. 3. *p.* 107, 8.

There is also an order, of Saturday 4 February, from justice Bower-

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urged to it; but she still wavered in great distress of mind,⁹⁹ till at length she ordered it to be prepared and made out. The next day she retracted her command, but was told it was too late: the council had dispatched it, without her privity, to Fotheringay, to be executed.¹⁰⁰

Mary was apprised of the melancholy tidings on 6th February, that she was to prepare to die on Wednesday the 8th.¹⁰¹ She discovered no terrors at the information. She had lost the youthful beauty of her person, and resembled the portly matron.¹⁰²

man to the same mayor, commanding him to 'send like precepts four manner of ways, from town to town, to make your armor and artillery in readiness; and that with all speed, *upon pain of death, for LONDON IS SET ON FIRE.*' The good justice states, as his authority, 'Mr. Turlett, of Austen le Well, brought this word from the Bell, the 1st of February.' So the constable ordered, 'Send like precepts, two or three ways, from tithing to tithing, to set your men in armor with all speed, upon pain of death, for *London is on fire.* Haste, haste, haste!' The mayor, at midnight, wrote from Exeter to the lord treasurer, inclosing this precept, stating, that they had obeyed it, and asking him 'for the certain knowlege of the premises,' and his direction. Ellis, *ib.* 109, 110. Such rumors, producing such public effects as the above, seem too dangerous for government to have circulated; because if they alarmed the magistracy, they would also tend to encourage and excite the Catholic population; and therefore may have sprung from some of the instigators of this body, to feel their pulse for an insurrection to liberate Mary, or to rouse them to it.

⁹⁹ Camd. 340. 'These pensive and perplexed thoughts troubled and staggered the queen in such sort, that she gave herself over to solitariness. She sat, many times, melancholy and silent, and often sighing, muttered to herself, 'Aut fer, aut fer'; 'Bear or strike.' And also, 'Ne feriare, feri.' 'Strike, lest thou be stricken.' *ib.*

¹⁰⁰ Camb. 340. Mr. Ellis has printed it; it is dated the 3 February, 'from Greenwich, in haste,' and is signed by Burleigh, Leicester, Hunsdon, Knollys, Walsingham, Derby, C. Howard, Cobham, Hatton, and Davison. It is indorsed, that Mr. Beale brought it, on 6 February, to Mon. Longueville: 'With him came sir D. Drury: and 7th, went to Fotheringay.' Ellis, v. 3. p. 112.

¹⁰¹ Strype has extracted the substance of an authentic MS. on her execution, written by order of the lord treasurer, and apparently by the clerk of the council. Vol. 3. p. 557. Mr. Ellis has also printed another, v. 3. p. 113-18.

¹⁰² The MS. thus describes her: 'The queen of Scots being of sta-

She dressed herself with some care and show;¹⁰³ and was gently carried by two gentlemen, with the high sheriff preceding, to the spot of death. She spoke kindly to one of her household, who was shewing great grief,¹⁰⁴ and expressed her full adherence to her religion;¹⁰⁵ yet discovered the secret day-dream of her soul, the possession of the English sceptre.¹⁰⁶ She wept again. 'Good Melvin! farewell.' She kissed him with her wet cheeks. 'Farewell! good Melvin! pray for thy mistress and queen.'¹⁰⁷ She was then obliged to listen to a sermonical exhortation of the dean of Peterborough, which, however well meant, ought to have been

ture tall, of body corpulent, round shouldered, her face fat and broad, double chinmed, with hazel eyes, and borrowed hair.' Strype, p. 558.

¹⁰³ 'On her head she had a dressing of lawn, edged with bonelace; a pomander chain, with an Agnus Dei about her neck, a crucifix in her hand, a pair of beads at her girdle, with a golden cross at the end of it; a veil of lawn was fastened to her caul, bowed out with wire, and edged round about with bonelace. Her gown was of black satin, pointed, with a train behind, and long sleeves to the ground, set with acorn-buttons of jet, trimmed with pearl, and short sleeves of black cut satiu, with a pair of purple gloves of whole velvet underneath. Her kirtle was wholly of figured black satin. Her vest was unlaced in the back, of crimson satin, and its skirts of crimson velvet. Her shoes were of Spanish leather, the rough side outward; her nether stockings of worsted, colored watchet, clocked with silver, and edged on the top with silver; with green silk garters. Next her legs a pair of white Jersey hose.' Strype's MS. 558.

¹⁰⁴ This was Melvin. 'Pouring out her dying tears, she answered him, 'My good servant! cease thy lamentation; thou hast rather cause to joy than to mourn; for thou shalt now see Mary Stuart's troubles receive their long-expected end and determination. For know, good servant! all the world is but nought, and subject still to more sorrow than a whole ocean of tears can bewail.' ib. 559.

¹⁰⁵ She added, 'But I pray thee, report from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and like a true woman of Scotland and France. May God forgive them that have long desired my end, and thirsted for my blood.' ib.

¹⁰⁶ 'Truth itself knoweth the inward chamber of my thoughts; and how I was ever willing *that England and Scotland should be united together*. Well! commend me to my son; and tell him, that I have not done any thing prejudicial to his state and kingdom of Scotland, and do him faithful service.' ib. 560.

¹⁰⁷ Ib.

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spared her.¹⁰⁸ She replied to him, by declaring her fixed attachment to her Catholic religion;¹⁰⁹ and desiring her servants to be dealt courteously with, and to have the legacies she left them, she prayed to the Virgin, kissed her crucifix, and, signing herself with the cross, exclaimed, 'As Thy arms, O Christ! were spread upon the cross, so receive me with the outstretched arms of Thy mercy, and remit my sins.'¹¹⁰ The executioners asked, and received her forgiveness. When her ladies had taken off her upper garments, she kissed them, and bade them to leave off their lamentations, 'For now she should rest from her sorrows.' She made on them and on her male attendants the sign of the cross, smiled, and bade them farewell. Then covering her face with a linen handkerchief, she laid her head down on the block, with the words, 'In Thee, O Lord! do I put my trust;' and repeating many times, 'Into Thy hands I commend my spirit,'^{8 Feb. 1587.} her head was separated at two blows;¹¹¹ the spec-

¹⁰⁸ Strype inserts it, 560-3. He spoke it, 'standing before, without the rails, bending his body with great reverence.' *ib.* 560.

¹⁰⁹ 'Master Dean! trouble not yourself nor me; for know, that I am settled in the ancient Catholic Romish religion; and in defence thereof to spend my blood.' To his urgency to change her opinions, she answered with great earnestness, 'Good master Dean! trouble yourself no further about this matter; for I was born in this religion; I have lived in this religion, and I am resolved to die in this religion.' The earls offering to pray for her, she mildly said, 'If you will pray for me, I will even from my heart thank you, and think myself greatly favored by you; but to join in prayer with you, my lords! after your manner, who are not of the same religion with me, it were a sin. I will not.' Strype, *ib.* 564.

¹¹⁰ Camden, p. 342.

¹¹¹ *Camd.* 343. The MS. printed by Mr. Ellis thus describes her last incidents: 'One of her women lapped up a Corpus Christi cloth three corner ways, and, kissing it, put it over the queen's face, and pinned it fast to the caul of her head. The two women then departed from her, and kneeling down upon the cushion, most resolutely she spake aloud the psalm in Latin, *In te, Domine! confido.* Then *groping*

tators sighing and sorrowing, except two individuals, who mistakingly thought it to be their duty to express a different sentiment by a sort of official declaration, which, tho customary on such incidents, was more fitting for the executioner than for dignified gentlemen.¹¹²

No person could have quitted life by violent execution, with more easy dignity, more tranquil majesty, more interesting resolution, or with devotional expressions more unexceptionable, than the royal sufferer. She directed her thoughts to her succeeding state of being; and addressed herself earnestly, without superstition or fanaticism, to the only true Mediator. It is not for the historian to consider, how far she duly remembered her errors and misconduct; nor to pierce into the secret intercourse between her spirit and its Judge, as to her own penitence or His forgiveness. It is of her last public moments that the delineation has been given

for the block, she laid down her head, putting her chin over the block with both her hands, which, holding there still, had been cut off if they had not been spied. Then lying upon the block most quietly, and stretching out her arms, she cried three or four times, 'In manus tuas, Domine!' Lying very still on the block, one of the executioners holding her slightly with one of his hands, she endured two strokes of the other executioner with an axe, making very small noise, or none at all, and not stirring any part of her from the place where she lay. Her dressing of lawn falling off her head, it appeared as grey as one of threescore and ten years old. Her face was in a moment so much altered, that few could remember her by her dead face. *Her lips stirred up and down a quarter of an hour after her head was cut off.* Ellis, v. 3. p. 117.

¹¹² The dean crying out, 'So let queen Elizabeth's enemies perish!' the earl of Kent answered 'Amen.' Camd. 343. She fell in the 46th year of her age. *ib.* Her favorite animal exhibited an interesting attachment to her. 'One of the executioners, pulling off her garters, spied HER LITTLE DOG, which had crept under her clothes. It could not be gotten forth but by force, and afterwards would not depart from the dead corpse, but came and lay between her head and her shoulders. Being imbrued with her blood, it was carried away and washed.' Ellis, *ib.* 117.

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to us ; and beyond these, it is unnecessary in these pages to inquire. If Mary did not perceive her faults in their due proportion and real quality, she only acted like the general body of mankind, who are always the most reluctant to believe, or if believing, to confess, that their favorite actions have been censurable deeds ; or that their character has been inferior to the standard of their duty, or unduly estimated by their habitual self-love.¹¹³ She died with unaffected courage, and calm resignation, like a queen and a Christian. And we part from her, with respect for her unquestionable talents ; with pity for her premature death ; with an impression that it was not unmerited ; and with a regret, that she lived at a period, which involved her in that great battle between popery and its reformation, in which some of the main combatants made her a too willing instrument and partaker of their conflict, passions, politics, and misfortunes.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Bayle says of her, that De Thou, Mezerau, and Du Maurier, agree that she was 'd'un esprit inquiet et querelleux ; qui ne cessoit de harceler la reine d'Angleterre ; et de donner dans toutes les intelligences ; et dans toutes les conspirations, which were proposed to her, even tho they went to the life of Elizabeth.' Hist. Crit. Calv. i. p. 35.—She appears to have usually been governed by her temporary inclinations, and to have thought that, as a queen, she had a right to do so, without being culpable or blamable, and exempt from all responsibility to any one on earth for what she chose to do or be. This mental theory occasioned her life to become that medley of right and wrong, of reason and passion, of ability and weakness, of spirit and pliability, and of good sense and defective judgment, which gave her character more frequently the appearance of faults and errors, than of any positive virtues. Yet, as a woman, she was gay, interesting, chatty, intelligent, courteous, good natured, unaffected, accessible, obliging and unostentatious. She would have pleased greatly in all ordinary society, tho she would never, like her greater contemporary, have become an honor to her sex ; and one of those ornaments of human nature, whose applauding memory, not unshadowed by occasional imperfections, society will desire to perpetuate, even while it criticises, and to whom an honored station in the temple of earthly fame, seems to be a rightful and natural inheritance.

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth displayed great indignation and vexation when she heard

of Mary's execution. 'Her countenance and her words failed her. She was in a manner stunned with excessive sorrow; so that she gave herself over to grief; put on mourning; shed abundance of tears; sharply rebuked her council; commanded them from her sight; and ordered Davison, the secretary of state, who had dispatched the warrant, to be cited to the Star Chamber.' *Camd.* 345. There was no affectation or hypocrisy; but there was great inconsistency in herself, and injustice to others, in this conduct. She had felt, on its public grounds, the expediency or necessity of the punishment. The whole Protestant portion of her people, we may add, of Europe too, were desiring and requiring it. Every Protestant in England was living under the fearful contingency of Mary—a lady of 46, surviving Elizabeth, who was approaching her 52d year, and with the dismaying certainty before him, from Mary's fixed attachment to her religion; from her determination to uphold it; her repeated pledges and the Romish conviction, that as soon as she gained the English throne, she would renew her namesake's career of violent persecution and bloodshed against all who should reject the papal system. With this impending proscription over their heads they had been living for thirty years; and every one of the last fourteen had afforded new proofs of what Mary's conduct would be, or would be made to be, if she were to become the English queen. Beza had fully perceived this alarming certainty, in the year after the St. Bartholomew massacre; and in his 'Reveille Matin,' on behalf of the foreign Protestants, had then vehemently urged the execution of the queen of Scots, after the detection of the conspiracy of Pius V. and the duke of Norfolk, and of her participation in it. All orders of the English nation that were not Catholics, the nobility, clergy, magistracy, cabinet and citizens, were daily mourning and complaining of this danger; and after Mary's political character, and her devotion to the Romish conspiracies, had become palpable, they desired the infliction of the legal sentence. It does not appear that any Protestant was averse to this dire incident, except Elizabeth. She, on whom the final order solely rested, was unwilling to sign it. 'Her innate clemency' was against it. Her desire not 'to seem to shew cruelty upon a woman, and that woman her princess and her kinswoman.' 'Fear of infamy with posterity by histories;' danger from the resenting king of Scotland; and the more alarming certainty of it from the Catholic powers of Europe in their desperate revenge, are declared by Camden to have greatly agitated her mind, p. 338, before she signed the order to issue the warrant. Revolving into these dissuading feelings the day after her consent, she had wished to retract it, when she found the intended and wilful precipitation of her cabinet ministers had purposely made the retraction impossible, by having sent the warrant with the greatest dispatch to its appointed destination. 'Presently, without all delay, Beale, who, in respect of religion, was of all others the queen of Scots most hateful adversary, was sent with one or two executioners, without the queen's knowledge, with the warrant.' These are Camden's terms, p. 340. No counteracting speed could overtake such an eager messenger, and the mandate was performed. But this celerity, well meant by those who had the care of the common safety, and seemingly their duty as servants of the whole state, had precluded Elizabeth from all benefit of reflection or re-consideration, and had been meant to do so. Her regret was therefore

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strong for the severity, and her resentment as earnest, that in such a case she had been so instantaneously obeyed. Both their conduct and her's were equally natural, equally sincere, and equally venial—perhaps also equally unblameable.

But it is stated by Davison, that she signed it with a jesting remark, that she feared Walsingham would die of sorrow for her doing it. There is often an attempted levity assumed or struggled for, in forcing the mind to do what it dislikes, and Elizabeth's expression seems to have been an effusion of this artificial self-bravery; for the secretary confesses that she added her reasons for deferring it, with her conviction of its necessity. There is nothing like unfeeling jocoseness in such conversation. But he declares that she blamed Paulet and Drury—the latter superintendents of Mary, 'that they had not eased her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would feel their minds touching this matter.' *Camd.* 349. This is Davison's account, made in apology for his own conduct, and under the circumstance of great irritation against Elizabeth, for subjecting him to an accusation and imprisonment for it. I am so averse to the common and easy practice, now so frequent as to have become too much a habit of the writing mind, mistaking argument for judgment, of disputing the facts and documents of history, whenever they differ from our own views or wishes: and think it usually so absurd to call those false and these forged because they thwart our party or our purpose, that I should not have allowed myself to doubt the veracity of Davison's statement, especially as it was expressed on his examination afterwards. *Strype*, v. 3. part 2. p. 546. But there is also a joint letter of Walsingham and Davison to Paulet, in whose custody Mary then was, which intimates 'that the queen, by an observation she had lately made, thought them to lack zeal in her service, in their not having found out some event to shorten the life of Mary, and took it unkindly that they threw the burthen upon her.' *Hearne's R. Glouc.* app. 673. Therefore, according to Walsingham and Davison, Elizabeth, after Mary's condemnation, thus intimated a wish for the sentence to be carried into effect by a private, instead of a public destruction. On this imputation I cannot hesitate to say, that as far as she indulged such a desire, she was meditating the act of murder, tho she did not perceive, or mean the purpose to be of this character. No man, great or small, has a right by nature to kill another. All legal crimes and their legal punishments are the artificial institutions of human society; and no one can rightfully attach either to any one, except as the established laws which create them, specially appoint. No man is guilty in England of punishable treason, whatever may be his moral criminality, till the judicial tribunal has pronounced it of his conduct; nor can be innocently put to death by any one, until the judicial voice has passed the sentence, and the regal mandate ordered the execution. Even then, both in law and conscience, he cannot be deprived of life by any one without a crime, except in the precise manner in which the acknowledged legal organs of the country have adjudged and particularised. The whole is a factitious mechanism, made for the general benefit, whose operation alone divests homicide of its natural guilt, or gives to any the right of taking the life, which is thus doomed to cease for the welfare of all. Elizabeth had therefore no more right to inflict the sentence by poison on Mary, than she had to administer the mischief to any other individual.

Decapitation on the scaffold was the appointment of the law, and any other deprivation of her life would have been guilty murder; and if Elizabeth really meant or wished such an evasion of the public death and of its possible scandal, it was the dictate of moral cowardice, and of contriving selfishness, and the incipient formation of a criminal deed. If it were right to inflict the severity, it was only right to inflict it publicly and legally; and Elizabeth, like all in high stations, as well as those in inferior ones, was bound to perform, without personal considerations, the duties which attached to her great dignity; and to abide, magnanimously, all the consequences which might arise to her, either in reputation, comfort, or safety, from faithfully discharging them.

But even Davison shews the real state of her mind; and that it was vibrating, like a shaken pendulum, to and fro, between the desire not to do the deed of harshness, and an impulsive conviction of its sad necessity; and that it was finally done without her further privity. He says, '*The next day after it was under the great seal, she commanded me, by Killegrew, that it should not be done; and when I had informed her that it was done already, she found fault with such haste.*' Camd. 349. Davison states that he immediately communicated this change of mind to the chamberlain Hatton, who '*imparted it to lord Burghley, and he to the rest of the council, who all consented to have the execution hastened; and every of them vowed to bear equal blame, and sent Beale with the warrant and letters.*' p. 349.

Her displeasure at the precipitation was so strong, that she disgraced her favorite counsellor, the aged and now infirm in body, yet active-minded, lord Burghley. He wrote to her on 13 February, after she had forbidden him her presence, a long and earnest letter to mitigate her anger, (see it in Strype, v. 3. p. 540-3,) and two others on 17 and 23 of that month; (Strype, ib. part 2, p. 407, 8.) which evince his full impression that she was seriously and dangerously indignant.

There was no reason for her to act, dramatically, such feelings before the public eye; because that public were against her on this question, and on the side of her ministers. We have seen that the bishop of London and the clergy thought, in 1572, that the penalty ought then to have been exacted. See before, p. 269. Both houses of parliament had, three months before, unanimously persisted in requiring it; and the general voice of the Protestant population concurred in these sentiments of their temporal and spiritual leaders. Elizabeth was therefore too much offending the united feelings of her people, by her resentment to her most popular and venerated cabinet ministers, to be justly suspected of any hypocrisy in her conduct. She wished to unite the incompatible; and she was weak enough, in this disturbing case, to be irritated by the impossibility. Her resentment depreciated her for the time in the public estimation, and was unjust to her faithful ministers; but it is evidence to us, that she had the becoming feelings of a woman in the painful act of discharging the stern and repulsive duty of the national queen. Yet it is a pity that she did not follow her natural sensibility, and forgive Mary, altho her conduct had no claim of right to receive this lenity: but it would have been nobler, both in the queen and the public, to have dared the consequences of such a pardon. She would have then exceeded any heroic magnanimity that human greatness has exhibited, because it would have placed her in continuing jeopardy afterwards; and the nation might

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have safely relied on that Superior Protection, which had so long averted the evil they were dreading, and which would not have been less disposed to do so, because they preferred to abide the risk, rather than contrive their own security, by shedding another's blood.

There are many evidences that she was quite sincere in her regrets on this occasion. Lord Monmouth, describing her death-bed, says: 'In all my lifetime before, I never knew her fetch a sigh, but when the queen of Scots was beheaded. *Then*, upon my knowlege, she shed many tears and sighs; manifesting her innocence, that she never gave consent to the death of that queen.' *Memoirs*, p. 116.

In lord Leicester's private letter to sir F. Walsingham, after sir P. Sidney's death, among the MSS. Harl. No. 285, we have this expressive passage: 'There is a letter from the Scottish queen THAT HATH WROUGHT TEARS; but I trust, *shall do no further herein*: albeit the DELAY IS TOO DANGEROUS.' Ellis, first Lett. v. 3. p. 22. This shews the sincerity of Elizabeth's hesitation and regrets; but that even Leicester, as well as the other ministers, were urging Mary's execution. It also evinces his conviction, that if it were not hurried, the queen would not permit it.

To this evidence, let us add Elizabeth's own letter to James, written 14 February, six days after the death. There is genuine feeling, and all the majesty of the queen's real mind, in every sentence. 'My dear Brother! I would you knew, tho not felt, the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident, which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine, whom, ere now, it hath pleased you to favor, to instruct you truly of that, which is too irksome for my pen to tell you. I beseech you, that as God and many more know *how innocent I am in this case*, so you will believe me, that if I HAD BIDDEN AUGHT, I WOULD ABIDE BY IT. I am not so base-minded, that *fear of any living creature or prince* should make me afraid to do what were just; or DONE, TO DENY the same. I am not of so base a lineage, nor carry so vile a mind. But, as not to disguise, fits most a king, so WILL I NEVER DISSEMBLE MY ACTIONS, but cause them shew [to appear] even as I meant them. Thus assuring yourself of me, that *as I know THIS WAS DESERVED*; yet, if I had meant it, that I would never lay it on others shoulders, no more will I now damnify myself, that thought it not.' Ellis, first Lett. v. 3. p. 22-3.

Davison's own account, if attentively perused, shews the reality and stages of her hesitations. First stage: 'There remained nothing but her warrant, which after some instance, as well of the whole parliament, as of *others of her council and best affected subjects*, it pleased her majesty to yield to; and she thereupon gave order to my lord treasurer to project the same, which he performed and left in my hands.' Davison, in Nicholas, p. 232.—Second stage: 'But by reason of the presence of the French and Scottish ambassadors, then suitors for her life, *she forbore THE SIGNING* thereof till the *first* of February, some few days after their departure; at which time, after some conference with my lord admiral, of the great danger she continually lived in, she resolved to defer the execution no longer, and gave his lordship orders to send for me, to bring the warrant to her to be signed.' *ib.* Third stage: 'Which he *forthwith* did. Returning back with him, his lordship told me she was now fully resolved. I went to my

chamber to fetch the said warrant, and returning, sent in Mr. Brooke to signify to her majesty my being there, who presently called for me.' *ib.* Fourth stage: Elizabeth then signed it; and 'The same afternoon I waited on my lord chancellor, for *sealing* it, which was done between the hours of *four and five.*' *ib.* Fifth stage: 'The next morning, about TEN O'CLOCK, Mr. W. Killegrew came to me from her majesty *with this message*, that if I had not been with my lord chancellor, I SHOULD FORBEAR to go unto him, till I had spoken again with herself.' *ib.* 237. Here was an express revocation of her consent, *within eighteen hours* after she had signed the warrant. Did the secretary acquiesce in her stoppage of the fatal warrant? No. He says, 'That message *coming out of season*, I returned him back with this general answer, that I would be at court as soon as himself.' p. 237. He then went to persuade her not to recall the mandate, which makes—the Sixth stage: 'At my coming to her, she demanded of me, whether the warrant were passed the seal? I told her, yes. She asked, WHAT NEEDED THAT HASTE?' He answered, that a case of that moment was not to be dallied with. She said, that some thought it might be otherwise handled for the form. He remarked, 'the honorable and just way to be the safest and best.' The queen then 'left me, and went to dinner.' Here they parted, Elizabeth not having recalled her suspension of the warrant.—The Seventh stage was, that he went from her to tell the vice-chamberlain of her new hesitation, and to recollect and remind him that she had repented of Norfolk's execution, and had 'laid it heavily on my lord treasurer for a long time after.' The vice-chamberlain told him, 'he, for his own part, did wish him hanged that would not join in the furtherance' of it, and they went to Burghley to confer upon it, who had the council warned the next morning to confer upon it. They met, the warrant was read, and 'THEY finally resolved to *proceed to the sending down thereof*, WITHOUT TROUBLING HER HIGHNESS ANY FURTHER WITHAL; as dangerous consequence might else have grown thereof, *in case her majesty*, upon such a needless motion, *should have fallen into any new conceit of interrupting and staying the course of justice*; considering the malice of her enemies, and the disposition of the time and state of things then, both abroad and at home.' *ib.* p. 240-2.

No account can be more clear and express. After Elizabeth had sent on purpose to stop the warrant, and had declared personally to Davison her desire to do so, the council, on public grounds, determined that it should not be stayed, but that they would, on their own responsibility, have it carried into execution, without referring to her any more. It is therefore clear that she had interfered to suspend it after she had signed, and that in contradiction to her signification of these revoking feelings; and altho they remembered that she had given them a warning instance, in Norfolk's case, that she did afterwards regret such severities, yet the ministers resolved to preclude her from preventing the execution, by not consulting her any further about it, but by having it immediately done, altho contrary to her inclinations at that time; and with a foreseeing certainty of her regrets and resentment afterwards. They acted conscientiously for the public good; but it was in opposition to her hesitating feelings, words, and wishes, and on purpose not to give her the opportunity of hindering it, because they saw, that if they had, she would have stopped the execution.

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MARY'S DAUGHTER.

I observe a fact mentioned of Mary, which it does not occur to me that I have seen noticed elsewhere. It is, that she had a daughter by Bothwell. Laboureur, in his additions to Castelnau, thus expresses it: 'To close the history of Mary Stewart, after having said that she had by the earl of Bothwell, her third husband, *une fille qui fût Religieuse*, a N. Dame de Soissons.' v. 1. p. 648. As she was in Lochleven Castle from the July after her husband Darnley's destruction, and her marriage with Bothwell, till the following May, the child, if Bothwell's, must have been born during that imprisonment. If it were not born there, but in England, it must have had some other father; yet I do not recollect having seen it mentioned that she was in the family condition there, nor brought to bed in it. To have been afterwards a nun at Soissons, would imply that it was conveyed privately to France, and brought up in, or placed afterwards in, that convent. If it be not mentioned in the Scottish historians, the delivery must have been concealed, and the circumstance suppressed; for Laboureur is a warm friend of Mary, and does not mention it for the purpose of depreciating her, and was much conversant with her transactions; for he has found and printed a considerable portion of her correspondence. If it be as new to others as it is to me, it might be worth while for those who visit Paris, to inspect the MSS. of the period, in the Royal Library, to elucidate this point.

CHAP. XXXV.

PHILIP DETERMINES TO INVADE ENGLAND — NEW LEAGUE AGAINST THE REFORMATION — DRAKE'S EXPEDITIONS — FEELINGS OF THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS — HISTORY OF THE PREPARATION, SAILING, AND DEFEAT, OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

THE most formidable menace to the national independence of England, since the day that William the Conqueror landed on its shores at Pevensey, was the formation and sailing of the Spanish Armada, for the purpose of reducing the British islands to be, like Flanders, provinces of Spain, and a subjected portion of the Romish hierarchy. It had been long in the contemplation of Philip II. Opposed, unwelcomed, and never respectfully treated by the English public when he married its queen, Mary, his exorbitant pride forgave not the contumely;¹ and even in her lifetime he projected, in his revenge and bigotry, to have landed an invading army, which with the facilities that must have resulted from her being on the throne, was to attempt a military conquest of the heretical and dissatisfied nation.²

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¹ The Memoirs of De Cheverney, who knew him in Spain, give some traits of his arrogance: 'No one living ever spoke to him but on his knees. None dared speak to him before he ordered them. He gave his commands with only half a phrase; it was necessary always to guess the rest. He would very rarely let himself be seen by the people, and not even by the grandees, but on solemn days.' Mem. de Chev. v. 52. p. 28, 29.

² This curious fact is mentioned in the letter written in 1587 to the Scottish nobleman, quoted in note 90 of the last chapter, p. 457. 'It is well known how he had figured himself an empire over all this part of

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Mary's unexpected demise defeated this daring and treacherous hope. But Pius v. had strenuously urged him afterwards to make the attempt; and he had commissioned Alva to pursue it. Their schemes were frustrated, as the preceding pages have narrated; but the design remained a determined object of his ambitious spirit, and becoming identified with the sincerity of his superstitious fondness for the Romish religion,³ was only deferred till such a force could be assembled at such a favoring conjuncture, as would effectuate the hazardous and momentous achievement.

It was always the plan of a Spanish invasion to make the attack in two simultaneous directions; from the ports of Spain on the south of England, and from those of Flanders on its eastern coasts. He began from 1583 to send, but so gradually as not to alarm French jealousy, more men into Flanders than he wanted there, as our ambassador at Paris had noticed;⁴ and this body was in time so much

the world; what plots he laid for the compassing thereof. A foundation was laid for subduing this land in queen Mary's time, he being then our king in right of his wife. *The conquest was fully concluded on afterwards under color of religion, as by the prince of Orange, then of his privy council, revealed.* Strype's Ann. v. 3, p. 553.

³ Cheverney notices one peculiar circumstance of his personal devotion. In his last illness, after exhorting his son, 'he took out of a coffer a whip, the end of which was stained with blood. He raised it on high, and shook it out, saying that it was his own blood which was upon it: that he had received it from his father Charles V. who had chastised his body with it, and he wished to leave it to his own children for the same purpose.' Mem. p. 31, 32.

⁴ Murdin, p. 381. Philip was then also trying to draw to his interests the Swiss cantons, from their old alliance with France, ib. He assured the French government, that 'he meaneth no breach of league of amity with France, but only the bringing under subjection his own subjects. The prince of Parma has likewise assured the same.' Sir E. Stafford's lett. 22d December 1583, p. 388. Philip now considered the Irish as his subjects, from the temporary gift of that island to him

enlarged, that the earl of Leicester stated, in November 1587, that the prince of Parma had under his command nearly forty thousand men.⁵ Practices were also pursued to raise a Spanish instead of a Marian party in Scotland,⁶ and even to assassinate Elizabeth by Spanish emissaries.⁷ Preferred at last,

from the pope, and was looking at England in the same perverted view, under his pretended lineal claim to its crown. In January 1584, he 'demanded passage of the dukes of Savoy and Lorraine for 22,000 men, and they have granted it to him.' *ib.* 390. To calm the fears of Geneva, 'the duke of Savoy himself sent them word of the passing of these Spaniards, under color of friendship, but they mean not, for all his friendship, but to stand upon their guard.' *Lett.* 8th January 1584, *ib.* 391. The Spanish ambassador at Paris made similar representations to Henry III. that Philip would attempt nothing to his prejudice; but 'the king very sourly in countenance heard him, and answered with the same countenance.' *ib.* 392.

⁵ The earl wrote from Flanders on 6th November 1587: 'In this meanwhile the enemy is grown very mighty, both by land and water. He never yet had that strength by much. He hath all preparations ready, as well by water as by land, to besiege or attempt any place. He is near 40,000 men for certain.' *Hard.* v. 1. p. 354.

⁶ On 23 May 1584, sir E. Stafford wrote, that in his audience with Henry III. he had, as directed, told him, 'That I was rather afraid, by the secret dealings of some of his subjects, that Scotland was become rather Spanish, than either French or English, as might appear by certain extracts, which her majesty had sent him to see, which I desired him from her majesty to read. The king took them, and desired me to leave them with him.' *Murd.* 399.

⁷ On 27 July 1584, sir E. Stafford wrote from Paris: 'Don Antonio sent to speak with me the last day in great haste. Declaring the affection he had to her majesty, he declared to me a very certain advertisement he had from a very good place, and out of the Spanish agent's house, that the same practice which had been executed upon the prince of Orange, there are practisers, more than two or three, ABOUT TO EXECUTE UPON HER MAJESTY, and some other, and especially her majesty, and that to be done within these two months.'

'I have stated the like advertisement given to me by other means, who have had it by a Spaniard, which Spaniard indeed haunteth the agent's house much, and so doth also don Antonio.' Then rightly suggesting a soothing and cautious possibility, that what could not but greatly alarm his sovereign might not be true, he added, 'It is necessary for her majesty to take good heed, and have a care of herself more than ordinary, for there must no doubt be had, that she is a chief mark they shoot at; and seeing these were men, knowing enough to enchant a man, and to encourage one to kill the prince of Orange in the midst of Holland; and that there was a knave found, desperate

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as already noticed, by the pope and Jesuits, to Mary of Scotland, before her death, he became the single object of their schemes and solicitations afterwards. It was not unnatural that it should be so ; for he was felt to be a main pillar of the popedom, and therefore of popery, at that time in Europe,⁸ and was considered by the English ambassador in France to be using the Jesuits as his ministers and servants.⁹ Sixtus V. the most able and aspiring and warlike of the Roman pontiffs since Gregory VII. and Julius II. ; the admirer,¹⁰ but the determined enemy of Elizabeth, resumed that activity against

enough to do it, we must think, that hereafter any thing may be done, for nobody was more certain not to escape untaken or unpunished, than to enterprise to kill the prince of Orange in the midst of Holland. Therefore God I pray Him, with His mighty hand, preserve her majesty.' Murd. 415.

⁸ Sir E. Stafford discovers to us this impression in June 1584, on a false report of Philip's death. 'Some news is come within these two days, that the king of Spain is dead. But he hath been so often dead, that I will never believe that he be dead, till he be rotten. *If that did happen*, and at this time, I think there *never came such a peril to the pope's crown*. But it is too good to be true, or at the least, too pleasing for me to believe it.' Lett. 21 June. Murd. 410.

⁹ On 24th August 1584, sir Edward Stafford's dispatch was, that Henry III. is Catholic in extremity, led by *Jesuits, who are only servants and ministers for the king of Spain*, upon whom the pope dependeth wholly. Then, if the Jesuits may lead the king, and the king of Spain the Jesuits ; and the pope, colorably them all, I conclude, that it standeth upon the king of Spain's greatness to maintain the pope, and upon the pope's greatness to maintain the house of Guise, his only pillar, against the king of Navarre' [Henry IV.] Lett. Murd. 417.

¹⁰ Gregory XIII. dying 24 March 1585, to whom we owe the last reformation of the calendar, Sixtus V. was chosen in the next month to replace him. From the success of his own management, by affecting to be feeble and unwell, the other cardinals, who would not agree on any other at that moment, nominated him as one whose honor would be brief and temporary. This impression, when securely fixed in his dignity, he removed at once, by a loud and strong intonation, with all the vigor of health, of his thanksgiving hymn. He is said to have declared, that Elizabeth and he ought to have married, that a new Alexander might be their progeny. He was an able, extraordinary and aspiring pope, tho he reigned little more than five years, as he died 29 Aug. 1590. See G. Leti's Life of him.

her, and that favor to Mary, from which the antecedent pontiff had, from other views, been declining.¹¹ But, in truth, the ambitious Sixtus Quintus rather doubled his instruments and his schemes, than peculiarly befriended Mary. While he upheld and urged the Spaniard with the one hand to pursue his personal claims and expedition, his legate in France entered into conspiracies with the Guises and Mary's ambassador, and the Jesuits in France, in the Spring of 1586, to assail Elizabeth also with the results of their devices.¹² But this was only to keep two

¹¹ So Mary's friend, Morgan, notices in his letter of 25 Jan. 1586, 'This pope is better inclined to your majesty than was his predecessor.' Murd. 473.

¹² We may infer, from a paragraph in the report of Morgan to his mistress Mary, on 31 March 1586, how far pious and sacred objects as to Elizabeth and England, were the only objects of her ambassadors, *of the Jesuits*, and of the papacy. He thus discloses his vexation at what 'Father Creighton' had *unwisely and unexpectedly* acknowledged:—

'A few days before I was committed to prison, I received from England, out of the Tower, an examination and confession of *good father Creighton*, which forthwith I imparted to your ambassador; for that it appeared to me manifestly, *to my great grief*, that there was foul and unonest secrecy kept in a matter of great importance, wherein, *at the first*, there was *only* the duke of Guise, *my lord of Glasgow* [Mary's ambassador,] father Claude, and *myself*, acquainted, and *THE OLD NUNCIO*. But in a short time after, I well understood that *others of the fathers of the Jesuits* had the matter amongst them, and had written thereof to some friends of theirs in England, *which then terrified me much*. Yet for that I well hoped that the matter should not come out of good men's hands to the enemies; I said nothing then, whatsoever I thought. But having seen the said examination and confession of father Creighton, I was not a little troubled; insomuch that I told my lord of Glasgow that I was ashamed to live, and to *intermeddle with things of importance, and to have the same in some sort discovered* by the adversaries: and therefore prayed my lord to confer of this discovery with the said fathers; and to pray them, for the time to come, that some few of them *should handle the things IN SECRET*: and that the same should not be communicated to all the rest; *whereby such discoveries happen to THE OVERTHROW OF GOOD SERVICE and good members*.' He then rejoices that 'so much' was not discovered as to involve her, 'tho now I remember that your majesty wrote unto this country of *the like matter*, yourself altogether *of this matter ignorant*, here begun by the duke of Guise, *THE*

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powerful engines of his policy, and of the passions and aims of others, in perilous operation against her; in order that one at least might at length complete the grand hope of the inveterate Vatican.

The death of Mary terminated the prospect of seating a Catholic sovereign, of the league and Guisian faction, on the English throne, and left Sixtus and the Jesuits free to pursue, with undivided energy and attention, their preferred plan of conquering England by force, with the revenues of Philip II., and of having in his person a more congenial king over this intractable country, whom they and the Inquisition could more arbitrarily govern.¹³ The jealousy and politics of Henry III. were always embroiling him with Philip.¹⁴ He was continually mistrusting him:¹⁵ yet tho seeming at times to be

SAID NUNCIO, my lord of Glasgow, father Claude and myself.' Murd. 496. This father Claude looks like Claude Aquaviva, then the general of the Jesuits.

Here this worthy agent regrets the discovery of their plots, but does not impeach the veracity of Creighton's statement; and he brings before us the fact, that there were five great plotters against Elizabeth at Paris: the pope's nuncio, Mary's ambassador, father Claude, Guise, and himself. This was a distinct nest of conspiracy connected with Mary, and different from the Spanish one, for the benefit of Philip.

¹³ We have already intimated how this haughty king, who was causing so many millions to dread him, was himself subjected to his own inquisition. See before, p. 141.

¹⁴ Thus Henry III. allowed, in Feb. 1584, don Antonio to take 800 French soldiers to act against Philip in Portugal (Murd. 393,) and permitted others to operate with Alençon in Flanders, yet avoiding direct war.

¹⁵ At the end of July 1584, sir E. Stafford reported from Paris to his court, 'that the king of France feareth the king of Spain. There are perpetual watches, at all hours, about the Spanish ambassador's house, to see who cometh at him; and when he goeth out of doors, continual secret attenders are upon him [to observe] whither he goeth, and with whom he speaketh.' Murd. 431. And in Feb. 1586, Morgan apprised the queen of Scots, that the Dutch states 'have had twice audience in this court, and made large offers of Holland and Zealand to this king [Henry III.] and five millions of gold towards the support of the wars, if the king would assist them against Philip.' Murd. 468.

on the point of direct warfare, would not allow himself to be urged into it.¹⁶ While his mind remained so ambiguous or fluctuating, Philip could only promote plots and form preparations privately against Elizabeth, but he employed the suspending interval in the formation of a new Romish league, to overwhelm Protestantism every where. The ardent mind of Sixtus Quintus had directed its perverted energies to revive and accomplish the exterminating projects of his predecessors, under the auspices of a potentate, so willing and so formidable as Philip; and Henry III. was solicited to make it irresistible by joining it.¹⁷ That the leading and favorite idea of the papal party was still extermination, altho so much bloodshed had been effected by it, unavailingly for six and fifty years since Francis I. and Clement VII. had begun it in modern Europe, as all were emerging so auspiciously from the darker

¹⁶ Sir E. Stafford, on 21 June 1584, reporting a rumor, 'that the malcontents and Spaniards have spoiled a great way in France about Peronne,' shews the king's reluctance to such a war in the expressive addition; 'I would to heaven they had taken that, and two or three places more, for I am afraid the king will never have any feeling, till he be bitten by the bottom at the least.' Murd. 410.

¹⁷ It is from Morgan, the agent of Mary, whom, by the preceding note 12, we have seen to be in such confidential conspiracy with the old papal nuncio and Jesuits, that we learn this great fact. He thus explicitly states it in his secret letter to Mary, of 25 February 1586: 'There is a league concluded between HIS HOLINESS, the emperor, the KING OF SPAIN, and the princes and states Catholic, for the SUBVERSION OF HERESY; and this king, [Henry III.] as I am informed, hath been moved by his holiness to join in this league, wherein he hath taken time to deliberate. If the king dissent from this HOLY UNION, his holiness is like to trouble this realm, and perhaps dispose the same in prædam, rather than suffer the same to stand to support heresy. The principal favorers of the same king of Spain do practise with the cantons of the Swisses in league with this king, to make them neutral, whereby the duke of Savoy may recover Geneva, and so remove THAT DEN OF HERETICS; for which purpose, the king of Spain is disposed to assist the duke of Savoy.' Murd. 469.

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ages; and altho millions now must have become the victims, if these plans of Erebus could have been effectuated; we perceive, by the unqualified language of that confederate of the Romish conspiracy, who reports it deliberately for the gratification or information of his concurring, or not disapproving, at least un-opposing sovereign.¹⁸ We add these epithets, because we have not met with any document of the times, which indicates that Mary objected to such sanguinary resolutions. Her heart, like those of her hierarchy, was fixed on the triumph of the Catholic system; and with this feeling we have seen that she died,¹⁹ and to it she would have educated her son James, and even purposed to produce his deposition, if he should prove refractory to such tuition.²⁰ These circumstances forcibly imply

¹⁸ It is in his long report to Mary of all he knew and advised, on 31 March 1586, that he reminds her that he had recommended her by 'former letters to write to his holiness, and so discharge your own obedience towards the same. You may also inform him, that by the tyranny of the heretics, all intelligence is stopped between your majesty and your son, whereby you may truly allege, that you cannot *work that good* upon him and Scotland that *you desire* to do, and are also *bound to do*. Wherefore, your majesty may earnestly commend that isle to his holiness, and your son also; and *desire his holiness*, of his goodness, to take him to his special protection in time, for the better service of God and of his church, AND THE EXTIRPATION OF *heresy*. For *this pope is well inclined* towards your majesty, and *to do good in common*.' Morgan's lett. in Murdin, p. 497. How Mary estimated and used this person and his information and service, we learn from her letter to sir Francis Englefield, on 20 May 1586: 'Nor could I have advertised you of thus much, if it had not been [for] poor Morgan, the chief and almost the only finder out, and director of all the intercourse of intelligence I have had these many years past; who hath, notwithstanding his troubles, appointed me this way for the present.' Mary's lett. in Murdin, p. 514. On 1 July, 1586, she says to him in another epistle, '*Your advice shall be followed!* and your travail for intelligence with every one, met withal, as occasion and opportunity shall offer.' *ib.* 519.

¹⁹ See before, p. 462.

²⁰ See before, p. 446, and her letter to Mendoza, on this point, in State Trials, 1. p. 147. On 4 July 1586, Morgan informs her, that one

what a deluge of misery would have terrified and saddened Europe, if the Grand Armada of the Escorial and of the Vatican had succeeded in its direful expedition. This league of persecution Henry III. did not join. On the contrary it is intimated, altho he was bigot enough,²¹ and had been also a sufficient Huguenot destroyer, to have deserved as much as Pius v. a place in the Roman Breviary

of his friends had secretly seen one of James' letters to Elizabeth, and in much alarm at the prospect which it opened, adds, 'It should seem, that she has made him some deceitful assurance of that crown after her; so that the heretics of both realms make their account to live in continual heresy under him, and so prefer him before yourself unto that crown. But I hope in heaven the heretics shall be frustrate of their wicked practices.' Murd. 525. It was against her giving James the succession that Mary herself wrote the warm French letter of the 23 March 1586, to Elizabeth: 'What can be more impious and detestable, than for an only son to take from his mother her state and crown! Be you not aware that I should give him, as I will if he persists, my malediction, and deprive him, as far as I can, of all good and greatness, which by me he can pretend to in Scotland or elsewhere? I doubt not that I shall find in Christendom heirs enough, who will have nails sufficiently strong to retain what I shall put into their hand.' Murdin, p. 566.

²¹ Of some of the habits and superstitions of Henry III. we find a few notices in the dispatches of sir Edward Stafford, in 1584. On his habits, we read: 'He is continually occupied from two o'clock after midnight, which is his ordinary time of rising, till eight o'clock in the morning, shut up in his cabinet, himself scribbling, and two or three others under him.' Besides his ordinary guard of French, in two sorts, and of Swissers and Scots, he has erected five-and-forty, which they term Talliagambi. These must never go from his person; and whenever he goeth out, they must be nearest the king; every one with a cuirass under his coat, and never eat nor drink out of the court or their own chamber, at any bodies board whatsoever. Besides these, he hath 40 gentlemen of his chamber, who must perpetually wait; every one a chain of gold about their neck.' Murd. p. 426.

On his superstitions, we learn from the ambassador, on 10 Dec. 1583, that Henry chose to invent a new order of friars. 'The king is in a marvellous humor for a new confreyrey of Jeronimites, which he erecteth at Bois de Vincennes, and will have his favorites to be of it with him. They be clad in a kind of smoky grey, to go bare-foot, to have stones in their hands to knock their breasts with when they be at their prayers; and to live of alms. The king, a Sunday was se'night, went thither, and for three hours together wore the habit; and took such cold, that when he came home he fell into a fever and a flux; so that men were in doubt that he would have ended his life with his new order. He is now very well again.' Murd. 383.

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and Calendar, yet that now he had so far felt the mischiefs of such conduct, as to desire, with late-gained wisdom, to harmonize his Protestant and Catholic subjects; and therefore receding from the wishes of the pope to employ and direct their united energies against the ambitious king of Spain.²² But what he might have accomplished more successfully and to his glory and happiness when he preferred to destroy his Huguenot nobility at St. Bartholomew's fatal dawn, the associates of his then criminality would not suffer him to do now. They had made their yet unbroken league, to extirpate those, whom in this day of his half repentance he was wishing to favor. They maintained this combination in defiance of his dislike. He sought in vain to shatter it.²³ He only roused the wish and hope for his own early destruction, and practices to produce it;²⁴ till finding himself in the alternative, that either he or his former friends in guilt must

²² We learn this from the stout Catholic, and therefore, disapproving Morgan, on 25 Jan. 1586: 'The pope and the king here do not agree well hitherto. The king, seeing himself the last of his race, desireth to entertain both Catholics and heretics, and to advance a few whom he loveth, and to turn the wars of this country to Flanders.' Lett. to Mary in Murd. 475. So we read again from him at the end of March: 'The preparation outward is to make the wars against the Huguenots; but the king of France doth inwardly desire rather peace than war, and is led to make war against his will.' ib. 500.

²³ The same Morgan reported, 'Notwithstanding this king drew M. de Guise, and the princes that were in arms last summer for the extirpation of heresy, to come to a composition with him; nevertheless it is apparent that the king hath and doth labor to break the said Catholic league, and to disjoin and weaken the favorers of the same. His majesty doth not so much fear the Huguenots, as he does envy and mistrust the house of Lorraine.' Lett. Murd. 475.

²⁴ Morgan avows to his queen this feeling: 'There is nothing to be expected but the ruin of this state, unless it shall please heaven with speed to take away this king, or alter his heart, which I pray may ensue.' ib. 475. He there declares, that 'The holy league was addressed to pull down heresy and the favorers of the same.' ib.

perish from each other's hostility, he resolved, by a repetition of that guilt, to make them his anticipated victims, instead of waiting to become theirs. He achieved his ghastly purpose,²⁵ but it was to receive himself, a few months afterwards, from their vindictive adherents, the same fate²⁶ to which he had consigned so many without pity; tho not without a portion of that remorse, which Æschylus pourtrayed, under the fearful forms and scourges of his pursuing furies; and whose intrusive visitations, the unsleeping Henry, in all his state, could neither medicine, overpower, nor exclude.²⁷

The steady operation of Elizabeth's restrictive, prohibitory and penal laws against the Jesuits and Seminary priests, had not been ineffectual. The enforcement of the legal provisions had so far defeated the projects, and thereby lessened the utility to Rome, of these institutions, that in 1586, after sixteen years of persevering conflict, the maternal seminary at Rheims began to wither into decay.²⁸ It was no longer patronized by the popedom. Sixtus Quintus, the new pontiff, tho originally but a swineherd, had grown up amid the varying incidents of his ascending life, to that early stimulated and expanding spirit, which loves the progress of ampler

* At Blois, on 14 Dec. 1588. See before, p. 332-333.

* In the camp before Paris, on 1st August 1589. See before, p. 365.

* See before, p. 335, note 2.

* It is Morgan who stated this fact to Mary, on 31 March 1586, and thus begs her assistance to remedy the evil. 'It is [will be] a work of honor and of great charity in your majesty, if it shall also please you to recommend to his holiness's favorable protection the *English seminary at Rheims*, which, for want of support necessary, hath been forced, *these months past*, TO DISPERSE THEMSELVES: I mean a great number thereof; yet I hear there be six score together. Dr. Allen is at Rome, to solicit more help for the seminary.' Murd. 497

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prospects and of lofty aims; and which, always enlarging as its horizon spreads and its resources multiply, prefers the great to the insignificant; and turns from the creeping and snake-like artifice of little souls and cowardly craft, to the vigorous exertion of might, and of might-like means. It is a gratification to read, that he undervalued the Jesuits, to their high displeasure;²⁹ and this depreciating estimation of an order, which had debased itself so far as to turn part of its members into political agitators, is creditable to his memory, tho it brought down their invectives upon him from their press, as well as from their tongue:³⁰ but it diminished the attachment of the English Catholics to this ambiguous order.³¹ He seems to have preferred grander designs, and to accomplish them by grander measures. Instead of the insidious counterfeit, the ever-shifting disguise and the dark-working machination, he sought and urged the manly and the magnificent battle. It may be doubted if a single conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth, or to seduce to disaffection by deceit and subtlety, originated with him. He contemplated the real power and abundant resources of

²⁹ On 4 July 1586, Morgan expresses to his royal employer, 'I have already declared to your majesty, that his holiness that now is *hath not* the like conceit of the *Jesuits* that his predecessor had, which maketh them to storm not a little.' Murd. 523.

³⁰ Morgan added, 'And to talk of him as liberally in secret sort, by pen and by mouth, as they did these years past of some of the greatest, to whom all honor and reverence is due.' *ib.* 523.

³¹ Morgan remarked, that the Dominicans were beginning to flourish again. 'And whereas the English scholars, in the English college at Rome, were heretofore under the government of the Jesuits, these later years past, as they are still, there is *many of the English*, nevertheless, *that have of late quitted themselves* from the government of the Jesuits, and have rendered themselves under the government of the Dominicans, which example of theirs will bring others to follow the same.' *ib.* 523.

the redoubted Spanish monarchy, as the proper and competent instrument of elevation and victory to the cause he promoted ; and he directed all his energies to put this formidable mass of force into vigorous action against the celebrated and yet unconquered queen and country, which he desired to have subdued, that it might be subjected to his mutilated sovereignty.

It was from a perception of this advancing peril, that Elizabeth had determined on assisting the States of Holland, with Leicester, and his useful, tho not emancipating, army. She could not safely employ larger forces there, because the Netherlands were but one of the wings of Philip's power, and the minor outpost of his aggression. The deciding battle would have to be fought at her own threshold ; for it was obvious, that the great storm of war and vengeance would sail direct towards her shores from the Bay of Biscay. She therefore limited the portion of her troops that were to occupy her adversaries on the Maes and Scheldt ; and reserved the main body of her native soldiery to confront the main attack. But as a naval armament must form an essential part of the invading force, sir Francis Drake was dispatched with a competent fleet in the Spring of 1587, to explore, assail, and destroy the collecting portions of the maritime annoyance, wherever he could find them, on the coast or in the ports of Spain. He had been sent in September 1585, with a fleet of twenty-one ships and two thousand three hundred military volunteers, to divert the attention and excite the fears of the Spanish government, by an attack on its West India possessions. He captured St. Jago in the Cape de Verd Islands,

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St. Domingo, which Columbus had discovered and colonized, and Carthagena, on the South American continent.³² They sailed to Virginia, and brought away the alarmed English colony, which sir Walter Raleigh had named,³³ and which these adventurers came to inhabit; and bringing from thence TOBACCO into England,³⁴ they returned with a booty of sixty thousand pounds in bullion, and two hundred and forty great and brass cannon, for the service of the country.³⁵

This spirited expedition of Drake had effected the important service, of arresting awhile the perilous assault from his native country. It compelled Philip to dispatch after him a fleet to protect his Atlantic dominions.³⁶ It delayed his domestic prepara-

³² Camden, 284-6. They lost 700 men, but mostly by disease. They reached St. Jago on 17 Nov. 1585; St. Domingo on 1 January 1586. *ib.* Martin Frobisher was with him. He sailed from Plymouth 14 Sept. 1585, and returned to it 27 July 1586. Stow, 710.

³³ A storm dispersing the fleet as it was assisting the new colonists with provisions, Lane, their captain, was afraid of being starved, and desired Drake to carry them all back. *Camd.* 286.

³⁴ Camden says that this 'Indian plant' came for the first time into England with them, tho Raleigh had brought some before for his private use. Our antiquary adds, 'Certainly from that time it began to be in great request, and to be sold at a high rate, whilst very many every where, some for wantonness, some from health, suck in with insatiable greediness the stinking smoak thereof thro an earthen pipe, and presently snuff it out at their nostrils; insomuch, that tobacco shops are kept in towns every where, no less than tap-houses and taverns.' *Camd.* 286.

³⁵ Murdin has printed 'A brief note of all such silver bullion as was brought into the Tower by sir Francis Drake, knight, and laid in the vault under the jewel-house, 26 December 1586. It consisted of 22,899 lbs. in ingots, and 512 lbs. in small pieces of coarse silver, called Corento, that hath been gathered in the mines, without refining and melting. Of this 11,300*l.* had been coined, and 29,625*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.* refined and melted into clear ingots. There were besides 101 lbs. of gold bullion, which had been coined into thirty and fifteen shillings pieces, amounting in value to 205*l.* There remained then unmelted 8,544 lbs. of coarse ingots of silver, and 512 lbs. of the corentos.' *Murd.* 539, 40.

³⁶ So Charles Paget reported to Mary, on 29 May 1586, 'The king of Spain prepareth greatly to the sea, and principally to meet with Drake, who was in St. Domingo, and hath taken great treasure.' *Murd.* 518.

tions,³⁷ and this, too, at a time when the delay increased the chances of their ulterior failure.³⁸

In April 1587, Drake's enterprise on the coast of Spain had again a suspending effect. He sailed with four of the queen's ships, and some others. His objects were, to surprise what vessels he could in the havens, and to intercept their supplies.³⁹ He defeated twelve galleys, and sunk two under the forts of Cadiz; and in eight days burnt thirty-three vessels, and carried away four more full of ammunition and provisions.⁴⁰ He apprized his government of the magnitude of the preparations,⁴¹ and finally

³⁷ On 4 July 1586, Morgan acknowledged to Mary that 'Drake's enterprise hath done much for the diversion of the king of Spain's designments, which of necessity must be for the reparation of England.' Murd. 524.

³⁸ Such was the language of both Paget and Morgan. The latter expressed his hope that the king of Spain was resolved on his 'enterprise against her of England,' yet intimated that it would be 'after too long deliberation, and loss of special opportunities and means to do good.' Murd. 524. And the former stated to his mistress, in May 1586, 'I have told the Spanish ambassador, that if the king of Spain do not apply himself this year to do somewhat against the queen of England, it will be too late.' ib. 518.

³⁹ Camd. 352. Strype has printed his letter to Burghley, of 27 April 1587. He left Plymouth on the 2d; a vehement storm for five days dispersed his fleet; but they 'met altogether at the rock on the 16th and the 19th.' 'We arrived into the road of Cadiz, where we found sundry shipping of very great portage, laden with the king's provisions for England.' Strype, Ann. v. 3. p. 664.

⁴⁰ His account is, 'We remained there until the 21st. In which time, notwithstanding the often encounters of twelve galleys, of whom we sank two and repulsed the rest, and the continual thundering of the great ordnance from the shore, we burnt a ship of the marquis of S. Cruce, of 1,500 tons; a Biscayan, of 1,200 tons; and thirty-one ships more, of 1,000, 800, 600, and 400 to 200 tons the piece. Carried away with us four ships laden with provisions; and departed thence at our pleasure, with as much honor and victory as any man in the world could wish for.' ib. 664.

⁴¹ Sir Francis added, 'Assuredly, there never was heard of, or known, so great preparations as the king of Spain hath, and daily maketh ready, for the invasion of England, as well out of the *Streights*, from whence he hath great aid from sundry mighty princes, as also from divers other places in his own country. His provisions of bread and wine are sufficient for 40,000 men for a whole year. The uniting

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destroyed or captured one hundred vessels, and two great galleons.⁴² He assaulted and captured three sail off Cape St. Vincent, harassed the coast up to the Tagus, and thence steering towards the Azores, met and soon mastered a rich East Indian carack.⁴³ By these successful acts of bravery, he compelled the Spanish government to defer their menaced invasion till the ensuing year, from this destruction of their prepared supplies.⁴⁴ He gave a new heart to the English seamen, by shewing them that they could vanquish larger ships by gallant daring; and the account-books taken in the Indian trader, so fully explained the Portuguese modes and channels of trading with the affluent nations of the Eastern world, that the merchants of London became competent, from this discovery, to pursue the same routes of commerce themselves: this led them to form an East India Company;⁴⁵ from which that wonderful anomaly of trading sovereigns has originated, who now rule from their little chambers in Leadenhall-street the realms and population of eighty

of all which forces will be very dangerous, unless their meeting be prevented, which, by all possible means, *we will seek to perform as far as our lives will extend.* No doubt but that this, which heaven has permitted us to do, will cause them to make great alteration of their intents. It is very necessary that all possible preparations for defence be speedily made.' Lett. Strype, p. 664. His ship had been named ELIZABETH BONAVENTURE.

⁴² Camd. 352.

⁴³ This vessel was so rich, that 'many merchants and noblemen in France were of opinion,' as one of don Antonio's English companions wrote to lord Burghley, 'that the queen would lend that king, his master, 200,000 crowns out of that rich prize to enable him to levy an army' for an expedition to Portugal: and subjoined, 'that the miserable state of this poor king was such, that he was embarrassed by his creditors: 'all which 12*l.* or 13*l.* would discharge, and by this the poor king might come out of extremity and great discredit.' Prince's letter, Strype, p. 662. A destitute state of royalty indeed, if only twelve pounds were so essential to relieve it.

⁴⁴ Camd. 353.

⁴⁵ Ib.

millions of human beings: transcending ancient Tyre—whose merchants were also of princely grandeur, and perhaps our first colonizing ancestors—as much as Great Britain now surpasses the fame and fortunes, and foreign settlements and power, of the celebrated cities of all Phœnicia and of its descendant Carthage.

It could in no respect benefit France, that Spain should become master of England by absolute conquest. It was therefore an act of wisdom as to his purpose, but without the least chance of success in the application, that Henry solicited the pope to interfere to prevent the meditated invasion. The pontiff not only refused to avert it, but even added a menace to the French king, that he should not have the power of preventing it.⁴⁰ This disability could only be produced by animating the leaguers to take the field against their sovereign, while the expedition against Elizabeth should be ready to move forward; because, if not so impeded, a French force marching into Flanders could not fail to occupy and deter the prince of Parma from joining the invaders; and as his army was well trained and used to warfare, and he was the most distinguished general in Europe, to keep him from landing in England would be to paralyse the right arm of the Spanish Goliath. The threat of

⁴⁰ We derive our knowledge of this circumstance from Morgan. He wrote to Mary, 'The king of France was in hand with his holiness to provide that nothing should be attempted against England; whereupon his holiness *pleaded ignorance*; and yet nevertheless answered the French king, that if there were any such enterprise in hand, it *should not lie in the power of the French king to prevent it.*' Murd. 500. Morgan prays heaven 'to inspire the French king's heart to be *profitable to the church*, or at the least, *not to hinder the labors of others* dedicated to that end.' ib.

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Sixtus Quintus was realized. The Guises resumed their arms; and the king of Navarre marched into Burgundy, to join the Germans, who were coming to reinforce him. Their different victories balanced each other. Henry of Navarre defeated decisively the duc de Joyeuse at Courtras,⁴⁷ but lost the advantage of his triumph, by returning to Bearne for his pleasures; while the duc de Guise repulsed the Germans, and then drove them out of the kingdom.⁴⁸ After these movements, it became impossible for Henry III. to interrupt the progress of the grand papal and Spanish armada, or to produce any danger to Philip, while he tried the success of his courageous experiment. Its formation went therefore steadily on, as fast as the collection of new provisions could be made, to replace those which Drake had destroyed.

The year 1588 opened with the rumor flying thro Europe, that Spain was preparing an armament for the invasion of England, so large as to have the pledge of invincibility in its magnitude; and for the assurance of this result, that the most famous captains and ablest soldiers had been called out of Italy, Sicily, and even America, to give the expedition all the force of their practised valor and veteran skill.⁴⁹ The wisest plans were discussed by the Spanish generals, for ensuring its triumph. The prince of Parma would have preferred the previous

⁴⁷ In Guienne, on 20 Oct. 1587, the duke de Joyeuse was killed in cold blood by some assassins; like Condé, at Jarnac; St. André, at Dreux; and Montmorency, at St. Denis. Murder seemed to have been familiarised in France during all the last two-thirds of the 16th century.

⁴⁸ Henault's Abst. i. p. 448.

⁴⁹ Camd. 358.

conquest of a Dutch port, in which the whole fleet and army could be assembled, and from which they might issue in simultaneous divisions to their appointed positions of attack: but as the capture of such a place might consume as much time and force as the direct assault of England itself, and would be also met in Holland with all the auxiliary resistance which Elizabeth could supply, it would be fighting the actual battle less advantageously on a foreign shore, which they might maintain in her kingdom, with the benefit of the co-operation of all her discontented subjects. It was therefore resolved to attack the British island from Spain itself, while the prince led a concurrent force at the same time to the Thames. Both branches of the army could then land nearly at the same time; and both marching directly to London, could not fail to master it by their sudden assault, and then to complete the conquest of the whole nation. This plan appeared so rational, and their means so ample, that, with the swelling pomp of phrase which characterized at that time their military conversation, the Spaniards named their imposing and really magnificent force, 'The Invincible Armada.' While every artificer and resource which Spain could furnish were applied in its western ports, to collect and furnish a fleet and army greater than her nation had ever witnessed before, the prince of Parma was as busy in building ships, and flat-bottomed boats so large as to transport thirty horse. Mariners were hired from the Eastern shores of Germany, and one hundred and three companies of foot, with four thousand cavalry, were made ready to embark and sail, as soon as the approach of the great armament from the

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Bay of Biscay should give the signal for their uniting advance.⁵⁰

Elizabeth was neither insensible of the perilous crisis, nor inactive to meet it with intelligence and courage. It was a disquieting point to know how her Catholic subjects would behave. The friends of Mary had assured their queen, after a reconnoitring inquiry two years before, that the greatest part of these in many countries were ready and desirous to take arms and to co-operate with the invading foe ;⁵¹ but this was manifestly on the principle, that this foreign

⁵⁰ Camden, 359-60.

⁵¹ The dispatch of Charles Paget to the queen of Scots, from Paris, on 26 May 1586, presents us with an important picture of the state and intentions of the Catholic mind and wishes in England at that time ; and a specimen of the objects and dealings of the exploring priests. ' Since the writing of my last to your majesty, there came here out of England, a priest called Ballard, one that is very honest and discreet, and is intirely acquainted with all the best Catholics in England. He told me, how he was sent hither to declare the minds and readiness that **THE MOST PART of Catholics** and schismatics were in, **TO TAKE ARMS**, so that they might be assured of foreign help. I brought him to the Spanish ambassador, and made him signify his knowlege therein. And so he declared in general, how *many of the PRINCIPAL NOBLEMEN AND KNIGHTS in the north parts in Lancashire, the west country, and divers other shires* besides, were willing **TO TAKE ARMS** ; what number they would make, armed and unarmed ; and that many of them had *given their promise by oath*, and **RECEIVED THE SACRAMENT**, of performance ; and that now, the earl of Leicester, having all the best of the Protestant captains and soldiers with him, the time was now very fit and proper. The Spanish ambassador heard him very well, and made him set down, in number, how many in every shire would be contented to take arms, and what number of men, armed and unarmed, they could provide ; tho he said he might not name the persons, because he had engaged the contrary *upon his priesthood* ; and likewise, he gave him information of the ports, with many other things fit to be known. The Spanish ambassador hath given him further instructions, in what sort he would have him to proceed in, more particular, and with secrecy enough ; and doth assure him, that his master, the king of Spain, will be brought to give them reasonable speedy relief. The aid which should be given, shall be by the prince of Parma, with such expedition, and so much besides the expectation of the queen of England, that it will wonderfully vex her, for she will never so much as dream of that course, but think *whatsoever is intended will be performed from Spain.* ' Murd. 518.

force would be the subordinate auxiliary, and not the paramount conqueror ; that it would advance their head and object, and not become itself their master. If Philip had at that time invaded, and for the benefit of Mary, this might have been the melancholy fact ; till the rebellious had found, when too late to be rescued, that their ally would be their lord and ruler. But her death, altho it irritated and disappointed them, yet had placed new points of dearest interest to their view, and pressed them upon their consideration. It was not now, a scheme of combining with an invader, to enthrone the native sovereign they preferred ; but, having irretrievably lost her, and possessing no other Catholic countryman of the royal blood to exalt, they had no other alternative left, but to support their native sovereign that was reigning, or to make a foreign enemy their king, who would come as a conqueror, and rule as a despot. What such a military sovereign would be, they had the full picture before them in the history of William the first. In his reign, they could read what became of the Anglo-Saxon nobility and gentry who had assented to his coronation. Norman barons soon took the honors and estates of the English eorles, ealdermen, thægns and franklins ; and those who resisted, were driven to become rebels, and soon hunted down as such. Similar scenes of an analogous drama would inevitably follow, if Philip should win the crown, with no other difference, than that the present actors and their new masters would be Spanish dukes, counts and dons, instead of Norman knights, barons, and military prelates. They had also a specimen how they would be considered, in

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the treatment exhibited to their Catholic countrymen in Flanders, who had eagerly joined the prince of Parma's army, but joined it to meet only depreciation and contempt.⁵² Hence every human motive that worldly hopes and comfort and distinctions could suggest, called upon them to be content with Elizabeth, as the minor evil; and therefore to assist her in expelling the common adversary of every class and faith in the English nation: especially as there was also the additional certainty, that the pope, if his Spanish sword could lay the island prostrate at his feet, would rigorously exact the restoration of all the church and abbey lands and property, with a retroactive accountability for the last half century's possession of it. Of this great booty, a considerable portion of the chief Catholic nobility and gentry had participated; and were now enjoying its pecuniary advantages, as a settled portion of their hereditary estates. This great difference in the position and safety of the government and country, between what they had been during Mary's life, and what they had become since her death, evinces the political importance and efficacy of that legal execution, which she had wilfully incurred, altho compassionating humanity compels us to regret it. Yet that there were some Englishmen, whose recreant spirits could allow their bigotry to overcome their hereditary patriotism and personal honor, we have one instance from his own letter which has come down

⁵² Camden remarks, that among the prince of Parma's army, 'were 700 English fugitives, who of all others were held in the greatest contempt; but for their impiety to their country, were barred from all access, and as most inauspicious conductors, were worthily, with detestation, rejected.' p. 360.

to us ; and as he wrote to some congenial heart, with an expressed expectation that there would be many like himself, it is probable that those who had the least to lose by a violent change, might be more disposed than others, to take a desperate and base possibility of profiting by their country's affliction and degradation.⁵³ In May 1588, this man found Spanish devotion in full activity to implore success on their ambitious hopes ; and the prospect raised his belief that popery would again be the religion of England.⁵⁴ The prince of Parma had then sent pilots from Flanders, to conduct the navigation of the grand armament.⁵⁵ But we also learn that the Turkish and African powers had shewn some disposition to take advantage of its voyage, to indulge their predatory incursions ; which the Spanish cavalry, that could not be transported, were appointed to watch and repress.⁵⁶ This however was rather the anticipation of a possible attempt, than an evil actually experienced. The great conflict was too

⁵³ Mr. Ellis has printed the letter of B. C. dated Madrid, 28 May 1588. He was no spy writing to his government. Its contents obviously shew that it was addressed to some one, who, like himself, hoped the armada would succeed. ' Heretofore I was in the number of the incredulous ; yet, now being in the place, where I may hear and see, I confess to be in the wrong ; for now I am out of doubt that they will in very deed [go] that way. The thunder and the lightning clap will be both in a moment.' v. 3. p. 134.

⁵⁴ ' Here in this town [Madrid] and country are great prayers, processions, fastings, and alms, for the happy success of this armada, in this cause of God, now more than ever in hand. I hope you there will join with us here, in heart and spirit, in such sort, that once we may meet at home, with the sure enjoying of the true Catholic religion in our country. He indulges even the supposition, that Elizabeth had been frightened into a conversion, ' whereof we may now the better hope, seeing [that] our queen is said here to have sent Batson, the Jesuit, to Rome, about overtures with his holiness to be reconciled, which God grant, and always preserve you.' Ellis, ib. 137.

⁵⁵ Letter, Ellis, p. 135.

⁵⁶ Ib. p. 135.

rapidly decided, for the slow-moving forces of the Ottomans to avail themselves of the interval of its duration.

The English government appealed to its reflective people; and an ardent and general loyalty responded from every bosom. One spirit of loyal patriotism and active magnanimity pervaded the kingdom. The city of London set a generous example. When the state council inquired what it would do for its country and its prince, the chief magistrate desired the cabinet to mention what they thought requisite. The ministers desired from it five thousand men and fifteen ships. The lord mayor craved two days for deliberation, and then, in the name of the metropolis, desired their sovereign to accept of ten thousand soldiers, and of thirty able vessels.⁵⁷ The whole kingdom emulated this wise exertion and noble liberality. Every city, county, town, and village, displayed a consenting ardor, and an enthusiastic loyalty.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Stow, 744. Of these, 6,000 were immediately trained, and divided into four regiments, each of ten companies; and the other 4,000 were armed, but not trained, yet put in readiness in four regiments of ten companies each. 'The 6,000 had these arms: 1,000 muskets, 2,000 pikes, 2,400 calivers, and 600 bills.' Murdin, 606. 'Ten thousand more were reported to be able men.' *ib.* So that London would have furnished 20,000 men, if so many had been wanted.

⁵⁸ Stow, *ib.* It was about this time that the ARTILLERY COMPANY was formed in London. 'About three years before, certain gallant, active and forward citizens, having had experience both abroad and at home, voluntarily exercised themselves and trained others, for the ready use of war; so that in two years there was almost 300 merchants, and others of the like quality, very sufficient and skilful to train and teach common soldiers the managing of their pieces, pikes, and halberds, and to march, countermarch, and ring. These merchants, for their own perfection in military affairs, met every Tuesday in the year, to practise all points of war. Every man, by turn, bore orderly office, from the corporal to the captain. Some of them, this year, had charge of men in the great camp, and were generally called captains of the ARTILLERY Garden.' Stow, 744.

Sir Walter Raleigh was stationed at Portland Castle, in Dorsetshire;⁵⁹ and the earl of Sussex at Portsmouth; and to him, and the marquis of Winchester, as lord lieutenant of Hampshire, a mandate was sent, to call together the gentry of their county, and to exhort them to make, 'upon this instant, extraordinary occasion, a larger proportion of horse and foot, especially of cavalry, in their best strength, than had been certified, as they valued their liberty, wives, children, lands, life and country.'⁶⁰ The able men of every county were numbered, and a competent portion called out, regimented and armed, and of these about a moiety carefully trained.⁶¹ One of the bravest soldiers, most resolute men, and ablest generals, earl Hunsdon, was appointed to guard the queen's person; and Leicester, to watch the Thames at Tilbury. The main force, collected under Hunsdon and the queen, was forty-five thousand three hundred and sixty-two men, besides the band of pensioners, with thirty-six pieces of cannon. The minor force, placed under Leicester, presented a body of eighteen thousand four hundred and forty-nine soldiers,⁶² whose position was adapted to observe and

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⁵⁹ Strype, 665. Sir Walter specified the cannon and ammunition which the place required, in his letter there printed.

⁶⁰ The queen's letter, dated Greenwich, 18th June 1588, in Ellis, v. 3. p. 137-140.

⁶¹ The official lists printed in Murdin, shew, that in the whole kingdom, 101,040 men were called out, regimented, and armed, in England and Wales; of which 87,196 were infantry, and of these 48,127 were trained, but the rest only armed. These were exclusive of the forces upon the borders; and those of Yorkshire reserved to answer the service northward, and sundry of the Welsh shires not certified. Murd. 609. The cavalry, with the pioneers, were 13,831.

⁶² These numbers are printed by Mr. Ellis, from a MS. in the British Museum, formerly in the Royal Library, 18 C. xxi. who adds from it, that 'more forces were drawn from the counties of Derby, Stafford, Lincoln, Salop, Chester, Lancaster, and Cornwall.' ib.

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meet any landing of the prince of Parma; and an auxiliary force from Holland, of two thousand, was requested,⁶³ and arrived.⁶⁴ The army of Hunsdon was adapted to repel the main assault from Spain itself. The camp at Tilbury was a scene of peculiar animation, from the spirit and eagerness of the troops.⁶⁵ It was to be supported also, when occasion should call them out, by other bands, who were kept in training, ready to join them when the appearance of the enemy should call them to the field.⁶⁶ Gravesend was fortified; and 'western barges were brought to it, to make a bridge, like that of Antwerp, to stop the entrance of the daring foe, and to give free passage, both to horse and foot, between Kent and Essex, as occasion served;⁶⁷ and the wisest plans of defensive measures in the other parts of the country were discussed and agreed upon.⁶⁸

⁶³ Ellis, p. 140.

⁶⁴ Old Stow says, 'The Hollanders came roundly in with three-score sail, brave ships of war, fierce and full of spleen; not so much for England's aid, as in just occasion of their own defence. These men, foreseeing the greatness of the danger that might ensue, if the Spaniards should chance to win the day, and get the mastery over them, in due regard whereof their manly courage was inferior to none.' p. 745.

⁶⁵ 'It was a pleasant sight,' cries Stow, describing what he himself contemplated, 'to behold the soldiers as they marched towards Tilbury: their cheerful countenances, courageous words and gestures; dancing and leaping wheresoever they came. In the camp, their most felicity was the hope of fighting with the enemy, where oftentimes divers rumours ran of their foes approach, and that present battle would be given them. Then were they as joyful at such news, as if lusty giants were to run a race.' Stow, 744.

⁶⁶ 'In this camp were many old soldiers and right brave commanders. There were yet ready in all places many thousands more to back and second them; and it was found good policy not, on the sudden, to keep too great an army in one place.' Stow, 744.

⁶⁷ Stow, 744.

⁶⁸ The chief officers consulted, and 'thought good that the commodious landing places for the enemy, as well out of Spain as out of the Low Countries, should be manned and fortified, as Milford Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, that open

The preparations at sea were as strenuously provided. One hundred and eighty-one ships are enumerated as forming the royal navy, containing seventeen thousand four hundred and seventy-two seamen.⁶⁹ One division of the fleet, under lord Henry Seymour, was appointed to guard the narrow seas, and intercept all intercourse between port and port on the French and Flemish coasts, and all flying frigates that might carry news from Dunkirk to Spain, or from Spain back to the prince of Parma.⁷⁰ The main body of the navy, under the high admiral, lord Charles Howard, with lord Thomas Howard, and lord Sheffield, were stationed in the Western Ocean. The gallant and active sir Francis Drake, and the able navigators Hawkins and Frobisher, who soon obtained knighthood from their commander, for their bravery, were also in this division.⁷¹ At

coast of Kent we call the Downs, the Thames mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull; and that the trained soldiers should meet upon a signal given to defend these places, and oppose a landing; and if the enemy did land, to leave all the country waste round about, that they might find nothing for food but what they should carry on their shoulders; to busy them night and day with continual alarms, so as to give them no rest; but not to attempt the hazard of a battle till more leaders, with their companies, were come together.' Camd. 362.

⁶⁹ Ellis, from the MS. p. 140. The list in Murdin, p. 618, enumerates 191 ships, comprising 31,985 tonnage, and 15,272 men. Of these, 18 vessels were volunteers.

⁷⁰ Stow, 744.

⁷¹ Stow, 744. The ships in general were not large. The only ones above 500 tons were the following:—

<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>
1100	Triumph	500	Sir M. Frobisher.
1000	White Bear	500	Lord E. Sheffield.
900	Elizabeth Jones	500	Sir R. Southwell.
800	Ark Raleigh	400	The Lord Admiral.
800	Victory	400	Sir J. Hawkins.
600	Elizabeth Bonaventure	250	Earl Cumberland.
600	Mary Roase	250	Ed. Fenton, esq.
600	Hope	250	Rob. Cross, gent.

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the end of May, the fleet sailed from Plymouth with an eastern breeze; but the elements were unfavorable to their progress. A storm, unusual for that part of the year, raged from the southern points of the heavens for a week, till a westerly change drove them back to the harbour they had left.⁷² They had learnt on the ocean the news, that the hostile armament appeared innumerable, but was still only collecting its masses.⁷³ The heart of the English admiral was stout and loyal; an essential circumstance at

There were but five of 500 tons:—

<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>
500	Rainbow	250	Lord H. Seymour.
500	Golden Lion	250	Lord T. Howard.
500	Vanguard	250	Sir W. Winter.
500	Revenge	250	Sir Fr. Drake.
500	Nonpareil	250	Th. Fenner, gent.

Murdin, p. 615.

Of the others, there were five of 400 tons; six of 300; six of 250; twenty of 200; all the rest were smaller. The tonnage of the whole English navy employed was 31,985 tons. Murd. 618. So that, on a comparison of their size with that of the Spanish tonnage mentioned in note 77, the English ships were not altogether much more than half the bulk of the Spanish navy, and not so much when the whole of that had joined.

⁷² Sir Francis Drake's dispatch to lord Burghley, of 6 June, describes their first movements: 'The 30 May we set sail out of Plymouth, having the wind eastwardly, which continued but a short time. Yet all men were so willing of service, and none more than my lord admiral himself, that we endured a great storm, considering the time of year, with the wind southerly and south-west for seven days. We longer had remained if the wind had not come westwardly, and so much, that in keeping sea, we should have been put to leeward of Plymouth, either for Portland or Wight, which places would not have been so meet, either for the meeting of the enemy, or relieving ourselves of those wants which daily will be in so great an army of ships.' Letters in Strype, v. 3. p. 2. p. 544, 5.

⁷³ 'At our being at sea, we had divers intelligences, but specially one of most importance. A hulk which came from St. Lucar six weeks past, in her way homeward, saw, this day sixteen days, a great fleet of ships from Lisbon, having the wind northerly, and so coming to the westward, which the skipper and his company judge to be the great fleet that the king of Spain hath made ready. They saw so many that they could not number them. They say that they saw 150 or 200 sail; and yet they could not discover the end of their fleet, altho they lay to the eastward, and the fleet to the westward.' Lett. ib. 545.

such a crisis;⁷⁴ and a rational trust in Providence was made the wise foundation of one of our most gallant seamen's courage.⁷⁵ CHAP.
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For three years had the Spanish government been preparing for this ambitious expedition.⁷⁶ The ships and their equipments had been made in every part of its king's naval dominions. Portugal, Biscay, Castile, Andalusia, and Guipuscoa; his eastern coast, and Naples, had each furnished their allotted portions.⁷⁷ Philip then made a temporary league with the

⁷⁴ 'I assure your good lordship, and protest it before God, that I find my lord admiral so well affected for all honorable service in this action, that it doth assure all his followers of good success and hope of victory.' Lett. ib. 545. The repetition of this assurance twice in one letter, and the earnestness of the protestation, would imply that the lord treasurer had expressed some uneasiness on this point; a natural anxiety, when so much treason had been spread abroad; and where so much now depended upon the chief commander's fidelity.

⁷⁵ Sir Francis thus closed his report: 'I daily pray to God to bless her majesty, and to give us grace to fear Him. So shall we not need to doubt the enemy, altho they be many.' It is dated from Plymouth Sound.

⁷⁶ Stow, 745.

⁷⁷ Portugal supplied the captain general's galleon of 1000 tons, and 11 others, carrying altogether 350 great guns, 3,330 soldiers, and 1,230 mariners, and comprising 7,737 tons. The other supplies were in the following proportion:—

	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Soldiers.</i>	<i>Seamen.</i>
Biscay - - - - -	14	260	6,567	2,037	862
Castile - - - - -	16	348	8,714	2,458	1,719
Andalusia - - - -	11	260	8,762	2,400	800
Guipuscoa - - - -	14	—	6,991	2,062	670
East Coast - - - -	10	310	7,705	2,880	807
The Hulks' Army -	14	410	10,271	3,221	708
Pataches and Zabres	12	193	1,131	479	574
Naples - - - - -	8	220	—	1,273	468

and 2,088 slaves.

'The general sum was 130 ships, of 57,868 tons; 19,295 soldiers, and 8,450 mariners, with 2,088 slaves, and 2,630 great pieces of brass cannon of all sorts; also 20 caravals for the service of the others, with 10 salves, of six oars a piece.' This was the enumeration made of them at Lisbon, on 20 May; but towards the end of June, another armament of 80 sail went out of Lisbon to join them. See the detail in Strype, v. 3. pt. 2. p. 535-9. from the Spanish book, which styled the whole at that time, the '*Felicissime Armada!*'

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Ottoman powers, to keep his kingdom from their attack:⁷⁸ and the whole armament was to have been on the seas, sailing from their appointed rendezvous in the Groyne, near the Bay of Biscay, on to Flanders, at the time that the English fleet had been searching the waves for them, in order to begin their operations in England in the month of June; which the prince of Parma had urged, that they might have the full benefit of the finest portion of the summer. But the suiting winds which were necessary to bring every division from its ports to the common station, did not occur. Adverse currents of the atmosphere, on the contrary, kept them from their early union,⁷⁹ while the prince of Parma was fully prepared to have embarked with them, and was impatiently expecting them. One hundred and twenty-four noblemen and gentlemen of quality joined the army, as enthusiastic volunteers;⁸⁰ and one hundred and eighty priests, friars and jesuits.⁸¹ They were amply provisioned for six months,⁸² besides more in reserve. Sure of landing, they took with them twelve double cannons of battery, and twenty-one field pieces; great store of superabundant arms;⁸³ all the

⁷⁸ Lee's Report, in Strype, p. 11. The *Groyne* is, I believe, the present CORUNNA.

⁷⁹ Stow, p. 745.

⁸⁰ These brought with them 456 servants fully armed. Strype, 537.

⁸¹ Those mentioned, are, a priest-major with the cannon; 8 friars of St. Francis, from Spain, and 20 from Portugal; 29 Capuchins, from Castile, and 10 Portugese; 23 from both countries, of Augustinians. The rest were Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans. Strype, 537, 8.

⁸² The food was '11,000 quintals of biscuit, 6,500 of bacon, 3,458 of goat's cheese, 8,000 of fish, and 3,000 of rice; 6,320 septiers of beans and white pease; 14,170 pipes of wine; 11,398 pounds of olive oil, and 33,870 measures of vinegar; a great quantity of hogheads of water, and 8,000 Roman bottles of leather for their wine and water.' Strype, 538.

⁸³ 'Besides the weapons which the soldiers have, they carry 7,000 guns with their furniture, 1,000 muskets, 10,000 pikes, 1,000 partisans and halberds, and 6,000 half pikes.' ib. 539.

implements that could be wanted for encampments, trenches, beleaguering lines and fortifications. Banners, with a strange medley of sacred and human things;⁶⁴ litanies to all their saints, and prayers for the demolition of the heretics, whom they had made this superb amassment of earthly power to overwhelm,⁶⁵ completed its equipment.

They assembled at length in such sufficient number at Lisbon, by 25th May, as to leave the Tagus on that day, and to proceed from thence to their appointed station at the Groyne, preparatory to their outward voyage.⁶⁶ They were anchored there in three several roads, each division three leagues from the other. But sickness came, with its deranging visitations. The vice-admiral of the whole fleet sank under it; and the malady so spread its ravages, that the duke of Medina Sidonia, the captain-general of the armada, solicited his sovereign's direction, whether the expedition was to proceed.⁶⁷ If the

⁶⁴ 'There be also standards, antients and banners, where the figure of Jesus Christ and our Lady, and of his majesty, are painted.' 539. A truly Spanish association; like the Pagan deities and Christian objects of worship in the *Lusiad* of Camoens.

⁶⁵ These Litanies et preces were printed from the mandate of the cardinal prince, to depress the 'feritate hæreticorum; elide superbiam, et eorum contumaciam prosterne. Propugnatores tuos a paganorum et hæreticorum defende periculis.' Strype, 539-41.

⁶⁶ Captain Lee's MS. reported account, printed in Strype, v. 3. pt. 2. p. 10. which was some days later than the Spanish enumeration, quoted in note 77, stated, that 'On 25 May there departed out of Lisbon 160 great and small ships; viz. 8 galleys and galleons, 30 hulks, 30 small ships, the rest armadoes and galleons. In the same fleet there are 30,000 footmen, besides mariners. All have arrived in the Groyne, saving the 30 hulks.' ib. 'There is a preparing for a second fleet in Lisbon.' ib. 11.

⁶⁷ Such was Lee's information; 'by reason of the sickness.' ib. 11. The 30 hulks, which had not arrived, contained all the horses. ib. Both the duke of Paliano and the marquis de Santa Croce, to whom the command had been appointed, died. Camd. 365.

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English admirals had correctly known their position and state, or if the westerly change of wind had not forced them back to Plymouth, a bold attack with fire-ships at that juncture might have consumed the proud armament in a sudden conflagration. But the ærial element counteracted the wishes of both the warlike navies, and governed them as it pleased. While it confined the English seamen to their coasts, it imprisoned their opponents in the Gallician bays. The king commanded them to advance towards the island, which, in his imagination, he had already captured; but, from the want of southerly breezes, they could not obey his mandate.⁸⁸

The Spanish counsellors had decided, that it was easier to conquer England than Holland;—that England was declining; was weak, in comparison of Spain; was deficient in ships and forts; in horses, and all warlike preparations; and was quite destitute of captains for war, and was needy of money:—that the English were fond of novelty; hated their queen; were desirous to rebel; were inclinable to the Catholic religion; and that many who were Catholics, favored the king who bore that titular appellation.⁸⁹ These were the dreams of foreigners, ignorant of the country they were going to assail, excepting as to the last suggestion. They best knew what traitorous partisans their disguised agents had secured. It is clear that they had made large calculations, as well as strenuous efforts, on this

⁸⁸ Lee's report, Strype, ib. 11. 'John Martinez de Ricalde, a most skilful seaman,' was made commander, under Medina Sidonia. *Camd.* 365.

⁸⁹ See the *Politiorum Dissertationum*, cited by Strype, p. 7.

perilous point; and on this subject Sixtus V. had endeavored zealously to assist them.

When Dr. Allen went to Rome to solicit this pontiff to re-establish the dispersing seminary at Rheims,⁸⁰ he so effectually ingratiated himself at the Vatican, that he was used at once for a higher destination, more congruous with the papal energies; was created cardinal of England, and was intrusted, like his treasonable predecessor, cardinal Pole, to be the instigator of the Catholic mind of the British kingdom, to a general revolt against their forbearing queen, as the armada was advancing to profit by their disaffection. His mind, which had displayed its subtlety by denying its traitorous designs,⁸¹ while he was pursuing them by his trained scholars in the darkness and cloak of conspiracy, now confident of his approaching triumph, published his inciting 'Admonition,' which, for the audacity of its unhesitating falsehoods, vituperation, treason, and criminality, may vie with the boldest production of evil, that the admirable and yet pervertible press has ever produced.⁸² The pope prepared its foundation by renewing the excommunication against Elizabeth, in a form, which is declared to have been more aggravated than that of the sufficiently

⁸⁰ See before, p. 481.

⁸¹ This he does with smooth language and intrepid assertion, in his apology for his seminaries, in 1581. See before, p. 480, 4, notes 23 and 35.

⁸² We have mentioned and cited this book in our preceding page 485, notes 37-40. Meteren has inserted one of Allen's pamphlets of this kind, word for word, in his Belg. Hist. l. 15. Strype, 77. I believe it is the 'Admonition,' but I have not had an opportunity of comparing his work with my copy of Allen's. Dr. Geo. Abbot, in his book against Dr. Hill, has truly given a brief outline of its contents, as Strype has quoted it. p. 77.

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inveterate Pius V.⁹³ The foulness of a reviling tongue could not lavish more vulgar ribaldry against the lowest and most reprobate fellow-creature, than this cardinal priest and doctor chose to utter, with knowing, intending, and deliberate untruth, against the English queen. His only apology can be, that it was the settled and official tactics of the papal school thus to attack all Protestant excellence, character and dignity. It would occupy some of our pages, as well as disgrace them, to lay before the reader the whole of his discreditable declamation: a few specimens will express its general character.⁹⁴

⁹³ The letter from an English Catholic to Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, thus mentions this recent fulmination, as 'a new bull, lately published at Rome by the pope's holiness, with more severity than others of his predecessors, whereby the queen here was accused, and pronounced to be deprived of her crown; and the invasion and conquest of the realm committed by the pope to the king Catholic, to execute the same with his armies, and to take the crown to himself, or to limit it to such a potentate as the pope and he should name.' This letter is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, and extracts from it are in Strype, p. 142, 3. Dr. Allen accompanied it with a congenial explanation.

⁹⁴ 'So monstrous and pernicious an heretic, rebel, usurper, fire-brand of all mischief;' 'that wicked woman, the bane of Christendom and all their kingdoms; the scourge of God, and rebuke of woman kind.' 'Her heresy, sacrilege, and abominable life.' 'Be not inwrapped in her sins, punishment and damnation.' 'The pretensed queen; the present cause of perdition of millions of souls; the very bane of all Christian kingdoms and states.' 'This tyrant:' 'the infinite quantity and enormous quality of her most execrable wickedness:' 'her horrible sacrileges, murdering of saints, and rebellion against God's church:' 'Luciferian pride.' 'Incestuous bastard! born in sin, of an infamous courtesan, Anne Bullen.' Besides these flowers of his collegiate gardens at Rheims and Rome, he devotes separate sections to a detail of the crimes he imputes to her; assuring those he wrote to, that she 'deserveth not only deposition, but ALL VENGEANCE, both of God and man; the whole world deriding our effeminate dastardy, that have suffered SUCH A CREATURE almost thirty years together to reign, both over our bodies and souls.' Allen's Admonition, passim. The Spanish and Italian writers on Elizabeth at this time are but very little less vituperatory. One spirit or system actuated the whole body, or rather its plan of warfare, which did them no service in England, but had its full effect on the papal part of the continent.

Yet this he addressed to the ‘nobility’ of England, as if it were possible that any man who stood in that honorable class of British society, whatever might be his church, could have so totally lost his taste, principle and judgment, as to read with approbation or sympathy such raving calumnation. We have an evidence that this was at least impossible to some, for the Catholic already quoted, signified to Mendoza the disgust it had excited.⁹⁵ The queen was counselled to be as severe as her father had been, on such an exigency; but she steadily refused to defile herself with blood on the exasperating crisis, and only caused some of the inferior and more suspected Papists to be taken to Wisbech.⁹⁶ It is clear that Sixtus overrated the talents of his new cardinal, and undervalued the sounder mind of the English public, to have patronised such obloquy; but he may have mistaken, like many, the abusive parts of Cicero’s Philippics for true eloquence. If it was by his desire that Philip gave his captains the order, that Elizabeth should be taken alive, in order

⁹⁵ ‘I was sorry to perceive so many good men of our religion offended therewith: in that there should be found in one, accounted a father of the church, who was also a born subject of the crown, *such foul, vile, irreverent and violent speeches*; such ireful and bloody threatenings of a queen, of a nobility, yea, of the whole people of his own nation.’ Harl. Misc. and Strype, 143.

⁹⁶ Camd. 362. Allen assumed the authority to declare of Sixtus V., that acting on ‘a special canon of the great council of Lateran, touching the chastisement of princes, that will not purge their dominions of heresy and heretics; he hath specially intreated Philip to take upon him this sacred and glorious enterprise, who, by this his holiness’s authority and exhortation, moved also not a little by my humble and continual suit, hath consented; and commanded SUFFICIENT royal forces to be gathered and conducted into our country.’ Admon. ib. When the prince of Parma was informed of this book and bull, he declared that he had not seen either: ‘neither would he undertake any thing in the pope’s name.’ Camd. 364.

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to grace the Vatican or St. Peter's, or Peter's dungeon, at Rome, the pope, as well as the king, must have allowed his judgment to have become transformed into impassioned imagination.⁹⁷

The duke of Parma had left nothing undone on his part, which ability and activity could accomplish. He constructed as many ships in his ports as they would allow; he had others fabricated inland; and even cut new canals, like rivers, to convey them from Ghent, Ypres, and elsewhere, to his naval stations at Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Nieuport. By his proclamations, offering liberal pay, he drew mariners from Holland, Lübec, Hamburgh and Dantzic, till he had collected three hundred and forty vessels of all sizes, and some flat-bottomed, that he might land his forces on any strand. Thirty thousand infantry, and five thousand horse, were ready to embark on the first signal, with every necessary to ensure their landing, protect their encampment, and facilitate their subsequent operations.⁹⁸ The duc de Guise

⁹⁷ One explorer reported to lord Burghley, 'I had a chamber where J. Dutche, some time of the *queen's guard*, now mace-bearer to cardinal Allen, at Rome, lodged. As he and I were on St. Peter's eve walking on Mount Tauro, to behold the fireworks that night, he told me that he heard the cardinal say, that the king of Spain gave great charge to duke Medina, and to all the captains, that they should in no wise harm the person of the queen; and that the duke should, so speedily as he might, take order for the conveyance of her person to Rome, to the purpose, that his holiness the pope should dispose thereof in such sort as it should please him.' MS. Burg. printed in Strype, v. 3. part. 2. p. 551, 2.

⁹⁸ Stowe, 745. 'He had also prepared a number of nimble engines, called '*Cats*,' on which he meant to mount his ordnance in haste to make fierce battery on his first assault, with a great quantity of faggots, and bags of earth two feet long and half a yard wide, for his first landing, which every man was to carry, to make a present shelter for their first defence, until they could first entrench themselves, as he was sure the English would be resolute to dispute their landing, before they had time to provide any defensive fortifications.' *ib.*

had also prepared twelve thousand Frenchmen, of his faction, in Normandy; proposing, as the Spanish fleet passed along that shore to unite with Parma, to have transported his force into the western districts of Devonshire, and draw the troops of England to that direction; while a branch of the armada carried as many to Yorkshire, for the purpose of calling other portions of the native soldiery to their attack. The main body could then disembark with less impediment in Kent or Essex, as near the metropolis, or its protecting camp, as the winds and events would allow.⁹⁹ No plan of sagacious foresight, and no means of a vigorous execution of their military conceptions, were omitted; and, as far as human reasonings extended, no throne or people would have had to meet a more formidable encounter. The bravery on both sides would be equal. In numbers and personal prowess, the English would be superior; but in skilful officers, and experienced veterans, they could present no comparison with their selected and well-provided invaders. Nor had they then a General who, in the grander operations of a collected army, or of a victorious campaign, could compete with the prince of Parma. The celebrated victories of their nation, Poitiers and Agincourt—the wonders of their patriotism, and the proverbs of their fame—their ancestors had achieved under princes who were the ablest commanders in Europe of their day. The Black Prince, and Henry V. would have shone and triumphed like Turenne, Marlborough, Napoleon and Wellington,

⁹⁹ Stow, 746.

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in any age, and almost under any circumstances. But English prowess, without leading skill, has rarely, if ever, been successful against superior talent. At Dettingen, it but just escaped defeat. At Fontenoy, the Helder, Dunkirk, and in Walcheren, it experienced disaster. Skill without valor will always operate imperfectly in war; but valor without skill, unless its opponents be as defective, will never fight a safe battle, nor gain a permanent success, nor rescue an open country from a powerful and intelligent invader. Hence England stood in her greatest jeopardy, while all these threatening forces were combining and moving to assault her.¹⁰⁰

But the kingdom possessed in Elizabeth, a sovereign peculiarly fitted for such a national crisis. Courageous and spirited in pressing dangers, like all her Tudor family, she had a serene fortitude of soul, which never despaired; and that sublime spirit of religious trust and hope, which is the true strength and mightiness of the human soul. She was not governed by the slavish submission of a Turkish predestination, which yields with impassive torpor to an advancing evil; but by a rational confidence, that

¹⁰⁰ Lord Hardwicke remarked, that, 'sir John Smith, an old soldier, in his curious treatise of the Tactics of this time, gives but an indifferent account of the formation and discipline of this army [at Tilbury,] so that it was very fortunate that the veteran troops in the Low Countries did not land.' Note v. 1. p. 575. But yet foreigners estimated English fighting more highly: for I observe that Philip-pus Honorius, who reported to Philip II. his review of England, while the armada was preparing, says, 'tho not all its soldiers are experientia insignes et exercitate, yet mixed with the expertis, they would give an excellent specimen of themselves, from their disposition, their aptitude for military exercises, and the discipline they observe in battle, so that even the inermes will be worth something; for no one is ignorant, that there is *no nation* in the whole world who contemn the danger of death more than the Britanni.' Phil. Honor. relat. de Regio Brit. p. 202.

the exalted protection which she supplicated would be efficiently extended, if it were wise and best for the welfare of mankind, that the cause and interest which her life and reign upheld and promoted, should finally prevail. She discovered this feeling afterwards in all its tranquillizing magnanimity, when suddenly told that the earl of Essex and his friends were exciting an insurrection in her metropolis:¹⁰¹ and she displayed it now in the language and appeals of her public devotion.¹⁰² Her cabinet, like her admirals, cherished this sentiment, and calmly and fearlessly acted upon it, till the felicitating event demonstrated the solidity of its foundation.¹⁰³ She

¹⁰¹ 'On the same day that the late earl of Essex entered the city, with divers noblemen and gentlemen of quality, in a confused troop, when report was made to her thereof, she, being then at dinner, seemed nothing moved therewith, but only said, that 'HE THAT PLACED HER IN THAT SEAT, WOULD PRESERVE HER IN IT.' So she continued at her dinner, not shewing any sign of fear or distraction of mind; nor omitting any thing that day, which she had been accustomed to do at other times. An argument of a religious resolution, and great constancy in a woman, but rarely to be found in men, of more than ordinary spirit.' Sloane's MS. of a person in lord Burghley's household, printed by Mr. Ellis, v. 3, 192. Second Series.

¹⁰² 'We do instantly beseech Thee, of Thy gracious goodness, to be merciful to Thy church militant here upon earth, and at this time compassed about with most strong and subtle adversaries. O let Thine enemies know that Thou hast received ENGLAND, which they, most of all for Thy gospel's sake, do malign, into Thine own protection. Set a wall about it, O Lord! and ever more mightily defend it. Let it be a comfort to the afflicted; an help to the oppressed; and a defence to Thy church and people persecuted abroad. And forasmuch as THIS CAUSE is now in hand, direct and go before our armies, both by sea and land. Bless them and prosper them: and grant unto them Thy honorable success and victory. Thou art our help and shield. O give good and prosperous success to all those that fight THIS battle against the enemies of Thy Gospel.' Public form of prayer, in Strype, p. 17, 18. Orders were also issued thro the nation, for public prayers, with an appointed form, on every Wednesday and Friday, weekly, for deliverance and good success. The clergy were required to be active in promoting the general devotions, and the proper homilies to be read for fasting and almsgiving. Strype, v. 3. part 2. p. 15.

¹⁰³ Earl Leicester expressed similar ideas, in his letter to the queen on 21 July, when the armada had begun the battle: 'The

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resolved to take a personal share in the general defence.¹⁰⁴

The tempest which had harassed the English fleet, had more violently distressed Medina's armada. It was scattered from its station in the Groyne, and was so injured and divided, that the tidings came to England, that the expedition was unavoidably abandoned for this year. The queen was too happy from the intelligence, to mistrust it; and the secretary Walsingham ordered some of the larger vessels to return, as their expected warfare was at an end.¹⁰⁵ The lord admiral reconnoitred the seas by Drake,¹⁰⁶ and divided his fleet into three parts for more ready operation; ¹⁰⁷ but expressed the difficulty of watching

cause you are assailed for is His and His church's; and HE never failed any that faithfully put their chief trust in His goodness. To comfort you withal, HE hath given you great and mighty means to defend yourself, which I doubt not, your majesty will timely and princely use; and HE that ruleth all will assist and bless you with victory.' Hardw. 1. p. 575.

¹⁰¹ So Leicester states, in the same letter to her, 'It doth much rejoice me, to find by your letter, your noble disposition, as well in present gathering your forces, as in EMPLOYING YOUR OWN PERSON in this dangerous action.' ib. 575.

¹⁰² Camd. 366. Stow, 745. The lord admiral had the patriotism to urge that nothing should be rashly credited in so weighty a matter, and to propose to retain the four ships retracted at his private expense. Camd. 366.

¹⁰³ On 6 July, lord Howard wrote, that some Spanish ships having been seen off Scilly, he had put to sea in haste, without taking in all his victuals, to cut them off, but the changing wind disappointed him. 'Then did I send sir F. Drake, with half a score ships and three pinnaces, to discover;' but an Irish bark assured them 'that the Spanish fleet was broken in the storms before, and by all likelihood they would have returned back to the Groyne.' Lett. in Hard. 1. p. 581.

¹⁰⁴ 'Yet we be in sight of one another, so that if any of us do discover the Spanish fleet, we shall give notice thereof presently the one to the other, and thereupon repair and assemble together. I myself do lie in the midst of the channel with the greatest force. Sir F. Drake hath twenty ships, and four or five pinnaces, which lie towards Ushant; and Mr. Hawkins, with as many more, lie towards Scilly. Thus we are fain to do, or else, with this wind, they might pass by, and we never the wiser.' Letter, ib. 582.

so large a space of the intervening ocean.¹⁰⁸ A fortnight passing without any change of this prospect, the belief of the postponement spread; the English ships withdrew to the coast of Ireland and the western ports, where the captains and officers were amusing them with 'revels, dancing, bowling, and making merry on shore;' when a common pirate accidentally arrived with the information, that the armada was in full sail, advancing towards the coast; and if this chance intelligence had not occurred, the Spaniards might have surprised and burnt the English vessels in their harbours.¹⁰⁹

But British seamen are ever as alert as they at times are careless; every one flew to his welcome duty; and altho the day after they received the news, the armada arrived on the English coast, the next morning witnessed the first discharge of cannon between the great opponents.¹¹⁰ The lord admiral directed lord Henry Seymour and sir William Winter to keep their divisions ready to act with him at their stations.¹¹¹ Sir Francis Drake, who communicated

¹⁰⁸ 'The sleeve is another manner of thing than it was taken for. We find it, by experience and daily observation, to be an hundred miles over: a large room for me to look unto.' Lett. ib. 582.

¹⁰⁹ Stow, 745. Thomas Fleming, the pirate, sailed two or three days with them, and 'very subtilly went from them,' and on 19 July informed the lord admiral of their approach, 'or else the Spaniards might have burnt the English ships lying in harbour. For this service he obtained his own pardon, and a pension during his life.' ib.

¹¹⁰ On 21 July, sir F. Drake sent a caravel with his letter in haste to lord H. Seymour, to apprise him 'that the army of Spain arrived upon our coast the 20th and the 21st. We had them in chase. Coming up to them, there passed some common shot between some of our fleet and some of them; and as far as we can perceive, they are determined to sell their lives with blows.' Hardw. v. 1. p. 583.

¹¹¹ Sir Francis continued: 'His lordship has commanded me to write unto your lordship and Sir W. Winter, that those ships serving under your charge should be put into the best and strongest manner

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these orders, expressed the determined resolution of his fellow seamen, and his prayers for an auspicious result.¹¹²

The actual advance of the awful peril put every bosom in the kingdom into excitement and agitation. The queen determined to be present in the battle, wherever it should be fought. Leicester strongly and wisely discouraged that great risk, which might have shipwrecked the whole state;¹¹³ but advised her to station her army in the villages near London,¹¹⁴ and to make a short visit to the encampment at Tilbury, as her appearance among them would exhilarate their spirits, not only there but elsewhere;¹¹⁵ nor would it involve her in that danger to which all

you can, and ready to assist his lordship for the better encountering of them in those parts where you now are.' Hard. v. l. p. 583.

¹¹² He added, 'In the meantime what his lordship and the rest following him may do, SHALL BE SURELY PERFORMED. I do salute your lordship, and all the rest of those honorable gentlemen serving under you, with the like, beseeching God of His mercy to give her majesty, our gracious sovereign, always victory against her enemies. The Revenge, off the Start, 21 July.' ib. 583.

¹¹³ 'Now for your person,—for advice to be given for the direction of it; a man must tremble when he thinks of it, especially finding your majesty to have that princely courage to transport yourself to the utmost confines of your realm, to meet your enemies and defend your subjects. I cannot, most dear queen! consent to that; for upon your well-doing, consists all the safety of your whole kingdom. Therefore preserve that above all.' Letter 27 July, Hard. p. 577.

¹¹⁴ 'Yet will I not that in some sort so princely and so rare a magnanimity should not appear to your people, and to the world, as it is. And thus far, if it please your majesty, you may do: to draw yourself to your house at Havering; and your army being about London, at Stratford, East Ham, and the villages thereabout, will be always not only a defence, but a ready supply to these counties, Essex and Kent, if need be.' Lett. ib.

¹¹⁵ 'And in the meantime your majesty, to comfort this army, and people of both counties, may, if it please you, spend two or three days to see both the camps and forts. It is not above fourteen miles at most from Havering, which is a very convenient place for your majesty to be by the way, and so rest you at the camp. You will comfort not only those thousands, but many more that shall hear of it.' ib.

dreaded to see her exposed, tho the armada should make good its passage; as she could return, without dishonor, to her larger forces, and more secure protections.¹¹⁶ The earl at the same time caused the lieutenants of Kent to be, with three or four thousand men, ready at Dover, to supply the lord admiral when he came there.¹¹⁷ The queen went to the camp at Tilbury, as her general advised; and as she moved along the ranks on horseback, with her truncheon in her hand, and exhibiting the animation and courage of a martial commander, an ardor of patriotic enthusiasm, of heroic sympathy, and of personal attachment, glowed in every breast, which she increased by her kind demeanor, her judicious compliments, and her public addresses.¹¹⁸

It was on 20 July that the English admirals first beheld the Spanish fleet, sailing with the wind, in the arrangement of an immense, yet connected crescent, of which the extreme and first advancing horns were, from the number of the whole, seven miles

¹¹⁶ 'There can be no danger in this, tho the enemy should pass by your fleet. But your majesty may, without dishonor, return to your own forts, being but at hand: and you may have 2000 horse, to be well lodged at Rumbold and other villages near Havering, and your footmen to lodge near London.' Hard. p. 577. ¹¹⁷ Ib. 578.

¹¹⁸ Stow, 749. Sir Ed. Radcliffe thus expressed his sentiments on it to earl Sussex: 'Her majesty has honored our camp with her presence, and comforted many of us with her most gracious usage. It pleased her to send for me to my lord general's tent, and to make me kiss her hand, giving me many thanks for my forwardness in this service; telling me I showed from what house I was descended; and assuring me, before it were long, she would make me better able to serve her; which words, being spoken before many, did well please me, however the performance follow.' Ellis, p. 142. Leicester gave this account of it to lord Shrewsbury: 'Our gracious queen hath been here with me to see her camp and people, which so influenced the hearts of her good subjects, that I think the weakest person among them is able to match the proudest Spaniard that dare land in England.' ib. 141.

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asunder from each other,¹¹⁹ while the greatest mass of force moved onwards, more condensed, within their inward centre. The inferior navy of England was quite unequal to confront such a power of fire and weight of size, by that direct attack and close action, in which it excels, and by which it has so often triumphed. The admiral let it pass in its compacted and irresistible might; but with what ships he had ready, took immediate advantage of the same wind that was impelling it, to pursue its rear; and the next morning, when the invaders had come as high as Plymouth, began the cannonade on the largest ship he could approach to; while Drake, Hawkins and Frobisher, combined their attacks on the hindmost squadron under the care of Recalde;¹²⁰ wisely judging that their victory must arise from assailing with superior force such portions as could be separated and mastered, of that vast body, whose united front and unbroken might was able at that time, in the skill of its moving order, and in the fresh fulness of its strength, to overwhelm their most resolute opposition. For two hours the first battle was thus sustained; and again, till night suspended it. The Spaniards who were attacked, naturally sought rather to keep in union with their proceeding fleet, than to wrestle with their assailants. But Recalde, bearing the chief brunt of the encounter, was so battered by the English shot, that he could scarcely rejoin his companions.¹²¹

The next day, the 22d, the English fleet being

¹¹⁹ Camd. 366.

¹²⁰ Camd. 366. Stow, 747.

¹²¹ Camd. 367. This first engagement was off the Lizard. Drake's account in Strype, v. 3. part 2, p. 34.

more completely collected, the lord admiral followed the enemy as close as the wind permitted; charging them as opportunity offered; and in the evening, the galleon of don Valdez, one of the chief commanders, falling foul of another, broke her bowsprit, and was unwillingly left behind; an unwieldy bulk, which Drake immediately surrounded and secured.¹²²

By not carrying his guiding light, from too great eagerness of pursuit, this brave officer endangered his chief commander, who with two ships only was following the Spanish admiral's blaze, supposing that to be his appointed conductor.

The English lost sight of the armada as it entered the Channel; and the Spanish duke, profiting by the interval, put his fleet in a more suitable arrangement, gave new orders correspondent to the English mode of attack, and dispatched an ensign to the prince of Parma, to apprise him of his advance.¹²³

Early on the ensuing morning, the 23d, the second conflict began. The wind shifting to the north, enabled the Spaniards to turn about on their pursuers, and to seek to overwhelm them with their superiority. Lord Howard evaded this direct attack, by turning off to the west. Both then struggled for the wind, and both fought with valor, but with confusion; for the celerity, light ships, and better seamanship of the English, enabled them to elude the compact array of their adversaries; and to move,

¹²² The don inquired into whose squadron he had fallen, and being informed that it was Drake's, said, 'Then fetch him, for I will yield to no one but to a commander like myself.' When sir Francis came, he proposed articles; but was answered that it was no time for composition. He had therefore only to surrender at discretion. Stow, 747. This ship was taken off Portland. Drake, in Strype, p. 34.

¹²³ Camd. 367.

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tack, recede, unite, and assault, as they saw most fit. The fortune of battle varied. The London ships were hemmed in by the Spanish force, and were with difficulty rescued; while Recalde's division was in equal danger, from an accumulation of English vessels. The Spaniards suffered most. Their shot, from their higher sides, flew over the English decks, but the guns of the latter took full effect; and lord Howard avoided grappling and boarding, as the armada was full of troops.

The 24th was a pause of battle, which the English fleet used to obtain fresh supplies of ammunition. On the 25th, the third and more serious contest began. The English obtained the partial advantages of their quicker movements and available combinations; but when the Spanish admiral bore down upon them with the mass of his fleet, they only escaped the worst disaster by the wind suddenly changing, and checking his attack.¹²⁴ The English admirals thought it prudent not to assail the armada again, till it came into the strait of Calais, where lord Seymour and sir William Winter would join them.¹²⁵ But they had prevented any landing on the western and southern coasts of the island; and thus confined the attack to Kent and Essex. The duke de Medina now steadily moved on to join the prince of Parma, and on the 27th, anchored before Calais; ¹²⁶ having thus far successfully conducted his great expedition, with as little evil and annoyance

¹²⁴ This is the Spanish statement, and it seems a just one. *Camd.* 368.

¹²⁵ *Camd.* 369. Many noblemen and gentlemen eagerly joined the fleet of lord Howard, as it passed down the Channel.

¹²⁶ *Camd.* 369.

as either party could have reasonably expected. At this period, the danger to England was undiminished. The mighty armament had forced its way, unbroken, into the vicinity of the prepared battalions in Flanders: and the issue of the undertaking seemed to rest entirely on the point of its being able to effectuate the landing of its still eager soldiery.

To these operations we may ascribe the news which flew thro France to Spain and Rome, that the armada was succeeding in its appointed purpose.¹²⁷ As they had so far made good their passage, they might claim as victories the engagements which had annoyed, but not arrested, their course. But at Calais their difficulties began. They had stopped off that harbour, because their pilots warned them, that beyond it the tide would force them into the Northern Ocean, which would defeat their junction with the prince of Parma; yet, tho they sent forty fly-boats to urge him to put to sea immediately, and proceed with them, under their protection; to a landing in England without delay, he found it impossible, on the sudden intimation of their unexpected arrival, to do so at a few hours notice, as Sidonia desired. Two months had elapsed since the armada had first moved from Lisbon, when the prince had been fully ready; but this interval of delay, which had not been anticipated, had caused his mariners

¹²⁷ The intelligence from Rome, printed by Strype from the Burghley MS., stated that cardinal Allen made a great feast, and had invited to it all the English, Scots and Irish in Rome, on the news having arrived that the queen had been taken prisoner, and the realm subdued. Vol. 3. part 2. p. 552. In Paris, don Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, entered the church of Notre Dame, waving his rapier, and crying out with a loud voice, 'Victoria, victoria!' Stow, 248.

to desert. His provisions had been consumed, and were not yet replaced, and his flat-bottomed boats had by the summer's heat dried and become leaky. Ships of war from Holland and Zealand were likewise watching his embarking ports of Dunkirk and Nieuport. So that his instantaneous movement to co-operate was impossible.¹²⁸ Yet, eager for the expedition, he undertook within three days to unite with them, if wind and tide permitted.¹²⁹

This concentration of the armada off Calais, suggested to the English admiral the idea, and gave him the opportunity of trying the effect, of fire-ships. Eight of the worst vessels were hastily fitted for this purpose, and being filled and smeared with wild-fire, pitch, rosin, brimstone and other combustible materials, were in the dead of the night, with a favoring wind, sent down into the middle of the Spanish fleet. The terrible appearance of this blazing conflagration shook the whole armada with a general panic: in vain the prudent duke ordered all to weigh anchor, in order to avoid the danger, and to return to their stations when it had passed; terror became the general impulse; all cut their cables, and put wildly to sea in hurrying confusion.¹³⁰ One of their

¹²⁸ Camd. 369. While they were off Calais, Stow mentions that 'the Flemings, the Walloons, and the French, came thick and threefold to behold the fleet, admiring the exceeding greatness of their ships and warlike order. The greatest kept the outside next the enemy, like strong castles, fearing no assault; the lesser placed in the middle ward. Fresh victuals were straight brought aboard. Captains and cavaliers might have what they would for their money; and gave the French so liberally, that within twelve hours an egg was worth sixpence, besides thanks.' p. 748. ¹²⁹ Stow, 748.

¹³⁰ Camd. 370. 'Guided within cannon shot, before the Spaniards could discern the same, the flame then grew so fierce, that the enemy thought these floats to have been like the works of wild-fire, lately

chief commanders, don Hugo de Moncada, had his rudder broke, and running upon the sands, was attacked and killed. Some struck on the shallows of Flanders, and others ran dispersing into the ocean;¹³¹ the remainder were assaulted by Drake and the rest of the English fleet. This was the greatest conflict which the seamen of England maintained against the armada. Its compact and formidable line of greater ships, mutually supporting each other, and impregnable from such unity of warlike action, being broken up by the dispersion and confusion, the English admirals and captains boldly encountered their adversaries in front, and in a closer battle, for fourteen hours, with all the victorious energy of their national resolution and intrepid daring. The Spaniards felt their superiority, and were discomfited in every part. They had to endure all the heavy cannonading of their triumphant opponents, while they were struggling to get clear of the shallows; they suffered grievously; and another of their largest ships was driven on shore near Ostend, and afterwards taken by the men of Flushing.¹³²

made to break the bridge of Antwerp; in which fear, with shrieks and loud outcries they exclaimed, 'The fire of Antwerp! the fire of Antwerp!' and some cut their cables; others let their hawsers slip; and happiest they who could first be gone, tho few could tell what course to take.' Stow, 748.

¹³¹ Camd. 370. Stow, 748.

¹³² Camd. 370. Lord Monmouth, who had joined the fleet at Plymouth, thus describes this last action; 'They being in this disorder, we made ready to follow them; where began a cruel fight. We had such advantage, both of wind and tide, that WE HAD A GLORIOUS DAY of them, continuing fight from four o'clock in the morning till almost five or six at night. They lost a dozen or fourteen of their best ships. Some sank, and the rest ran ashore in divers parts, to keep themselves from sinking. After God had given us this great victory, they made all the haste they could away.' Mem. 17, 18.

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This battle and its consequences decided the issue of the invasion. On a west-north-west wind blowing strong, they endeavored, on the 31st July, but in vain, to regain their position in the narrow strait where Parma could alone join them. They were driven down to Zeeland, till the breeze taking a southerly direction, they profited by it to get out of the shallows that were again embarrassing them; and in the evening consulted on the most expedient measures in their unexpected state. The English fleet being now all united, presented before them one hundred and forty sail. Of their own, some of the largest had been lost, and the rest much torn and shattered. There was no port in which they could repair; nor would the prince of Parma be now able to bring out his fleet to their support or rescue. It was decided to return to Spain, but by a northern circuit round Great Britain; as there was no chance of forcing a passage thro the collected English navy.¹³³ They took this course. 'The English pursued; but their former expenditure of their powder prevented another engagement.'¹³⁴ Storms soon

¹³³ Camd. 370. Drake, in his letter to Walsingham on 31 July, says, 'We have the army of Spain before us, and mind to wrestle a pull with him. There was never any thing pleased better than the seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northward. I doubt it not, but ere it be long, so to handle the matter with the duke of Sionia, that he shall wish himself at St. Mary's Port, among his vine trees. God give us grace to depend upon him. So shall we not doubt victory; for our cause is good. I crave pardon for my haste, for I had the watch this last night upon the enemy.' Hardw. 585.

¹³⁴ Monmouth supplies this circumstance. 'We followed them Tuesday and Wednesday, by which time they had gotten as far as Flamborough Head. It was resolved, on Wednesday at night, that by four o'clock on Thursday we should have a new fight with them, for a farewell; but by two in the morning there was a flag of council hung out in our vice-admiral, when it was found that in the whole fleet there was not munition sufficient to make half a fight. Therefore it was concluded that we should let them pass, and our fleet return to the Downs.' Mem. 18.

increased the dismay of their retreating adversaries,¹³⁵ who were then supposed to have been driven to Denmark.¹³⁶ Lord Howard returned to the Channel, to watch the yet dangerous and threatening prince of Parma, whose secret dreams of personal ambition had been frustrated,¹³⁷ as well as the expected glory of becoming the conqueror of England; but, closely observed by its triumphant admirals,¹³⁸ and having no hope of further succor, he soon gave up the

¹³⁵ Drake wrote, on 8 August, 'On Friday last we cast the army of Spain so far to the northward, as that they could recover neither England nor Scotland; and within three days after we were entertained with a great storm, considering the time of year; which in our judgment hath not a little [forced] the enemy away.' Hard. 585.

¹³⁶ So Drake expressed: 'If the wind hinders it not, I think they are forced to Denmark, and that, for divers causes, certain it is that many of their people were sick, and not a few killed. Their ships, sails, ropes and wastes need great reparations, *for they had all felt* of your majesty's forces.' *ib.* 585. This idea he repeated on the 10th. *ib.* 586.

¹³⁷ He had framed a pedigree, from which he raised a claim to himself to the English crown; and some ideas connected with such hopes may have caused that negotiation which he pretended to enter into with Elizabeth as the armada was sailing. •

¹³⁸ On 10th August, sir Francis thus delineated to Walsingham his general view of the closing scene: 'The prince of Parma I take to be as a bear robbed of her whelps; and no doubt, being so great a soldier as he is, he will presently, if he may, undertake some great matter; for his rest now standeth thereupon. It is for certain that the duke of Sidonia standeth somewhat jealous of him; and the Spaniards begin to hate him, their honor being touched so near, and many of their lives spent. I assure your honor they are not so little as 5000 less than when we first saw them near Plymouth, and divers of their ships sunk and taken. They have nothing to say for themselves in excuse, but that they came to the place appointed, which was at Calais, and there staid the duke of Parma's coming above twenty-four hours, yea, until they were fired out.

'So this is my poor conclusion. If we may recover Dunkirk this night, or to-morrow morning, so that their power may see us returned from the Channel, and ready to encounter them if they once sally; the next news you shall hear will be, the one meeting against the other. When this shall come to pass, or whether a meeting or no, let us all, with one consent, both high and low, magnify and praise our most gracious and merciful God, for his unspeakable kindness towards us. Written with much haste, for that we are ready to set sail to prevent the duke of Parma this southerly wind; for truly my poor opinion is, that we should have a great eye upon him.' Hard. 586, 7.

enterprise, and ended the alarm of the excited nation.¹³⁹

Tempest, disaster, shipwreck and misery, accompanied the maimed and scattering armada in its northerly voyage. It was tossed about the Orkneys, and on the Irish coast, losing its best ships in various parts,¹⁴⁰ till a very feeble remnant got back at last to Spain. The chief cause of their failure was the evil of sailing with limited instructions, allowing no use of the discretion of their commanders under the circumstances which might arise. They were ordered to attempt nothing till the prince of Parma had joined them, otherwise it was their belief that they could have surprised and overpowered the English fleet in their harbors or on the voyage.¹⁴¹ Their

¹³⁹ One alarm, as the English were in the pursuit, was this noticed by sir E. Radcliffe, on the day Drake wrote the last letter: 'While her majesty was at dinner in my lord general's tent, there came a post, and brought intelligence that the duke, with all his forces, was embarked for England, and that he would be here with as much speed as possibly he could. The news was presently published thro out the camp.' Ellis' Lett. p. 142. Drake's postscript on this day ended these excitations: 'Since the writing hereof, I have spoken with an Englishman who came from Dunkirk yesterday, who saith, upon his life, there is no fear of the fleet.' Hard. 567.

¹⁴⁰ Their losses were thus enumerated: In the first engagement, four galleys, with 1622 men; in the ships of Valdez and another, 711; in the great ship of Naples, before Calais, 686; in two other galleons, forced into Flushing, 929; in two Venetians, sunk, 843, making 4791 men, besides those lost in two wrecked Biscayans, and those slain in the conflicts. On Ireland they lost, off Tyrconnel, one ship with 1100 men; off Connaught nine others, with 2800; and at Munster, seven vessels and 1494 men; amounting to 32 ships and 10,185 men ascertained, besides 1000 prisoners, and a 'great multitude that were slain in the fights, and that have died of famine, and many ships not yet heard of.' Strype, p. 543, 4. The letter to Mendoza, of 9th October, stated, 'About these north islands their mariners and soldiers died daily by multitudes, as by their bodies cast on land did appear.' 'The Almighty ordered the winds to be so contrary to this proud navy, that it was, by force, dissevered on the high seas west upon Ireland; and so great a number of them driven into sundry dangerous bays, and upon rocks, and there cast away; some sunk; some broken; some on the sands; and some burnt by the Spaniards themselves.' ib. 542.

¹⁴¹ Camden, 372.

disappointment relieved England and the Protestant Reformation throughout Europe from the greatest military danger to which either had then been or has ever since been subjected. Public thanksgivings expressed to Heaven the universal gratitude and joy. The queen went with her nobles in splendid procession to Saint Paul's for this purpose. The brave who had distinguished themselves were rewarded, and the national pleasure was increased by the young king of Scotland joining in the gratulations, and deciding to uphold the Protestant Reformation.¹⁴²

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¹⁴² Camden, 373. Strype, 28.

CHAP. XXXVI.

DEATH OF EARL LEICESTER—HENRY IV. ACCEDES IN FRANCE
—AGITATIONS OF IRELAND—EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE
SPANISH PORTS AND NAVY—DEATH OF PHILIP II.—CON-
DUCT OF THE EARL OF ESSEX—HIS FATE—PACIFICATION
OF IRELAND.

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THE discomfiture and destruction of the formidable armada astonished Europe by their completeness, by the total inefficiency of a mass of warlike force which had been rarely congregated before, and by the wholly untouched and unwounded state of the country which it sailed to prostrate to both Spain and the popedom. Such a result had been expected by no one. The most sanguine hopes of Elizabeth's preservation had yet anticipated a dreadful contest, and a suffering and bleeding nation, before its bravest exertions could have mastered such assembled power, such troops, such officers, and so much impassioned ardor for the contest, as had sailed from the Tagus with one heart and purpose. It had reached the straits of Dover. It was fronting its point of landing. Its castled ships were masters of the ocean. It had only to be joined by that accumulation of its aggressive strength which had been prepared for it in Flanders, and which three days would have accomplished; when the panic of one single night, without any substantial injury,—for it does not appear that the alarming fire-ships had destroyed any thing,—scattered some of the most valiant spirits of Europe into a disgraceful flight,

and forced the commander, after one unavailing conflict, to take that retreating route in which, without any further cannonading, the winds of Heaven attacked and shattered it into fatal losses, and to an irretrievable ruin. The delighted Protestants of Europe referred the wonderful issue to the highest government of human affairs; while their papal opponents, and projecting exterminators, who would see nothing in the Reformation and its adherents but emanations from Erebus, and the children of its perdition, looked on in all the bitterness of dismay, accusing the Providence which had disappointed them, and unable to comprehend the wisdom, the greatness, and the utility of the profound but philanthropic dispensation.

To alleviate the first shock of the unintelligible overthrow, contrary reports of its successful operations were circulated in Europe.¹ From the date of their origination, they must have been wilful

¹ A Spanish merchant wrote from Rouen into Spain, on 1st September, that 'The news of the armada be varying; and I desirous to write nothing but truth; but it is held for a matter most certain that they have fought with the English, spoiled and sunk many of them, and taken others. The armada is in a port of Scotland, called Triffia.' Strype, p. 548. This was nearest to the truth he desired. But on this account the post master of Logronno enlarged, to say, that the governor of Rouen had written, 'that all the English navy was utterly discomfited, and Drake a prisoner.' *ib.* Another, who placed the armada in Scotland, declared 'that it had there, in one encounter, taken forty of the English ships which had followed it from Calais.' *ib.* 547. Their published account, as news from London of 26 August, was, that 'they had taken the queen's admiral general's ship; that Drake was taken or slain; that there was great sorrow in her kingdom; that the Catholics, perceiving her navy spoiled, had made a mutiny; that she had 30,000 soldiers in the field between Dover and Margate, very raw soldiers, and the armada was only gone to Scotland.' *ib.* p. 33. To place it off Scotland was half truth, and gave it the appearance, not of a discomfiture, but of going to co-operate with the Scots. Accordingly, on 2d December, the post-master of Bordeaux added, that 'the Scots have taken arms against England.' *ib.* 548.

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falsehoods; but they gave immediate food to the partisans of the expedition, for hope, for dispute, and for the disbelief of what they disliked, till expectation died away in natural decay, from the protraction of its fulfilment; and till the appalling truth could be confessed without that consternation, agitation, and resentment, which might in many places have disturbed the public peace, and injured the Romish hierarchy. The prince of Parma endeavored to relieve his vexation, as well as to open a passage to Zealand, and shelter Brabant, by besieging Bergen-op-Zoom; but he only increased it, as an English garrison there drove them away.²

Before the relics of the armada had reached the ports of its mortified master, the lieutenant-general of England, who was to have met the first encounter of its military exertions, if it had effected its landing, suddenly expired.³ His death left to Burghley the undisputed sovereignty of the cabinet. Age and infirmities were beginning to disable him; but his ever-active mind loved employment, and, in addition to his other offices, he had taken upon himself to discharge that of lord high admiral as his deputy, while lord Howard was watching and combating the advancing armada.

² Sir W. Drury and general Morgan defended it vigorously for two months, till he retired. Camd. 374.

³ It was on 4th September that the earl of Leicester died, as he was going from the camp at Tilbury, to enjoy his splendid home at Killingsworth, of a fever which accompanied him. Camd. 373. In April he had been so unwell as to have written to earl Sussex, 'I doubt I shall be driven to come this year to your bath, at Buxton. I have this year been troubled with colds and rheums, that never was troubled with them before. I had rather try this remedy than any other physic.' Strype, p. 123. The fatal illness came upon him at an inn. Camd. And he died at Cornbury Park, in Oxfordshire. Burghley's notes. Murd. 786.

It was deemed expedient to discourage the Spanish government from attempting another invasion, by an expedition to their own shores. Don Antonio believed that, on his presence in Portugal with an English army, its population would revolt from Philip, and adopt him as their king. An English armament of fourteen thousand men was sent out, in the middle of April, with the Portuguese prince, under the command of sir John Norris and sir Francis Drake, at the joint expense of government, and of the individual adventurers.⁴ They displayed their national valor at the Groyne, took its lower town, defeated a Spanish army, and proceeded to Portugal. They landed near Lisbon, and mastered its suburbs, and captured a large fleet of sixty Hanse Town vessels, that had come with the supplies for a second armada; but, finding no disposition of the people to uphold Antonio,⁵ and the sickness of a warm climate spreading in their army, they returned

⁴ The queen adventured six ships and 60,000*l.* in money. The two generals and their particular friends, 50,000*l.* The rest of the charges was supplied by London, the Cinque ports, and the other maritime towns. Stow, 752.

⁵ Drake stated on 2d June 1589 to Burghley, 'We are all of opinion, that if we *had come first* for Lisbon, the city had been ours; and that being once won, *the whole country would have come in* unto don Antonio.' Strype, v. 4. p. 11. The general clearly wanted skill for such expeditions. We find from captain Fenner's letter, that they not only, as Drake hints, made their first attack in the wrong place, but could not take the upper town of the Groyne, '*because of a general want of powder in the fleet,*' and did not capture Lisbon, tho at its gates, and but 700 Spaniards were within it, because '*the want of ONE PIECE, to make a breach or shoot against the gates, prevented the English from taking it.*' So the soldiers *wanted matches and powder* for their muskets. Birch's Mem. v. 1. p. 58-60. His authorities report 11,000 men to have died out of 21,000; and 750 of the 1100 gentlemen of name who were in the expedition, p. 61, chiefly from sickness; but many also died on their marching, '*for want of food.*' p. 59. So miserably was this great expedition fitted out and commanded. All were brave, but the chief wanted foreseeing judgment and military talents, tho of great valor.

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in June with their booty,⁶ having left an impression on the Spanish nation which released England from all serious dread of any future invasion.⁷

Henry III. having killed the duke of Guise and his brother at Blois, in the December after the Spanish defeat, fell himself, from the stab of an assassin, on the first of the ensuing August. Henry IV. became then its hereditary king, of a new race, the Bourbon; but being a Protestant, was so strongly opposed, and endangered by the Catholic party, pursuing their league, under the duke of Mayenne, that Elizabeth sent him a relieving force of four thousand men, under lord Willoughby, with twenty-two thousand pounds in gold.⁸ Philip II. made his pretensions to the succession of this throne, and the prince of Parma entered France in Picardy, while another body of Spaniards attacked Bretagne.⁹ The queen continued to supply Henry with financial aids; while she maintained her garrisons at Flushing and Brill, and that diversion of her forces which she kept in service in the Netherlands.¹⁰ But in 1592,

⁶ Stow, 752-7; Camd. 381-6. They lost 6000 men by sickness. Camd. 384.

⁷ 'Most of the English thought themselves abundantly satisfied, both for revenge and glory; but in truth, England reaped this benefit by this voyage, that from this time forward, it feared nothing from Spain, but took great courage against the Spaniards.' Camd. 384.

⁸ Camd. 385-7. This sum appeared to him so large, that he professed he had never seen so much gold coin before. *ib.* 387. He won the battle of Ivry against Mayenne and the league, on 14th March 1490; but lost its advantages, by not laying siege immediately to Paris. Henault, v. 2. p. 4.

⁹ Camd. 387. 392-3. 'Cardinal Cajetan, the papal legate, and Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, agreed to settle the crown of France on the infanta of Spain.' Henault, p. 4.

¹⁰ Camd. 390. The death of Sixtus V. on 29 Aug. 1590, relieved Henry from the weight of his opposition. He had begun 'to be disgusted with the Spanish faction;' (Henault, p. 6.) but he supported the leaguers. The decline of their affairs after the destruction of the duke

the Spanish attack requiring more assistance, sir John Norris and sir Roger Williams were sent with a small army, and afterwards the earl of Essex with additional forces, but rather to defend Bretagne and Normandy, than to act in the larger objects of Henry's general campaign.¹¹ When the king was besieging Paris, the prince of Parma renewed his invasion to relieve it: and Henry, instead of storming Paris, preferred, from a laudable humanity, to withdraw, that he might give battle to the Spaniards.

Parma retreated, as his object had been gained; and Henry obtained from Elizabeth an auxiliary army, under sir John Norris.¹² The death of the prince of Parma delivered the French king from an adversary always formidable, for his talents and general probity;¹³ and soon afterwards Henry IV. against whom the shadowy pontiff, Gregory XIV. had issued his condemnatory letters, in order to obtain the quiet possession of his crown, sacrificed his conscience to his temporary interest, to the diminution of his true fame; and astonished and afflicted Elizabeth, by avowing his conversion to the Romish

and cardinal de Guise, threw him into such an 'affanno straordinario,' such an extraordinary vexation, that he became unwell, and his illness increased to a tertian fever, after the short pontificate of five years and four months.' Beroardi Vite, p. 640. The next pope, Urban VII. intended to complete the designs of Sixtus, and to favor the league; but twelve days ended both his projects and his life. Chosen the 15 Sept. he died the 27. The next pope, Gregory XIV. only reigned ten months; from 15 December 1590 to 15 October 1591. Nor was his successor, Innocent IX. above a fifth of that short space in his elevation; for, appointed 29 October 1591, he was dead on the 30th of the following December; when Clement VIII. acceded, to last thirteen years. Beroardi Vite, p. 642-6; 650-2. A remarkable mortality of popes, which contributed much to promote the pacification of Europe, and to lessen the political fervors of the future ones.

¹¹ Camd. 397-9.

¹² Camd. 412. Henault, p. 6. Camd. 397-9.

¹³ Camd. 412. He had governed the Low Countries fourteen years.

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faith.¹⁴ The French league then dissolved; Norris returned home; and Henry became the undisputed sovereign of tranquillizing France.¹⁵ He was certainly one of the most distinguished of its monarchs; but with so many weaknesses, as to make it questionable whether the title of 'The Great' can be justly conferred upon him by an impartial posterity. His countrymen, with an attachment honorable to their feelings, may concede the ennobling appellation; but the universal public will hesitate, tho reluctantly, in confirming it.

Ireland continued, by its factions and insurrections, to cause to the English much trouble, and to itself much misery. The ever useful and successful sir John Norris was there employed, as he always was, advantageously, for the public service; but the nation was too uncivilized, too fond of broils, petty

¹⁴ Camd. 412. Henry arrived at St. Dennis on 25 July 1593. It was on this occasion that she wrote to him this emphatic effusion of her excited feelings: 'Au roy de France, 12 Nov. 1593. Ah! quelles douleurs! oh, quelle regrete! Oh! quel gémissement j'ai senti en mon cœur pour le son de cettés nouvelles que Morlan m'a conté. Mon Dieu! Est il possible qu'aucun mondain respect peut effacer la terreur que la crainte divine menace! Pouvons nous, par raison même, attendre bonne sequelles d'acte si inique? Celui qui vous a maintenu et conservé par sa main; pouvez vous imaginer qu'il vous permette aller seul au plus grand besoin? Ha! c'est dangereux de mal faire pour en faire du bien. Encore, esperai je que plus saine inspiration vous adviendra. Cependant, je ne cesserai de vous mettre au premier rang de mes devotions, a ce que les mains d'Esau ne gatent les benedictions de Jacob. Et, ou vous me promettez tante amitié et fidelité, je confesse l'avoir chèrement meritée: et ne m'en repentirai, pourvu que vous ne changiez de père. Autrement, je ne vous serai que sœur bâtarde; au moins de part le père. Car j'aime voir toujours mieux le nature, que l'adoptif. Comme Dieu le mieux connoit; Qui vous garde au droit chemin de meilleur sentier. Votre sœur, si ce soit a la vieille mode. Avec la nouvelle je n'ai rien a faire. E. R.' British Mus. MSS. Cot. Titus, C. 7. 38.

¹⁵ Camden has inserted the exculpating reasons of Henry IV. for his change, as he delivered them to Wilkes, who was sent over on the subject. p. 421.

fighting and disturbances, and had too much foreign excitement, to be long in quiet. The wilder emotions of human life were their enjoyments. They had witnessed too little of the habits of social tranquillity, to know its value and its happiness. Wasteful warfare was renewed almost as soon as it had been repressed, just as in the ages before the English colonised any part of it, their numerous little kings had been always attacking and destroying each other. Such a state and such conflicts, like those of New Zealand, and of the Indians in North America, only weary and disgust the intelligent mind; which wonders at the wilful and useless evils, which, in a country so capable of becoming all that we admire and could love, were persistingly created, provoked, and inflicted by its restless and intractable chiefs, and their servile, blind, and unthinking partisans.¹⁶

The most considerable event in 1596 was the expedition to Cadiz, under the earl of Essex. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance had been signed between England, France and Holland;¹⁷ and the appearance of Spain preparing for another invasion of England, becoming more visible, the apprehensions of what might ensue, increased, when the Spanish forces which were acting against Henry IV. suddenly, under the cardinal archduke of Austria, surprised and mastered the important town of Calais,¹⁸ which not only endangered France, but brought the Spanish forces within a few hours sail

¹⁶ Camden, 438-458.

¹⁷ Henault, p. 18.

¹⁸ It surrendered before the English forces could be shipped that were directed to relieve it. Camden, 459.

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of Dover. An English armament therefore sailed from Plymouth on 3 June 1596 to Cadiz, under Essex as its general, and lord Howard as its naval commander, in four squadrons.¹⁹ Their instructions were, to destroy all the warlike provisions which they should find in the port; to hazard nothing, as the queen wished the men's lives to be spared; and if they took any towns, to save the women and the aged, and do no violence but to the resisting. They reached Cadiz, and attacked the ships of war and galleons in the bay. The assault was vigorously made, and both town and shipping were taken; the vessels and stores were destroyed; the forts razed, and a large quantity of great ordnance sunk or carried away.²⁰ All the military objects being fully accomplished, the fleet returned, with a panegyric from their high-minded adversaries, for their admirable conduct.²¹

¹⁹ It consisted of 6,360 soldiers, 1,000 gentlemen volunteers, and 6,772 sailors, in 150 vessels. The two chiefs led the two first squadrons, and lord Thomas Howard and sir Walter Raleigh the others. *Camd.* 459.

²⁰ The citizens agreed to pay 520,000 ducats for their personal ransom; but their property was abandoned to the troops. The loss of the Spaniards on the whole was calculated to amount to 20,000,000 ducats. Essex undertook to maintain the place against the Spaniards with only 400 men. But the other commanders decided on relinquishing it, 'for every man being enriched sufficiently, their minds were on their country.' *Camd.* 463. There were 1,200 pieces of ordnance.

²¹ The Spaniards said, 'That in sacred things the English had shewn themselves heretics; but in all other respects, warriors, provident and truly noble.' *Camd.* 463. Lord Essex thus announced the success to lord Burghley: 'I shall not need to tell your lordship that Cadiz is won; and the king of Spain's great fleet defeated and destroyed. I shall less need to relate the particular circumstances of either; for as fame itself will bring the first, so this gentleman that carries my letter [sir Anthony Ashley] will perform the second. This is to pray you, that you will plead for me till I return; that before I be heard, I be not, upon report or misconceit, brought unto her majesty's displeasure.' *Ellis*, v. 3. p. 178. But much more might have been done by an unrestricted and intelligent general, for cardinal d'Ossat 'owns

Yet the Spaniards, zealous for some recovery of their honor and name, prepared a new fleet at Lisbon, for an aggression on the British isles; but as it sailed to Ferrol, a tempest overtaking and shattering it, prevented the expedition.²² In the next year, 1597, Elizabeth finding another armament assembling in Galicia, for an attempt on Ireland, an English force of six thousand men was collected to attack it, with the fleet, in three squadrons, under the command of Essex, Howard and Raleigh, with whom several noblemen eagerly united themselves.²³ They were directed to Ferrol, and the Groyne, in order to surprise the Spanish navy in their harbours, and to intercept the Indian fleet at the Azores. But they had scarcely traversed forty leagues from the port of Dover, when a tempest from the northern hemisphere furiously assailed them. A thick mist precluded sight. The skies roared with tremendous thunderings, and the billows raged and rolled, under the impulsions of a hurricane, for four days. They were scattered, and forced to take shelter in various

it to have been the universal opinion, that the whole nation, or a great part of it, might have been gained, if Essex had prosecuted his immediate fortune to the extent of their fears—a number of the Moriscoes desiring, in that juncture, to change their master for one more Christian, tho less Catholic, and under whom no inquisition was exercised. Osborne's Mem. p. 40.

²² Camd. 466. In 1595 the Spaniards effected one landing in England, which our antiquary remarks was 'the first and last that ever' did so. In four gallies they arrived very early one morning in July, in Cornwall; burnt a church that stood alone in the fields, and 'Mousehole, Neulin and *Penzance*, three poor fishing towns; and presently retired, not having slain or taken one man.' ib. 444.

²³ 'The earls Rutland and Southampton; the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich; many knights, and others of special note, gave in their names; and with their feathers waving, and glittering in their gay clothes, a peculiar vanity of the English when they go to the wars, set sail from Plymouth on 9 July 1597.' Camd. 471.

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harbours, till their damage was repaired.²⁴ Sailing again, adverse winds sported for a month with their impatience, till their provisions being exhausted, they returned to Plymouth, to adventure again with a certainty of their great object failing, because the Spaniards had now become fully apprised of their expedition, and prepared to counteract it. Dispersed once more by another furious storm, the leading officers were compelled to relinquish their attack on the Spanish fleet, and to confine their operations to the Azores; when sir Walter Raleigh reaching Fyall, and finding an inviting opportunity, attacked and took the town before Essex arrived, who had allotted to himself this bold operation.²⁵ The earl was indignant at the anticipation, and tho reconciled at the time, by the mediation of the other officers, yet the distinction gained by Raleigh, raising him in the queen's favor, produced an evil spirit of jealousy and emulation in Essex. A dissatisfied ambition began to actuate him; he was displeased at sir Robert Cecil's acquired preferment;²⁶ he repined at lord Howard's advancement to an earldom, as a depreciation of himself, till Elizabeth soothed his discontented feelings by appointing him to be earl marshal of England.²⁷ His ships obtained some gratifying successes in the islands they visited, but missed, by a pilot's well-meant caution, the enriching interception of the grand fleet of bullion and commerce that

²⁴ Camd. 471.²⁵ Camd. 473.²⁶ Sir Robert, the eldest son of Burghley, had been appointed, and was made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Camd. 476.²⁷ Camd. 476.

was closely advancing from South America to the position which Essex quitted.²⁸

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The Spaniards continuing their warfare against Henry IV. which had been re-commenced in 1595, occasioned him to solicit the aid of Elizabeth;²⁹ but the visible impossibility of dethroning the French monarch; the abilities he displayed, the pecuniary burthen of the contest, and the increasing infirmities of his own declining age, disposed Philip to a pacification, that his kingdom might descend in peace to his less active and less able son. This peace harmonized Europe,³⁰ and the death of Philip II. a few months afterwards promised to perpetuate the long-absent blessing of continental tranquillity.³¹

²⁸ He took the Isle of Gratiota and Flores.—The Spanish ships were forty sail, of which seven carried the treasure. They got safe to Tercera, losing only three, and being drawn close under the forts, were found to be unassailable even by British seamen's desperate valor, and by the stimulated desire of self-distinction in Essex. Camd. 474. The Spanish Jesuit, Ribadineira, in his letter of 10th March 1597, thus expresses the alarm which this enterprise had excited, and its great possibilities: 'We live only by miracle. That the enemy so soon left Cadiz; that they so courteously used their captives; that the tumults of the grandes and gentry of this kingdom, which are swollen full of wrath against ye that govern the king, should be so soon pacified; that the India fleet escaped, when the enemy was shipping at the Cape, watching for it, surely was by miracle; for your lordship knoweth what a great scourge it would have been to all Christendom if any of these had fallen out otherwise in this so necessitous a time.' Lett. in Strype, v. 4. p. 378.

²⁹ Camd. 479, 480.

³⁰ It was concluded at Vervins, on 2d May 1598. By this treaty 'Spain was left in possession of the country of Charolais: but in every other respect it proved favorable to France, and gave the first blow to the power of the house of Austria.' Henault, p. 21.

³¹ He was succeeded by his son, Philip III. who confirmed the renunciation of the Netherlands, which his father had made in favor of the infanta. Henault, p. 21. PHILIP II. died 13 September 1598. He had passed thro life without any disease until his last. It came suddenly upon him at the preceding Midsummer, in the form of gout in both hands, and fever; but it soon became a terrible attack. Cheverney describes him as 'overwhelmed with agonising gouty pains, and a fierce unceasing fever. His body became covered with imposthumes, full of eruptive pus, whose discharges were almost

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The papal hierarchy had learnt, that altho it could annoy, it could not now exterminate the reformed princes or people ; and its own sufferings and exhaustion in its fearful exertions to effect its wishes, favored the diffusing spirit of a resting pacification. Elizabeth began at last to enjoy the repose of unendangered existence, a comfort which her advancing age made more dear to her, as she had already outlived most of those noble and distinguished persons with whom she had begun her reign, and of whom many had zealously acted for her support, and most beneficially for the national welfare.²² Protracted life on earth has to endure the regret of such

insupportable by his attendants. The physicians found no remedies, from their skill, of the least avail.' Mem. de Chev. p. 25-30. Born in April 1526, he had attained his 72d year. He died with much self-possession, and providing as far as he could for the concerns of his kingdom. Pride, bigotry to the papal system, and an insensibility to human suffering, were his great and criminal defects—criminal, because they caused the severest miseries to others. With these, he had many of the sterner virtues and powers of the Roman character ; but these made his errors more injurious to his fellow-creatures, and more incurable. It is curious to read what Ribadineira mentions of his unpopularity.

His statement to his friend, of the disaffection of the Spanish people to PHILIP II. in the last two years before his death, and of their projects to depose him, and place his son on the throne, is in his letter of 10 March 1596 : ' Verily, I am much grieved, and my soul hath been often thoroly vexed, to hear, in this occasion, how the multitude murmur against his majesty, saying, he neither doth any thing himself, nor will give way to others. Therefore, they are determining to make THE PRINCE rise ; and with him to seek amendment of these many mischiefs. The more discreet men of the best rank wish that God would TAKE AWAY the king, or the people possess themselves of the prince. This resentment is, I understand, GENERAL. My Saviour help us ! What hath this holy man done, for such I hold the king, coram Deo : What hath this man done, that even those that love him best, desire that his life may endure no longer ? I have asked the causes. It is answered ; He neither doth, nor will suffer others to reform these abuses.' Strype, v. 4. p. 379. It is in such ways as this, that despotic countries, like Turkey, Russia and Spain, get rid of their sovereigns, when they chuse to dislike them. Hence the greater security to every king in a CONSTITUTIONAL government.

²² Of the persons of note who died after the armada, the following are selected from Camden and Stow :

1588. Leicester, September 4. 1589. Sir Walter Mildmay.

deprivations; yet new flowers spring up around us as the preceding decay; and the heart which keeps, as it always may do, its sensibilities in sympathetic activity, will love and cherish the younger produce as it did their predecessors. The spirit never grows old in itself, tho the body declines; and may continue to cultivate the affections as well as its reason, and to enjoy all the tenderness of feeling amid the progression of its intellect, with increasing happiness from both, as long as its mortal functions allow it to express either. It is our own fault if we make ourselves a withered and solitary tree; deriving pleasure and nutriment from nothing around us; exhibiting no usefulness; murmuring with fretful melancholy;

1590. Earl Warwick, Leicester's brother, February 21.

Sir Francis Walsingham, April 6.

Thomas Randolph.

Sir James Croft,

Earl Shrewsbury.

Lord Wentworth.

1591. Sir Christopher Hatton.

1592. Lord Scrope.

Viscount Montacute.

1593. Earl Derby, 16th April.

Earl Sussex.

Lord Grey.

Lord Cromwell.

Christopher Carlisle, the navigator.

1594. Sir Martin Frobisher.

Cardinal Allen.

Lord Dacres.

Giles, Lord Chandos.

1595. Sir Francis Drake, 28th January.

Sir Roger Williams.

Sir Thomas Morgan.

Earl Arundell.

Sir John Hawkins.

1596. Earl Hunsdon, 22d July.

Sir Francis Knolles.

Earl Huntingdon.

1597. Lord Cobham.

Marquis Winchester.

Sir John Norris.

1598. Lord Burghley, 4th August, æt. 77.

Edmund Spenser, our ever pleasing poet.

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shrouded with gloom; and morosely repelling all social attachments, because we are decaying. The young revere the aged trunk that still shelters them with some verdant branches; and will always love to repose under its shade with a grateful sense of its yet surviving uses and former benefactions.

It was the turbulent ambition of the earl of Essex which most disturbed the latter part of Elizabeth's life. When Burghley, also treading on his grave, advised a cordial peace with the Spaniards, as in 1598 it became practicable, the earl of Essex, coveting only the scenes and opportunities of personal glory from the achievements and desolations of war, vehemently opposed it.³³ He chose also to dispute with his queen on the fittest deputy for Ireland, and with such insolence, because she did not adopt his opinions, as to turn his back with a look of scorn and defiance. She forgot her own majesty, so far in irritation at the insult, as to strike him resentfully on the ear. With an unmanly arrogance he put his hand upon his sword, to his sovereign, and to a woman. The lord admiral interposed, but he swore that he would not rest satisfied under so great an indignity,³⁴ and left the court with a resentful excitation, which prevented all recollection of his own provocation: and afterwards, in answer to the lord keeper's advice to submit himself to his queen, and entreat her forgiveness, he expressed his still retained and unbecoming feelings in a self-forgetting and presumptuous letter.³⁵ He became wiser on more reflection, and

³³ Camd. 491-3.³⁴ Camd. 493.³⁵ Camden has transmitted to us these passages of its intemperance;

was pardoned; and when Ireland had become more agitated, and the greatest and most successful of its opposing chieftains, Tyrone, was become formidable,³⁶ the earl solicited and obtained the government of this unquiet country. He went with an unusual force of twenty thousand men, and conducted various operations; but effected so little in comparison with his provided means, that the queen dispatched to him a letter of admonition and rebuke.³⁷ Again his inflammable and resentful spirit, that would brook no censure, nor bear what it considered to be affront, began to meditate designs of evil, for revenge against those, whom he deemed his political enemies, and of danger to the queen.³⁸ He suddenly came to England, uncalled, with his noble friends, and was at her feet early one morning in her privy chamber,

'No storm is more outrageous than the indignation of an impotent prince. The queen's heart is indurate. What I owe as a subject I know; and what as an earl and marshal of England. To serve as a servant and a slave I know not. If I should acknowledge myself guilty, I should be injurious to the truth. I have received wounds all my body over. Having received this scandal, flatly, it is impiety to serve. Cannot princes err? Can they not wrong their subjects? Is any earthly power infinite? They which reap fruit by princes errors may bear princes injuries. I that have been torn with injuries, have endured long enough the bitterness of injuries in my inward bowels.' p. 404. It seems to me to be preposterous, after reading these sentiments, to believe that any improper intimacy had existed between the writer and Elizabeth.

³⁶ On 14th August 1598, Tyrone obtained the greatest success which the native Irish had ever acquired against the English. The latter advancing in three divisions, which the hills separated from each other, Tyrone brought all his force against the leading one, as it was moving between a boggy plain on the one side, and woods on the other, and overwhelmed it before the hinder battalions knew of its danger. The powder at that time accidentally taking fire and exploding in the middle division, threw that into a confusion which gave Tyrone another advantage, before Montacute, who took the command, could draw back and rally the survivors. The English lost 13 'stout captains,' and 1500 men, blaming, with reason, the unskilful carelessness and confidence of their commanders. Camd. 501.

³⁷ Camd. 503-7.

³⁸ Camd. 506.

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when she thought he was discharging his official duties in Ireland. She received him forbearingly, but he was soon committed to a friendly custody in the lord keeper's house, with the hope that he might be withdrawn from the corrupting counsels of turbulent advisers.³⁹ The ministers stated to the queen the errors which they considered him to have committed.⁴⁰ He remained six months in his honorable confinement, in which his mind took a religious direction;⁴¹ and when he seemed to have abandoned his wrong feelings, he was allowed to return to his own mansion, to be privately examined by appointed commissioners.⁴² Again misled by seditious counsellors, he increased the queen's displeasure and suspicions.⁴³ At length, he attempted to make the insurrection in London which he had been four months meditating, with a body of other noblemen and gentry. The treasonable effort failed; the citizens would not revolt; he was besieged, taken, and beheaded;⁴⁴ and some of the assisting and mis-

³⁹ Camd. 509.

⁴⁰ The treasurer, lord Buckhurst, stated that a strong and well appointed army had been sent with him; and that this war, in six months, had cost 300,000 *l.* and yet nothing had been done. The lord admiral, Nottingham, mentioned, that the wisest counsellors had directed that Ulster should be first reduced; and that the earl had concurred in the opinion, and yet had done the contrary; and sir Robert Cecil, the secretary, added, that Essex had gone into Munster instead of Ulster, and he had now returned from Ireland in direct opposition to the queen's command that he should not leave it, and altho its affairs were in a desperate state. Camd. 512.

⁴¹ Camd. 513.

⁴² Camd. 529, 530.

⁴³ Camd. 530-4.

⁴⁴ The queen was very averse, as in Mary's case, to inflict the legal punishment upon him. She at first countermanded it, till alarm and his obstinacy occasioned the fatal order. Dr. Birch remarks, that the traditional story of his application for her mercy having been intercepted by the earl and countess of Nottingham, is confirmed by Osborne, in his *Memoirs*, p. 23; and by Maurier, whose father heard it from prince Maurice, to whom sir Dudley Carleton related it. Birch's *Mem.* 2. p. 481. He was only 34 when he fell.

leading counsellors also suffered.⁴⁵ It was the last attempt of the English nobility to shake their sovereign's throne. Their ambition afterwards sought other and wiser, or at least safer, paths and prizes.

The commotions in Ireland continued, stimulated by the disgraceful goading of the papal agency.⁴⁶ They were at last subdued by the lord deputy Mountjoy: 'So that in the month of December, Ireland was most peaceable, and not one fort was defended against the queen.'⁴⁷ In the next year a Spanish force arrived, to rekindle the declining embers, proclaiming Elizabeth to be deprived of her crown by the papal sentences, and therefore that her subjects were absolved from their allegiance.⁴⁸ The rebellion revived from their presence, but was soon suppressed, and the invaders expelled.⁴⁹ The negotiations for a peace with Spain did not effect it.⁵⁰ The English retaliated the attempt by an expedition against the coast of Spain and Portugal.⁵¹ Tyrone at length solicited reconciliation, and absolutely submitting himself, the queen had the satisfaction of

⁴⁵ See the detail of these events in *Camd.* 536-550. Dr. Birch's *Memoirs of Elizabeth* contain many letters and extracts, which give the fullest illustration of the conduct of the earl of Essex, and several of the more minute transactions of the last years of this reign.

⁴⁶ In 1600, 'Clement VIII. encouraged them by an indulgence.' *Camd.* p. 515. It commended them for assisting 'his beloved son, prince O'Neil, earl of Tyrone, captain-general of the Catholic army in Ireland;' and stated, 'to the end that you, both captains and soldiers, may with more alacrity perform your service hereafter in this expedition against heretics, we grant to every one of you that follow the earl of Tyrone, and his army, plenary pardon and remission, upon being penitent, confessing,' &c. *Camd.* 515.

⁴⁷ *Camd.* 518.

⁴⁸ *Camd.* 567.

⁴⁹ *Camd.* 571. The Spaniards surrendered on terms, 2 January 1601. *ib.*

⁵⁰ *Camd.* 519-23. They took place at Boulogne; but disputes for precedency increased the difficulties. *ib.*

⁵¹ *Camd.* 572-4.

BOOK seeing the disturbances in Ireland terminated, as her
II. last sickness began to increase upon her.²²

²² Camd. 582-4. It is to be regretted that Elizabeth allowed her reign to be stained by the burning of some persons, not Catholics, for their peculiar opinions. It was the last imitation of the cruelties of the papal church by the English hierarchy; but it was her duty to have prevented, and not to have sanctioned it. She was wiser than most of her people, and ought not to have given way to the bigotry, bad habits or prejudices of any, or acts and counsels of such disgraceful inhumanity.

C H A P. XXXVII.

THE LAST SICKNESS, DEATH, AND CHARACTER OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH.

IF the opinion of cardinal Bellarmine be true, and that he spoke from the experience of his day, as a contemporary of Elizabeth, we cannot doubt, that ‘kings, for the most part, have gout and troublesome pains of the head and stomach,’ in addition to the ‘cares of mind and vexations which keep them sleepless for whole nights,’¹—it was but in the course of things, that both Elizabeth and Mary should be the subjects of frequent indisposition. The illnesses of Mary were so continually recurring, from her nineteenth year to her death, that they may be almost considered as habitual to her constitution, or to have arisen from indulgences which she did not alter.² In the English queen, they were more

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¹ He says, that ‘Kings have gardens, orchards, banquets, huntings, theatres, and many other enjoyments of that sort, most adapted to recreate their minds; Sed habent etiam PLERUMQUE *pedagros, stomachi et capitis dolores*; et quod amarius est, sollicitudines mentis gravissimas, quæ aliquando, totas noctes insomnes ducere cogunt.’ Bellarm. de æter. felicit. p. 24.

² In the year 1559, when Mary was 19, our ambassador at Paris frequently noticed her indispositions. He wrote in May, ‘The Scottish queen looketh very ill, very pale and green, and therewithal short breathed, and it is whispered among them that she cannot live.’ Forbes, v. 1. p. 100. ‘In June, the queen dauphin, being at church, was very evil at ease, and to keep her from swooning they were fain to bring her wine from the altar; and indeed I never saw her look so ill.’ ib. 146. In the following August, ‘Mr. Vielleville declared unto me that the young French queen doth daily increase in sickness, and that the same was of no long continuance; at his being at the court after dinner she looked very evil, and was so weak as, even before all the presence that was there, she fell on swooning, and was in a very dangerous case, as

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occasional, tho sometimes severe ; and she preferred to lessen their predominance, rather by regimen and self-government,³ than by that resort to corrective medicaments,⁴ which, as sir Francis Walsingham observed, may alter the natural powers and state of our established functions, and diminish their future efficiency, altho they furnish the comfort of present alleviation.⁵

she is always after meals, when she was revived with aqua composita and other things, and retired. ib. 210. A month afterwards, 'The French queen, who, contrary to her wont, hath, since her being at Villiers, found herself well, is now, upon such news as Leviston brought from Scotland, fallen sick again, so that at even song she was for faintness constrained to be led to her chamber, where she swooned twice or thrice.' p. 244. In November, 'On the 11th she felt herself very evil disposed, and looked very pale, and the 12th kept her chamber all the day long.' p. 260.

After these infirmities in one year, she appears to have been sickly all her life. Every year we find similar notices ; and one complaint, which scarcely ever left her, was a fixed pain, becoming often very acute, on her left side. How far this may have originated from the following accident professional gentlemen only can decide. But in this same year 1569, 'On 19 December, the French queen riding on hunting, and following the hart of force, was in her course cast off her gelding by a bough of a tree, and with the suddenness of the fall was not able to call her help. Tho divers gentlemen and ladies of her chamber followed her, yet three or four of them passed over her before she was espied, and some of their horses rode so near her that her hood was trodden by them. As soon as she was raised from the ground she spake, and said she felt no hurt, and herself began to set her hair, and dress her head, and so returned to the court, *where she kept her chamber till the king removed. She feeleth no incommodity by her fall, yet she hath determined to change that kind of exercise.*' Forbes, 290.

³ The MS. written in the year she died, which Mr. Ellis has inserted in his Second Series, thus notices this fact: 'She was in her diet very temperate ; eating but of few kinds of meat ; and those not compounded. The wine she drank was mingled with water ; containing three parts more in quantity than the wine itself. Precise hours of refection, she observed not ; as never eating, but when her appetite required it.' v. 3. p. 193.

⁴ Camden noticed with uneasiness to sir R. Cotton, her avoidance of medicine in her illness of 1596. 'Her mind altogether adverted from physique in this her climacterical year.' Ellis's Second Series, v. 3. p. 197. James I. in this respect resembled her. 'Aversus ab omnibus medicamentis rex.' He had never taken any till his 53d year. ib. 1599.

⁵ Sir Francis, in 1581, blamed lord Bacon's brother, Anthony, because he too easily and too often gave himself to the taking of medicine,

It was these successive ailments of Elizabeth, which, by creating the uncertainty whether she or Mary would survive each other, kept the Protestant majority of the nation in continual dread of a Catholic succession, or of a fierce contest to prevent it. Her cabinet council partook of the same anxiety, and it was a frequent subject of lord Burghley's forboding fears.⁶ Her serious indisposition in 1562, occasioned her parliament to communicate to her the impression of the evils which would arise, if she died 'without a known heir':⁷ and another alarming indisposition affecting her in 1566,⁸ a more earnest representation of the national apprehensions was addressed to her consideration.⁹ Her penetrating eye perceived that there was something in the conduct of the leaders, in this new urgency, beyond the feelings of the general public. She saw

'a thing, which as I have by experience found hurtful to myself when I was of your years; so you will find in time many incommodities, if you do not in time break it off. Your years will better wear out any little indisposition, by good order of *exercise and abstinence*, with some other little moderation in diet, than abide to be corrected by physic; the use whereof altereth nature much: yea, maketh a new nature, if it be without great cause used in younger years.' Lett. in Dr. Birch's Mem. v. 1. p. 14.

⁶ He expresses these in several of his MS. papers and letters printed by Haines, Forbes and Murdin.

⁷ The speaker of the Commons, on 5 Nov. 1562, on presenting to her their petition on her marriage, and on the succession, after remarking that Heaven, 'to our great terror and dreadful warning lately touched your highness, with some danger of your most noble person by sickness;' then suggested the 'great dangers, the unspeakable miseries of civil wars; the perilous intermingling of foreign princes, with seditious, ambitious, and factious subjects at home; the waste of noble houses; the slaughter of people; subversions of towns; unsurety of all men's possessions, lives and estates; and daily interchange of attainders and treasons,' which would follow if she were taken from them 'without known heir.' D'Ewes' Journal, p. 81.

⁸ See before, p. 58, note 17.

⁹ D'Ewes' Journal, p. 127; 130-2.

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that the appointment of a successor was more their object, than her marriage in order to obtain one; and that some were forming designs to have Mary named by her as such, tho she had already claimed the present possession of her crown. A rational mistrust aroused her circumspection, and she not only forbad two of them, who had been unduly active on this occasion, altho members of her own council and household, Leicester and Pembroke, from her presence;¹⁰ but answered the parliamentary deputation on this topic with an unusual excitation of displeasure and rebuke.¹¹ She did not then know how just her anger was, nor the insidious treachery of the application. But most of these same lords were then forming a confederacy, in conjunction with Pius V., to substitute Mary on her throne, upon her deposition, as we have already narrated. But she saw enough to rouse her suspicions that their motive was evil, and she expressed

¹⁰ See before, p. 407-8, notes 33, 35, and 36.

¹¹ The French ambassador's letter of 27 October 1566, in Mr. Murray's MSS. reported her speech to his sovereign. The treasurer, duke of Norfolk, and other nobles, besides the speaker, having pressed the matter to her, 'She told those of the third estate that they were tres rebelles; and that they would not have dared to have undertaken such things in her father's lifetime; that it was not for them to control her in her own affairs, nor did it belong to a subject to command his prince; and that what they asked was only digging her grave before she was dead.'

Turning then to the peers, she said, 'My lords! do yourselves what you choose; but as to myself, I will only act as I think proper. All the orders you may make, can have no force without my consent and authority. What you desire is of too great importance to be declared to a collection of brains so light. It well deserves that I should take the counsel of men who understand the rules of public right and the laws, as I am determined to do. I shall select half a dozen of the most competent which can be found in my kingdom to consult with them, and after such a conference, I will communicate to you my will.' On this she dismissed them in great displeasure. Murray's MSS.

without hesitation her dissatisfaction at their conduct.¹²

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Of the various fluctuations of her health, which afterwards occurred, altho they were sufficient to attract the notice of other powers, and to alarm her chief counsellor,¹³ yet none really brought on a crisis likely to be mortal, till her sixtieth year. Her departure appears then to have been so fully expected,¹⁴

¹² Elizabeth appears to have early settled her mind to lead a single life, and at no period of her long reign did her real intentions seem to be otherwise. The marriages of both her sister and of the queen of Scots presented no happiness to her contemplation, to tempt her to the formation of a similar union; and in her regal business, court, and literary enjoyments, she felt sufficiently happy without it. Allusions to some personal infirmities, which occasionally occur, might afford us a more explanatory cause; but these are not elucidated by any documents which have descended to us. Yet as such a notion is not likely to have been gratuitously invented, we may be induced to imagine that it originated from private information, of which no particulars have been disclosed.

¹³ In September 1571, Du Foix wrote, 'I found her ill in bed, where she is still, but without danger, and daily mending.' Murray's MSS. In the April of next year, Charles IX. desires his ambassador to congratulate her on her 'cure and convalescence.' *ib.* In October of that year, Burghley expressed to Walsingham his alarm at a sudden sickness which had come upon her: 'You must think that such a matter would drive men to the end of their wits; but God is the stay of all that put their trust in him.' Digges, 146. Her illness at this time, her thirty-sixth year, was the small pox, which, on 22d Oct. 1572, she herself thus described to earl Shrewsbury: 'We were about thirteen days past distempered, as commonly happeneth in the beginning of a fever; but after two or three days, without any great inward sickness, there began to appear certain red spots in some parts of our face, likely to prove the small-pox; but, contrary to the expectation of our physicians, the same so vanished away, as within four or five days past no token almost appeared. At this day we are so free from any token or mark of any such disease, that none can conjecture any such thing. No beholder would believe that I had ever been touched with such a malady.' Lodge's *Illust.* v. 2. p. 79, 80. Her illness in July 1580 was but slight. 'The queen, being persuaded by her physicians, did enter a bath on Sunday last, and either by taking cold, or other accident, did presently fall sick, and so did continue two days, but now is very well recovered again.' *ib.* 233. Lord Bacon describes her general health as *valetudo maxime prospera*. p. 184.

¹⁴ On 15th March 1596, Camden wrote to sir Robert Cotton: 'I know you are, as we all here have been, in melancholy and pensive cogitation. This *auria*, or sleepless indisposition of her majesty, is

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that the state council resorted to strong measures of precaution and violent government, to prevent any public disorders or foreign aggressions on the change.¹⁵ She recovered from this severe attack, to live seven years more; when the fatal hour arrived that removed her from a throne, which her debility was unfitting her to occupy with her former efficiency and credit.¹⁶

It was in the beginning of March 1603, that the mortal illness came on; at first in the form of a rheumatic gout in her arms and fingers, which diminished her usual sleep, but the pain of which she bore with firmness, and was desirous not to notice. Light became unpleasant to her; and her mind turned on depressing recollections, especially that she had consented to bloodshed, in the execution of lord Essex.¹⁷ The hectic indisposition continued

now ceased, which, being joined with inflammation from the breast upward, did more than terrify us all, *especially the last Friday in the morning.* Ellis, v. 3. p. 179.

¹⁵ He added, 'Which moved the lords of the council, when they had providently caused all the vagrants hereabouts to be taken up and shipped for the Low Countries, to draw some munition to the court; and the great horses from Reading, to guard the receipt at Westminster; to take order for the navy to lie in the narrow seas; and to commit some gentlemen, hunger-starved for innovations, as sir Edward Bainham, *Catesby*, Tresham, two Wrights, &c. and afterward the count Arundel, to a gentleman's house, for speeches used by the foresaid turbulent spirits as concerning him; or for that he hath lately made some provision of armor.' Ellis, p. 179.

¹⁶ In the autumn of the year before her death she was so well, that lord Henry Howard wrote to the earl of Mar, in September 1602, 'The queen was never so gallant many years; nor so set upon jollity. Her council and others had persuaded her to give up the progress into the west for this year, but she is come about again to hold it on as far as lord Hertford's, which is fifty miles from hence, hunting or disporting, in the meantime, every other day.' Secret Corresp. of sir Robert Cecil, p. 231.

¹⁷ 'Not long before her death, she was divers times troubled with the gout in her fingers, whereof she would never complain, seeming better

a fortnight, without assuming the form of a decided fever;¹⁸ and the nervous melancholy and general decline increased,¹⁹ accompanied by symptoms, which indicated that the heart was diseased, and by a labored and convulsive respiration.²⁰ She was anxious to attend the public service of her chapel, in her usual seat; but when the hour came, she was unable to go into it, and was compelled to be content to hear it, in a helpless state, in an adjoining

pleased to be thought insensible of the pain, than to acknowledge the disease.' Ellis MS. p. 193. The Scots nobleman's account, mentioned by Dr. Birch, was, 'Our queen is troubled with rheum in her arm, which vexeth her very much. She sleepeth not so much by day as she used, neither taketh rest by night. Her delight is to sit in the dark, and sometimes, with shedding of tears to bewail Essex.' Birch's Mem. v. 2 p. 506.

¹⁸ On 19th March, the French ambassador's dispatch was, 'that she had been very much indisposed for fourteen days past, having scarce slept at all during that time, and eat much less than usual, being seized with such a restlessness, that, tho she had no formed fever, she felt a great heat in her stomach, and a continual thirst, which obliged her to take something every moment to abate it, and prevent the hard and dry phlegm from choking her.' Birch, ib. 506.

¹⁹ 'About three weeks before her death, her sleep decaying, she began to fall into a melaucholy passion.' Ellis's MS. ib. This depression of spirits has been too hastily ascribed to some supposed remorse of conscience; but the same MS. expressly adds, in order to avert misconstruction of its nature, 'Melancholy diseases, as physicians tell us, proceed not always from the indisposition of the mind, but sometimes from the distemperature of humor in the body, causing a kind of numbness and stupidity of the senses.' Ellis's MS. p. 194. It is an affection of the body in its dying illness, which is not unfrequent.

²⁰ Sir Robert Carey, earl of Monmouth, fully describes this condition: 'When I came to court, I found the queen ill-disposed; she kept her inner lodging; yet, hearing of my arrival, she sent for me. I found her in one of her withdrawing chambers, sitting low upon her cushions. She called me to her. I kissed her hand, and told her it was my chiefest happiness to see her in safety and in health. She took me by the hand, and wrung it hard, and said, 'No, Robin! I am not well;' and then discoursed to me of her indisposition, and that *her heart had been sad and heavy* for ten or twelve days. In her discourse she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs. I was grieved at the first to see her in this plight, for in all my lifetime before I never knew her fetch a sigh, but when the queen of Scots was beheaded.' Mem. p. 116.

apartment.²¹ The malady increased upon her, till even her food became unacceptable to her;²² she refused also the aid of medicine, because she felt no local pain.²³ She sought to be alone, and declined into an indifference of worldly concerns,²⁴ and to an insensibility to external sensations, while her body was perceptibly wasting away.²⁵ Advised by her

²¹ The earl proceeds to say, 'I used the best words I could to persuade her from this melancholy humor, but I found by her that it was too deep rooted in her heart, and hardly to be removed. This was upon Saturday night, and she gave command that the *great* closet should be prepared for her to go to chapel the next morning. The next day, all things being in readiness, we long expected her coming. After 11 o'clock, one of the grooms came out, and bade make ready for the *private* closet, as she would not go to the great. There we *stayed long for her coming*, but at the last she had cushions laid for her in the *privy chamber*, hard by the closet door, and there she heard service.' Monmouth, *ib.* p. 117.

²² 'From that time forwards she grew worse and worse. She *remained upon her cushions* four days and nights at the least. All about her could not persuade her either to *take any sustenance*, or to go to bed.' Monmouth, *ib.* The Memoirs of this earl were published by lord Orrery, and reprinted in 1808.

²³ The MS. adds, 'Being persuaded to use the help of physic, she utterly refused it, either because she thought her body, being not accustomed thereto, it would not do, or else that, having satiety of the world, she desired rather to die than live; for she would divers times say in her sickness, 'I am not sick; I feel no pain; and yet I pine away.' Ellis, *ib.* 194. The French ambassador, on 22d, wrote, 'that she had been better the day before, but was that day worse; and notwithstanding all the importunities of her counsellors and physicians to consent to the use of proper remedies for her relief, she would not take one. She was angry with them for it. She said she knew her own strength and constitution better than they, and that she was not in so much danger as they imagined.' Birch, p. 507.

²⁴ 'She was wholly addicted to silence and solitariness; which gave occasion of suspicion that she was afflicted in mind; but being moved by some of her council to impart such griefs as they doubted might trouble her, she answered, that she 'knew nothing in the world worthy to trouble her.' It is a constant opinion of such as were most inward with her, that she was then free from any such impression of mental derangement.' Ellis's MS. 194.

²⁵ The Frenchenvoy, on 28 March, stated that 'the queen continued to grow worse, and appeared already in a manner insensible, not speaking sometimes for two or three hours, and within the last two days *not for above* four-and-twenty, holding her finger almost continually in her mouth, with her eyes open, and fixed upon the ground, where she sat

attendant prelates to direct her spirit to the Divine Being, she gently assured them that she had for some time done so.²⁶ The inability to sleep was succeeded by an augmented failure of the organs of speech; yet she retained the use of her intellectual faculties, and could exhibit her devout feelings, by moving her hands and eyes into the attitude of adoration and supplication.²⁷ When questioned by her three most confidential ministers, a few days before, as to her successor, she had mentioned the Scottish king.²⁸ Another manuscript account compresses her answer, and perhaps more truly, considering her feeble and exhausted condition, into two short sentences; 'No base person, but a king.' The latter term sufficiently pointed to

upon cushions without resting or raising herself. She was greatly emaciated by her long watching and fasting.' Birch, p. 507.

²⁶ The Sloane MS. thus describes this important insight into her religious mind. 'The bishops who then attended the court, seeing that she would not hearken to advice for the recovery of her bodily health, desired her to *provide for her spiritual safety*; and to recommend her soul to God. Whereunto, she mildly answered, 'THAT I HAVE DONE LONG AGO.' Ellis, p. 194.

²⁷ 'She sat up six days together without any sleep; and yet, she was not bereaved of understanding, but had the use thereof, *even after her speech failed*, as appeared by divers motions of HER HANDS AND EYES LIFTED UP, when she was required by the bishops to give testimony of the hope and comfort she had in God.' MS. Ellis, ib.

²⁸ So the French ambassador stated; and also, 'That she did not desire that her kingdom should fall into the hands of *rascals*, which was her own word.' Birch, 508. This dispatch may justify our accrediting the account in the Petyt MS. quoted by Mr. D'Israeli, that on 23d March, the same three counsellors, 'the admiral being on the right side of her bed, the lord keeper on the left, and Mr. Secretary Cecil at the bed's feet,' the lord admiral mentioned 'that they came in the name of all the rest of her council, to know her pleasure who should succeed. Whereunto she replied: My seat has been the seat of kings. I will have no *rascal* to succeed me. Who should succeed me, but a king? The secretary inquiring her meaning more distinctly, she added, Who should that be but our cousin of Scotland?' *Curiosities of Lit. Second Series*, v. 3. p. 107.

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James the son of Mary, as no other sovereign possessed so near a right.²⁰ Being again specifically desired on the next day, before others of the council, if she meant the king of Scotland, to 'hold up her hand in token of assent,' if her voice could not express it; 'she lifted up her hand to her head, and turned it round in the form of a circle,' obviously implying the regal coronation.²¹ The evening afterwards was passed by her in earnest devotion, which

²⁰ Ellis, 194. Perhaps if we substitute the actual term of 'rascal,' mentioned by the two other authorities, for 'base person,' we have her exact expressions, which the Petyt MS. may have amplified into an expansion that does not fully harmonize with her preceding silence, abstraction and debility.

²¹ Ellis's MS. p. 195. The French ambassador puts this incident on the day after the verbal answer, and states it thus: 'Afterwards, when her speech failed her, they requested her, in the presence of other of the council, to make some sign, to confirm what she had said to them. She put her hand to her head, to show her approbation of it.' Birch, 508. The same incident is thus represented by lord Monmouth: 'On Wednesday the 23d March, she grew speechless. That afternoon, by signs, she called for her council; and by putting her hand to her head, when the king of Scots was named to succeed her, they all knew that he was the man she desired should reign after her.' Mem. 119, 120. These accounts do not seem substantially to differ from the Ellis MS. and the ambassador. It is probable that the more ancient MS. gives the truest representation of the little symbolical action, in mentioning the turning round of the hand when raised. Mr. Petyt's MS. dates the incident on a Wednesday, and thus describes it, tho with a slight variation as to the form of the motion, yet more correspondently with the account in the text: 'About four o'clock in the afternoon, being Wednesday, after the archbishop of Canterbury and other divines had been with her, and left her in a mannerspeechless, the three lords aforesaid [the admiral, lord keeper, and sir Robert Cecil] repaired unto her again, asking her if she remained in her former resolution, and who should succeed her? *But not being able to speak*, was asked by Mr. Secretary in this sort: 'We beseech your majesty, if you remain in your former resolution, and that you would have the king of Scots to succeed you in your kingdom, shew you some sign to us.' Whereat, suddenly heaving herself upwards in her bed, and putting her arms out of bed, *she held her hands jointly over her head in manner of a crown*. Whence, as they guessed, she signified that she did not only wish him the kingdom, but desire continuance of his estate. After which they departed; and the next morning she died.' Vol. 3. p. 108. The account in the text from the MS. printed by Mr. Ellis, seems to give the simplest and truest statement.

notwithstanding her debility, she continued till very late.²¹ On the last day of March she rallied a little, took some refreshment, and ordered some religious treatises to be read to her.²² She was removed from her cushions to her bed; but her medical attendants soon relinquished their hopes. She lost her speech entirely. She tasted nothing again. And on the next day was seen to lay wholly on one side, without speaking, and without looking on any one. This half conscious state continued till the succeeding night, when she fell into a sleep of five hours—to wake; and, about three hours after midnight, gently to expire;²³ having survived every royal, papal, noble

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²¹ Lord Monmouth, the brave fighter against the armada, thus interestingly describes it: ‘About six at night, she made signs for the archbishop [Whitgift] and her chaplains to come to her; at which time *I went in with them*, and sat upon my knees, full of tears to see that heavy sight. Her majesty lay upon her back, with one hand in the bed, and the other without. The bishop kneeled down by her, and examined her, first of her faith; and she so punctually answered all his several questions *by lifting up her eyes and holding up her hand*, that it was a comfort to all beholders. Then the good man told her plainly what she was, and what she was come to: and tho she had been long a great queen here upon earth; yet, shortly, she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the King of kings. After this, he began to pray; and all that were by did answer him. After he had continued long in prayer, till the old man’s knees were weary, *he blessed her*, and meant to rise and leave her. *The queen made a sign with her hand*. My sister Scroop knowing her meaning, told the bishop that the queen desired he would pray still. He did so, for a long half hour after, and then sought to leave her. The second time, *she made sign* to have him continue in prayer. He did so, for half an hour more, with earnest cries to God for her soul’s health; which he uttered with that fervency of spirit, that *the queen, to all our sight*, much rejoiced thereat; and GAVE TESTIMONY TO US ALL OF HER CHRISTIAN AND COMFORTABLE END. By this time, it grew late; and every one departed: all but the women that attended her. This I heard with my ears, and did see with my eyes.’ Mem. p. 120–2.

²² One of these books was Du Plessis’ Meditations. Birch, p. 507.

²³ French amb. letter in Birch, p. 507. She died 3d April 1603. She had been 66 in the preceding September. Lord Bacon thus describes her last state: ‘Attenuated in body, and not nourished by wine, or a richer diet, she was seized with a rigore nervorum, yet

and priestly enemy or conspirator that had plotted or acted against her. Her council immediately, at Richmond, and at ten that morning in London, proclaimed James of Scotland her successor,³⁴ amid many public fears and agitations, but without any general dissatisfaction.³⁵

Thus ended the Tudor race on the English throne; a brief dynasty, which extended only, from the founder to his grandchildren, thro five reigns; but which, in the one hundred and eighteen years of its duration, had done more for the benefit of the people it governed, than any preceding family. At no period of its anterior history did England make such a rapid progression in all that constitutes human improvement, national greatness, or individual happiness, than from the accession of Henry VII. in 1485, to the death of Elizabeth in 1603.³⁶

retained her voice, mind and movement, but more tardy and dalled. In a few days these faculties lessened, and, with her sense, by degrees extinguishing, she died in a placid and mild close of life.' Ellis Mem. 185.

³⁴ Birch, 507. Sir Robert Cecil, the state secretary, had for some time, thro lord Henry Howard, maintained a friendly intercourse with James, and was preparing for his quiet accession, which the queen's council generally favored. The letters of lord Howard are printed in the 'Secret Correspondence of sir Robert Cecil.'

³⁵ The MS. in Ellis thus describes the momentary alarms: 'During the time of her sickness, the people began more boldly to discover their affections, and variable rumors were spread in the city. The wealthier sort feared sudden uproars and tumults; and the needy and loose persons desired them. Such as inhabited the suburbs, carried their plate and treasure into the city, as a place of most safety, by reason of continual strong watches kept there. Then some spared not to say, openly, that the queen was past recovery; others affirmed that she was already dead, but, that it was only concealed in policy till some things were settled for the security of the state.' Ellis's MS. p. 195.

³⁶ Her funeral is thus noticed in this MS.: 'In an open chariot, drawn by four horses, lay the body of the dead queen, embalmed, and inclosed in lead. Over it was HER IMAGE, in her parliament robes, with a crown on her head, and a sceptre in her hand, all exquisitely framed to resemble life; at the sight whereof divers of the beholders

Reasoning upon human calculations alone, it is surprising that Elizabeth lived to attain her sixty-seventh year; for, no monarch has appeared in history, against whom so many repeated plots and conspiracies of personal assassination were framed and put in action, from the time that the papal church determined to attack her, to the latter years of her life. Some began before the accession of Pius V. to the popedom; but after that, for five-and-thirty years she was always the subject of these dismal machinations. Some of them, which preceded the armada, have been already noticed.³⁷ Others also successively came to light after the great invasion had failed.³⁸ The shifting disguises of her jesuitical adversaries made it difficult to explore

tell a weeping, especially women, who naturally are tender of heart, and have tears at command.' Ell. 'Then the people began to talk diversely, many seeming to marvel at *vain and ordinary things*; as, that living and dying a virgin, she had died on the vigil of the Virgin Mary's feast. That she had departed at Richmond, like her grandfather Henry VII. and on the same day of the week. Some spake fondly of predictions going before her death; and among others it was given out, that an old lion in the Tower, bearing her name, had, during her sickness, pined away and died.' MS. Ellis, 196. These were little absurdities in the populace, but we transcribe them, because they are not ascribable only to the vulgar. Graver authorities had, for some ages, made such things important; and had extracted both power and advantage from marking and circulating petty coincidences as unmeaning and unconnected.

³⁷ See before, p. 189-90; 378-9; 384; 434-41; 471, and other places.

³⁸ In June 1589, sir Edward Kelly, in Bohemia, apprised the English government, that he had met at Prague an English Jesuit, Parkyns, come from Rome, who told him, that 'there were now seven ways or means, agreed upon by the pope and his confederates, for murdering the queen; that if the first, second, third, fourth and fifth failed, yet were the plots in such sort to be executed, that the sixth or seventh should take effect, if all the devils in hell said nay; for the performance whereof he would forthwith go into England by way of Dantzic, and in the habit of a merchant.' Sir Edward added, that 'on mentioning this to the viceroy of Bohemia, that nobleman mentioned, that Parkyns was chief man to the king of Spain and the pope in all their treacherous enterprizes against England.' Report in Strype, v. 4. p. 1, 2.

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their paths and their persons.³⁹ Many are occasionally alluded to in general terms;⁴⁰ but what were undetected by government, were quietly defeated by that unseen direction of events which silently guards, and with unperceived operation protects, so often, those who seek to combine with the prudence which no one ought to omit, the grander and more Potential Auxiliary which is the only invincible preserver. Elizabeth never shrunk from avowing at all times her steadfast reliance on this superior safeguard; and this confidence gave such a solidity to her judgment, and such a serenity to her feelings, that although she knew she was living with this daily peril, and in the continued possibility of sudden circumvention, yet the impending chance never agitated her spirits, nor altered her merciful temper, nor discomposed her usual

³⁹ The 'official declaration' from government in 1591, thus described the 'seminaries, Jesuits, &c.' 'The said traitorous persons sent into the realm, come into the same by secret creeks and landing places, disguised both in names and persons; some in apparel as soldiers, mariners or merchants, pretending to have been taken prisoners and put into galleys and delivered. Some come in as gentlemen, in comely apparel, as tho they had travelled into foreign countries for knowlege. Generally, all for the most part, as soon as they are crept in, are clothed like gentlemen in apparel; and many as gallants, yea, in all colors, and with feathers and such like, disguising themselves; and many of them in their behaviour as ruffians, far off from being thought or suspected to be friars, priests, jesuits, or popish scholars.' Strype, v. 4, p. 83, 4.

⁴⁰ We have an instance of a suspicious appearance of one of these missionary priests, in earl Derby's letter to earl Shrewsbury, in July 1591: 'My good lord! One of these seminaries was at the high race at Croydon, all in *green and velvet*, well mounted upon a good gelding, having also a *pistol at his side*; insomuch as it was conceived he meant ill toward her majesty, if she had been there.' v. 4. p. 91. The spirit of such persons we see by what the earl mentions of two other seminaries, who had traitorously affirmed, 'that if her majesty had an army against the pope here, they would fight with the pope against her majesty; or if the pope should command them to lay violent hands upon, or to kill her, they would willingly do it.' ib.

comfort and public hilarities.⁴¹ She still made her almost annual rural progresses among her people.⁴² She never shrunk from the public gaze and access, nor from freely mixing with her court and friends. The lowest might approach her, and whoever did so, had a courteous answer.⁴³

The youthful person of Elizabeth was described by the Venetian ambassador, in her twentieth year, as large, but well formed. She was more pleasing than handsome, with fine eyes; a fine complexion, of an olive tint; and a beautiful hand, which she did not omit to display.⁴⁴ Lord Bacon, who knew her in her maturer life, notices her to have been tall in stature, and becomingly compact in body, with great dignity of countenance, softened with

⁴¹ Lord Bacon remarked this fact: for, in mentioning the conspiracies against her life, he says, 'She was not from that more fearful or anxious. She did not increase her guards; she did not confine herself to her palace, nor was her appearance in public less frequent; but, secure and confident in mind, and remembering rather her deliverances from danger, than its occurrence, she changed nothing in her former habits of living.' Fel. Mem. Eliz. p. 183.

⁴² Mr. Nicholls's collection and publication of these progresses, furnish us with large information on the costume, ceremonies, and state manners of this reign.

⁴³ Osborne has left us an incident of this sort: 'A purveyor having abused the county of Kent, upon her remove to Greenwich, a countryman, watching the time she went to walk, which was commonly early, and placing himself within the reach of her ear, did, after the fashion of his coat, cry aloud, 'Which is the queen?' whereupon, as her manner was, she turned about towards him, and he continuing his question, she herself answered, 'I am your queen; what wouldest thou have with me?' 'You,' replied the fellow, 'are one of the rarest [thinnest] women I ever saw; and can eat no more than my daughter Madge, who is thought the properest lass in the parish, tho short of you. But that queen Elizabeth I look for, devours so many of my hens, ducks, and capons, that I am not able to live.' The queen inquired who was the purveyor, and subjected him to a trial and punishment. Osborne's Secret History, v. 1. p. 54.

⁴⁴ Michele, in Ellis's Second Series, vol. 2. p. 237; 'di bella carne ancorche olivastria.' ib.

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sweetness.⁴⁶ In her old age, she is mentioned as still pleasing.⁴⁶ Her public appearance was majestic and gracious.⁴⁷ She was considered to be a great resemblance of her grandfather Henry VII.⁴⁸ That she was vain of her delicate hands,⁴⁹ and also of her

⁴⁶ Bacon, *Felicem Mem. Ellis*, p. 184. To the same period Naunton's description will apply: 'She was of personage tall; of hair and complexion fair; and therewithal well favored, but high nosed; of limbs and feature neat; of a stately and majestic comportment, participating in this, more of her father than her mother.' From her mother she had the 'more débonaire and affable virtues, which, descending as hereditary to the daughter, did render her of a sweeter temper, and endeared her more to the love and liking of the people, who gave her the name and fame of a most gracious and popular prince.' *Fragm. Regalia*, p. 175.

⁴⁶ In January 1693, M. Standen, the friend of lord Bacon's brother, alluding to the sports and dancing at her court on Twelfth night, says, 'The queen appeared there in a high throne richly adorned, and as beautiful to my old sight, as ever I saw her.' *Birch, Mem.* 1. p. 146. She was then 57.

⁴⁷ Five years after this, Hentzner, the German civilian, saw her, at the age of 65, and thus delineates her at Greenwich: 'When the hour of divine service came, she went from her presence-chamber with this attendance: the nobles, barons, earls, and knights preceded her, all splendidly clothed, with uncovered heads. Two went before her, one bearing her sceptre, another the sword in a red sheath, adorned with golden lilies, between whom came her chancellor, with the great seal in a red silk bag. She followed these with great majesty. Her face was long and fair, but wrinkled; her eyes small, but black and gracious; her nose a little bent; her lips close; her teeth darkish, a common fault to the English, from their use of sugar. She wore pearl ear-rings. Her hair was tawney, but not her own. On her head was a small coronet, made out of the gold of the celebrated *Tabula Luneburgensis*. Her bosom was open, which, with English nobles, is a sign of virginity, as the married have it covered. Her necklace was set with most noble jewels. Her hands were thin, her fingers long, her stature of the middle size. She was clothed in a white silk dress, the border adorned with pearls of the size of beans; and in a black silk gown mixed with silver thread, with a long train borne by a marchioness. Her gait was magnificent, but her words mild and very courteous. Those who addressed her knelt down, and she raised them sometimes with her hand. In her passing on, wherever she turned her eye, the knee was bent. Fifty noble guards, with gilt spears, were with her.' *Hentzner, Itiner.* p. 134.

⁴⁸ *MS. in Ellis*, v. 3. p. 185; 192.

⁴⁹ De Maurier has recorded this trait: 'I heard from my father, who had been sent to her, that at every audience he had with her, she pulled off her gloves more than an hundred times, to display her hands, which were indeed very beautiful, and very white.' *Mem. Holland*, cited by D'Israeli, *Curiosit. Lit.* v. 1. p. 160.

general beauty, it is hardly fair to say was natural to her as a woman, because few men who have the advantages of personal appearance, are insensible of their possession. Not being a formation of our own power or skill, reason proclaims all vanity in our corporeal beauty, to be a weakness in every one who cherishes it; and it is a deduction, tho not a very large one, from those 'heroic accomplishments,' which the recorder of this petty gratification admits Elizabeth to have displayed.⁵⁰ But in leaving her undefended on this little blemish, let us recollect that she divested it of its worst effects; for she never let it supersede the acquisition of every nobler quality or improvement. It never spoilt the general grandeur of her character. It never degraded her conduct, nor lessened her intellectual activity, or public usefulness.

Another defect, or rather another objectionable source of personal enjoyment, in this great queen, and the greatest weakness in a mind so superior to the ordinary talents of the throne, and of even cultivated society, was the pleasure which she felt and sought for, from being addressed in the language, and with the apparent feelings, of admiring love. Lord Bacon alludes to it, but distinguishes it, as we ought to do, from any immoral propensity.⁵¹ It was a virtuous

⁵⁰ Maurier, Lit. v. 1. p. 160.

⁵¹ Bacon remarks, that we may exaggerate her 'leviora' qualities, 'because she suffered herself to be honored, and caressed, and celebrated, and extolled with the name of love, and wished it and continued it beyond the suitability of her age. If you take these things more softly, they may not even be without some admiration, because such things are commonly found in our fabulous narratives of a queen in the islands of Bliss, with her hall and institutes, who receives the administration of love, but prohibits its licentiousness. If you judge them more severely, still they have this admirable circumstance, that

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feeling, tending to become a vicious one, from its possible consequences; its exciting egotism, its adulating spirit, and its deceiving hypocrisy. To be esteemed or beloved by others, is dear to the human heart; and to desire to be so is as natural, as to deserve to be so cannot but be advantageous, both to ourselves and to society. But no female can extend the wish beyond her own family circle, without danger in its progress, nor without evil to herself, however pure from all degrading guilt. Elizabeth has paid the penalty of the weakness; since, without any real criminality, its indulgence has given to the tongue of slander its sharpest sting and most plausible justification. She permitted herself to be so addressed. She took a visible pleasure in the verbal rhetoric of affected passion from her young courtiers; and altho she confined them to their compliments and their poetry, all persons who chose to make imaginary inferences that she passed the boundary which she had prescribed, both to herself and to those who sought her favor, have assumed a right to do so; forgetting that the poetry of the day satisfactorily evinces, that every young lady of distinction for birth or fortune, was always pursued with an effusion of such Parnassian love from every young gallant, who had any pretensions to approach, and the capacity thus to flatter and please, her. Happily, this fashion of the idling mind, which has filled our national poetry with so much lumber, has now passed into the tomb of the Capulets. And such

the gratifications of this sort did not much hurt her reputation, and not at all her majesty, nor even relaxed her government, nor were any notable impediment to her state affairs.' Bacon, Eliz. p. 193.

a taste for being a Stella, a Sylvia, or an Oriana, was a censurable imperfection in Elizabeth. But it is for us to distinguish the love of flattery and admiration, from vice and evil. It was a feminine egotism in Elizabeth; as the enormous love of praise and self-exaltation was a masculine one in Cicero, or as the vanity of being regarded as a great poet was equally so in the unpoetical but superior statesman, cardinal Richlieu. We may ridicule the royal coquette; but we should not therefore transform her into the practical profligate; and we must also recollect on this point, that it was the general tendency of the aspiring minds in that day, both in her own court and abroad, to seek seriously to interest her favor in order to procure her hand, and thereby gain the matrimonial crown. Difference of age deterred no one. Alençon sued for this prize when he was only seventeen: and even James I., before he was twenty, applied to become her husband.²² Earl Arundel was offended that he had been unsuccessful. Norfolk had pretended to it. Leicester still more earnestly. Essex, all the young as well

²² We learn this curious fact from Mons. Fontenay's report to Mary in 1586: 'Madam! Sir Robert Melville and others, counsellors of state, assured me, that he [James] is treating, thro Gray, for his marriage with the queen of England.' Murd. 550. We have an instance how eagerly the young noblemen were seeking and watching her notice, in Gilbert Talbot's letter to his father, earl Shrewsbury: 'I saw the queen's majesty yesterday in the garden. But for that she was talking with my lord Hunsdon, she *spake nothing* to me, but she *looked very earnestly* on me. I hear her majesty *conceiveth* somewhat *better of me* than heretofore.' Lodge, Ill. 2. p. 151. Two years afterwards he mentioned to his father with visible delight: 'On May-day I saw her majesty, and it pleased her to speak to me very graciously.' Lodge, 2. p. 170. So many of our queen widows had married young men, and not of high nobility, that no one thought himself without a chance. Mary of Scotland's second husband was but nineteen.

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as elder nobility, had this possibility and hope always in their contemplation, and therefore made it habitual and fashionable thus to address her: and it is probable, from the conspiracies which her most trusted nobles did, as we have seen, enter into against her, that her encouragement of their addresses, or coquetry, if that term be preferred, arose from her fear of exciting a dangerous resentment, if she did not listen with apparent gratification, and from her policy to keep them loyal and attached by her notice and attentions.

A preference for tall, strong, well made and well born persons in her household, and a dislike to what was maimed or ugly, was another peculiarity; rather to be discouraged than commended,⁵³ as it may often injure others, and creates a fastidiousness of taste that will restrict our own comforts, and be occasionally at variance with the reason, and with benevolence: but it was imbibed from her father, who, like cardinal Wolsey, had indulged in the same fancy; and his habits led her to an imitation, which her good sense should have omitted; yet it was redeemed in her by a generosity and self-regulation, which converted the failing into a moral decoration.⁵⁴

⁵³ Osborne, p. 55. 'Refusing to one her consent, because he wanted a tooth.' *ib.* 'As for her guard, ushers, porters, and all attending below stairs, they were of no less extraordinary size, than activity, for shooting, throwing the bar, weight and wrestling.' *ib.* 56. Morville remarked also, that she admired handsome persons, and had the deformed and hump-backed removed from her way when she issued from her palace. D'Israeli, v. 1. p. 456, 7.

⁵⁴ 'Yet she was *never known to DESERT ANY*, for age or other infirmity, *after once enrolled*; but either continued them, or upon their discharge gave them considerable and well paid pensions.' Osborne, p. 55, 6.

The charge of personal depravity in this celebrated queen, demands a fuller examination. It is the natural sympathy of the human spirit, to love moral as well as material beauty ; and if those personages who emerge into celebrity, from any rank, during their earthly pilgrimage, have possessed what we admire, it is an injury to society, which desires to resemble what it esteems, to suffer them to be unjustly depreciated by misrepresentation or mistake. No guilt ought to have the posthumous rewards of virtue ; but the punishment of the deprivation has been carelessly inflicted on many who have not incurred it ; and a fair examination of the disgracing imputations, may entitle Elizabeth to be classed among those, who have suffered from slanders which ought never to have been credited.

That no assertion to her discredit should be believed on the unsupported charge of any of her Romish or political adversaries, is a proposition which the reasonable mind will be inclined to adopt, that has observed their inveterate habit and determined purpose of vilifying her by epithets and charges which are manifestly untrue, and which ought never to have been applied to her, and scarcely to any female. The preceding pages have presented some specimens of this description, which must disqualify all such persons as Dr. Sanders and cardinal Allen,⁵⁵ the popes, the Spanish writers, and their assimilating partisans,⁵⁶ from being credible evidences on any subject that reviles the memory of

⁵⁵ See before, p. 503.

⁵⁶ The more the student reads of the works of this description, the more of the spirit and language of Sanders and Allen he will find in them.

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this queen, whom they strove so perseveringly to destroy, and whose existence and talents alone upheld what they all struggled so desperately to overthrow.⁵⁷ And yet if we disbelieve every defamation, which ORIGINATES only from her enemies, the imputations will be found to have no foundation, to which the impartial mind of the present day, which can judge only on the compared evidence before it, and which considers it with all its attendant circumstances and apparent probabilities, will feel justified to itself in attaching its belief.

One of the fullest and earliest details of the alleged immoralities, is a letter of Mary's, which purports to be her communication to Elizabeth, of lady Shrewsbury's scandalous tales to her, to defame her queen whom she was then so faithfully serving.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ How profitable a trade this rancorous hostility towards Elizabeth was then *individually* made, from the lavish rewards given by the pope and his hierarchy, to such partisans, we have an instance in this cardinal Allen: he, who was but a poor and unprovided English priest, an exile in Flanders, when he determined to be one of the agents or instruments in this dishonorable battle against his natural sovereign, had managed to get by it, before 1596, an income then of 4,500*l.* a year; which, if we suppose the value of money to have been since increased only four and a half times as much, would be now equal to more than 20,000 *l.* a year. We learn this from Mr. Copley's letter to the lords of the council. 'The cardinal's living is valued, at this present, at 15,000 crowns by the year, which is 4,500 of our pounds. *His archbishopric* of Mechlin, in Brabant, I hear he will exchange for an abbey in Spain, or as others say, exchange the revenues thereof *with the king of Spain* for a certain sum of money yearly; for by reason of the war in Brabant, the said bishopric is not yearly worth to him alike.' Strype's Annals, v. 4. p. 386. From this enormous income and careful watchfulness of its amount, we may infer the bargain made and paid for that mass of calumny and treason against Elizabeth, which composes the whole of his 'Declaration' in 1588, already noticed, p. 504; and also the pecuniary encouragements to all revilers and inventors of defamation against her.

⁵⁸ It has been printed by Murdin, as found by him in lord Salisbury's library, among his other papers, and appears to have been written in 1586. It begins, 'According to what I have promised you, and you

Assuming this to be a true statement of what the countess had chosen to say, our first question will be, if she would be entitled to claim our belief.⁵⁹ Mary, in repeating it, chose to nullify this evidence by attaching to it her own discredit: 'I did not believe it, and do not now believe it, knowing the natural disposition of the countess, and by what spirit she was then actuated against you.'⁶⁰ Thus, if a charge of words be removable by words, or if the spirit of a calumniator be any disproof of his calumnies, we possess Mary's own testimony that the imputations were untrue; and that they were made by this noble person in a state of vindictive resentment, with an intimation also that the countess was naturally of an evil disposition. A still more emphatic declaration to us of what she was, we have from a person who could not but know her best, and was

have since desired, I declare to you now with regret, that such things should be brought in question; but very sincerely, and without any passion, as I call heaven to witness, that the countess of Salisbury has spoken to me of you what follows, nearly in these terms, the greatest part of which I protest to have answered, reprimanding the said lady for believing and speaking so licentiously of you, as a thing *which I did not believe, NOR DO NOW BELIEVE*; knowing the natural temper of the countess, and with what spirit she was actuated against you.' She then details a succession of actions which would entitle Elizabeth to be called a modern Messalina; calumniating her with 'the duc d'Anjou, with a Frenchman, (Simier,) with Hatton, with two others not named, with lord Oxford, with her servant George, and with all such people.' Murd. 500.

⁵⁹ After proceeding to add the lady's ridicule of Elizabeth's vanity, for which there appears to have been some better grounds, Mary ends with declaring, that she has truly stated what she heard. 'I swear to you on my faith and honor, that the above is very true; and that on what concerns your honor, it has never fallen into my mind to do you injury by revealing it; and it shall never be known thro me, as I deem it entirely false. Il ne se saura jamais par moi LE TENANT POUR TRES FAUX.' Murd. 560.

⁶⁰ 'Comme chose, que je ne croyois point; ni crois à present, cognoissant le naturel de la comtesse, et de quel esprit, elle estoit alors poussee contre vous.' Murd. 558.

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the most interested, for his own sake, not to depreciate her. This was her own husband, who, in a private letter to a friend, represents her as a **WICKED AND MALICIOUS WOMAN.**⁶¹ How far we should be disposed to credit any assertions to the prejudice of the character of the queen of George the third, or of any other distinguished lady, or of our own kinswomen, on the angry abuse of such a lady when in a spiteful humor, we must each determine for ourselves, and according as we determine, we shall value her evidence against Elizabeth as thus reported. Envenomed accusations of this kind are every day flying about society, from vindictive malice, or from temporary resentments without the malignity, or from the love of being the promulgators of another's depreciation, and on no other foundation than a similar tongue; while every repeater adds something of his own invention to the tale he has heard, till a levity has been magnified into a crime, and a smile of gaiety into a completion of depravity. Who has not noticed, who has not lamented this evil? But do we judge of each other's honor, or wish our own to be appreciated, by such a criterion? If we do, reputation will be but a dark shadow to us all.

Our judgment on the veracity of lady Shrewsbury on such subjects will be assisted by Mary's own delineation of this lady, two years before, in the

⁶¹ It was on the 5 August 1584 that earl Shrewsbury, the husband of this lady, wrote to lord Leicester these emphatic words about her: 'I have forbidden him [Gilbert Talbot his son] from coming to my **WICKED AND MALICIOUS WIFE**, who has set me at naught in his own hearing. I think it is his wife's wicked persuasion, and her mother's together, for I think *neither barrel better herring* of them both.' Letter in Lodge's Illust. v. 2. p. 293.

same exercise of a slanderous tongue, with a similar imputation against herself; which she felt to be so unjust and calumnious, that she not only bitterly complained of it to the French ambassador, Castelnau Mauvissiere, but called upon him to urge Elizabeth to do her justice against this false reviler.⁶² She again expressed her indignation at such imputations, which charged her with a direct intrigue with the husband of her calumniator.⁶³ She intimates that lady Shrewsbury had, at another time, only joked with her about it, and even named a person as the author of the scandal.⁶⁴ She also declares the countess to have vilified, in the same manner, not only Elizabeth, but also most of the nobility.⁶⁵

⁶² Laboureur, who has printed several letters of Mary, has inserted two on this subject, in his additions to Castelnau. On 12 December 1583, this queen wrote from Sheffield to the latter, begging him to request Elizabeth, 'qu'elle me fasse raison of the countess of Shrewsbury, and her children, upon the VILLAINOUS REPORTS which they have spread of me. This is a thing which I have so much at heart, that I shall never have any pleasure until their wickedness be made known, as it will be if it be inquired into, as I wish you to do of yourself, that you may see what sort of people are the trumpets of their malicious inclinations against me.' Castel. Mem. v. 1. p. 601.

⁶³ The other letter is also from Sheffield, in the next month, 2 January 1584. 'I have heard, by the rumors spread here and there, that some of my said enemies have maliciously licensed themselves even to such a detestable imposture as to tax my honor with the nobleman [earl Shrewsbury] who has me in guard. I know I could not expect better from them, who at all times have been scheming my ruin, and designed by violence and poison to abridge my life; afflicted by them in every way, and who are laboring, by every sinister means, to defraud me and my son of my right to the succession of this crown.' ib. p. 603.

⁶⁴ 'I will not yet particularize any body, as well from the obligation I have formerly had to her who has helped herself by this lie, [the French editor has here inserted the name of the countess, as the person meant] which at another time she has laughed at with me most immoderately, [elle s'est moquée à gorge déployée avec moi] and named to me one Tophlyffe as the author of this fine report. For all her extreme ingratitude I do not wish to do her any injury now, for that by which she formerly thought to do me a good.' Lett. ib.

⁶⁵ 'But foreseeing that I may be urged to go farther by such lies and

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In terms not at all measured, she gives it the lie direct, and challenges by her champion every slanderer who will dare to repeat it.⁶⁶ We can have no difficulty in assuming it to be the invention of this lady's jealousy or malice; but if we will not defame Mary upon her imputations, how can we upon the same authority suspect the more self-governed Elizabeth, who would not credit such a scandal on the Scottish queen on such malicious allegations?⁶⁷

An inquisitive thinker might also ask, if, under the circumstances in which she wrote, Mary may not herself have overstated, what even such a person as this countess chose to express in her slandering gossip. The purport of this letter was manifestly to excite the queen's resentment against the woman, who had been, for eighteen years, faithfully and steadily superintending the confinement of Mary in her castle; treating her with respectful honors, but vigilantly guarding her, and perseveringly defeating the numerous plans and efforts to effect her escape. Whatever may have been her temper or maliciousness, this duty for her queen and country she

false impostures, I undertake to verify that they have indulged themselves, both in words and actions, against the honor and state of their own queen et la pluspart des grands of this country.' Castel. Mem. v. 1. p. 603.

⁶⁶ Mary in the same letter expressed to Castelnau, 'I pray you to assert publicly in my name, that whoever, without any exception, has said, or caused to be said, that between my guarding keeper and me there has passed the least thing in the world contrary or prejudicial to my honor, *he has falsely and villainously lied*, and will lie as often as he shall say it, offering on this *to have him fought with* by a person of his rank.' ib. 604.

⁶⁷ On 2 March 1584, Mary, in her letter to Elizabeth, thus intimates her satisfaction at the queen's disbelief: 'The said lady told me that, being at court, and inquired by *you* on such a rumor spread, you declared tout plainement, that *you could not give it any credit*.' ib. 608.

zealously performed; and was found to be so incorruptible and unalterable in this fidelity, that no hope of Mary's rescue remained while she was the guardian, and her castle the place of restraint. Besides this main purpose, the same letter also shews, that the ingenious Scottish queen endeavored to make the communication, a means of obtaining her own release from her confinement. Hence, she ends it with desiring to be allowed to come to the queen's court, because she had so much more to tell her in a personal conversation.⁶⁸ Amid these difficulties, it is not easy to discover what part was the invention of the countess, nor how much may have been the coloring or addition of her illustrious and contriving prisoner. The distinction is not indeed material; because the demand on our credibility from either circumstance, would not greatly differ either in its nature, or in its success.

Another authority for Elizabeth's dishonor is a Spaniard's report to his king; not of any criminal fact, but of a popular rumor, contradicted by the queen herself,⁶⁹ and thought to be supported by an alteration in the position of Leicester's apartment.⁷⁰ But when we recollect that the Spanish

⁶⁸ 'If I can have this opportunity [cet heur] of speaking to you, I will tell you more particularly the names, times, places, and other circumstances, to make you acquainted with the truth both of this and of other things which I reserve, till I shall be fully assured of your friendship, which I desire more than ever. From my bed, forcing my arm and my pains to satisfy and obey you. Marie R. Murd. 560.

⁶⁹ 'Quadra, the Spanish ambassador, in 1561, informs the king, that according to *common belief* the queen lived with Dudley. In one of his audiences, Elizabeth spoke to him respecting this report, and, in *proof of its improbability*, shewed him the situation of her room and bed-chamber.' Dr. Lingard's Eliz. p. 621. quarto.

⁷⁰ 'In a short time she deprived herself of this plea, under the pretext that Dudley's apartment in the lower story in the palace was unwholesome. She removed him to another, contiguous to her own chamber.'

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ambassador under Mary was instructed by his master to urge her to have Elizabeth beheaded;⁷¹ that the next would not attend her coronation, nor even its festivities, because she and the ceremony were heretical;⁷² and that the succeeding ones engaged in every plot for her dethronement and assassination;⁷³ and that all the Spanish writers in that day speak of her with execration, and with the most palpable falsehoods,—few, who do not partake the Spanish spirit, will make Spanish authority a foundation for Elizabeth's defamation.⁷⁴ We do not suppose that her sister Mary was a licentious woman, because when she dreaded plots, she had gentlemen to sleep near her apartment.⁷⁵—The Frenchman's added tale is a manifest absurdity.⁷⁶

Dr. Lingard's *Eliz.* p. 261. That the sovereigns at that time had the persons whom they chiefly confided in as their guards, to sleep not only near them, but even in their chamber, and more especially in every dangerous period, the memoirs and dispatches of the time abundantly shew. Queens, tho women, must be defended by men against assassins and conspirators; and that Elizabeth was in peril from these, from the moment Mary, in France, assumed her arms and title, and claimed the present succession, our preceding pages have sufficiently shewn. Even the lord steward of her household was in the confederacy against her. Believing Leicester to be a faithful friend, she placed him where he could protect her.

⁷¹ See before, vol. 3, p. 440. He had urged her arrest before. See vol. 3, p. 422.

⁷² This was the duc de Feria; and Ribadineira states that he would neither attend at the church, nor in public, nor in private, nor be with the other nobles, nor apart by himself, that he might not authorize the impious act; and that he did this because he was so zealous for the papal religion, and so devoted to the Jesuits, 'tan devoto de la compañía de Jesus.' p. 230, 1.

⁷³ See before, vol. 3, p. 422; and this vol. p. 262, 267, and other places.

⁷⁴ We must not forget the system and the authority, stated before in this *Mod. Hist.* in vol. 3, p. 464, to represent all heretics as wretched persons.

⁷⁵ See before, vol. 3, p. 439, note 77.

⁷⁶ Houssaie, in his *Memoires Historiques*, mentions the silly incident of her shewing her leg to Harlay, on his suggesting to her, his master, Henry the fourth's marriage with her, when she told him that this must not be thought of: as if the appearance of any part of her lower limb

The profligacy of her court has been also talked of,⁷⁷ as if the conduct of fashionable persons was that of the sovereign, or could be prevented by her. What court could be more profligate than

could in any way indicate her marriageability. The mention of it only shews the avidity of some foreigners to attach depreciating anecdotes to her. See it in D'Israeli, *Curios.* v. 1. p. 461. This slander was the more absurd, from Elizabeth's being then between 60 and 80.

To this Frenchman's imputation of an indecent exposure, let us oppose a genuine fact of the contrary feeling. On 3 May 1578, Gilbert Talbot stated to his noble father: 'In the morning, about eight o'clock, I happened to walk in the tilt-yard, under the gallery where her majesty useth to stand to see the running at tilt; where by chance she was looking out of a window. My eye was full towards her, and she shewed to be greatly ashamed thereof; for that she was unready and in her night stuff. So when she saw me after dinner, as she went to walk, she gave me a great fillip on the forehead, and told my lord chamberlain, who was the next to her, how I had seen her that morning, and how much ashamed thereof she was.' Lodge, *Illust.* 2. p. 170.

⁷⁷ M. Faunt's authority is quoted for this, who, in August 1582, mentions of the city and court of London: 'The only discontent I have, is to live where is so little godliness and exercise of religion; so dissolute manners and corrupt conversation generally.' Birch *Mem.* 1. p. 26. But he does not apply one sentence personally to her; and the passage obviously alludes to the manners of the day, as he estimated them. It is also obvious from his letters, that he viewed such things with the strictness of a very strong and correct religious feeling; for he thought the world had come 'into those perilous latter times, which are forewarned us in Scripture.' He would, therefore, have said the same things of our court and city now, and at every period since Elizabeth; for in what court or age does the general society of the rich or great shew much 'godliness and exercise of religion,' or has been without 'dissolute manners and corrupt conversation?' Perhaps we may justly say, that the moral taste of our own times hath much improved in these respects in the last twenty years; yet still it is probable that persons of M. Faunt's feelings, would characterize fashionable life at present, much as he has done the court and city of Elizabeth. In the next year, he remarks again on the enormities he saw, 'where sin reigneth in the highest degree;' and thinks a sickness of twenty days 'a more sweet life, thus in mercy to be afflicted, where I receive other spiritual consolations.' p. 39. His words are those of a good and pious man; but it is manifest that such a man, like a St. Francis de Sales, would apply similar expressions to every court in Christendom, in all ages, whatever may be the morals or the piety of the reigning monarch. Wherever wealth and luxury prevail, such will their general habits seem to be to every mind which makes virtue and religion its exclusive models, regulators and criterions of estimation.

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that of France, under Louis XVI.? and of Rome, under the ancient popes? of whom many were severely virtuous. Our venerable George III. had several immoral ministers, before lord North took the helm; but we never confound the monarch with the voluptuous manners of his day, unless decided testimony identifies him with the indecencies which, tho he may avoid, others will practise. Without this discrimination, a luxurious age would be made conclusive evidence against the existence of any individual virtue.

The popular scandal against Elizabeth, has turned chiefly on Leicester, Hatton and Essex; but without a single criminating fact as to either. A love of gallantry,⁷⁸ habits of gay society,⁷⁹ and freedom of manners amounting sometimes to frolic,⁸⁰ are all that can be, on any creditable authority, imputed to her. It will become no one to defend the indefensible. Levity is levity in an Elizabeth, as well as in a countess, or a peasant; but it is just not to confound the whims, the follies, and the enjoyments of the

⁷⁸ Mr. D'Israeli seems to have expressed the truth, when he wrote, that her alleged amours 'never went further than mere gallantry.' *Curios. of Literature*, v. 1. p. 458-9. 5th edition.

⁷⁹ Her foreign biographer, Gregorio Leti, says of her: 'She was a queen; was pretty, young, full of spirit; loved the pomp of dress, diversions, balls, amusements, and to have the handsomest persons of the kingdom for her favorites. This is all that I can inform the reader of.' *Hist. Eliz.* 2. p. 513.

⁸⁰ The publicity with which her freedoms were done, was an indication that no immorality was, in her mind, connected with them. Napoleon sometimes pinched the ears of those with whom he was in high good humor. Melville says, that Elizabeth pinched Leicester, when she made him an earl, to go to Scotland to be the husband of Mary; as he knelt to her to receive the honor—a petty indecorum; but to do it before two ambassadors, implied that it was considered by her as a harmless joke on her power and act of aggrandizing her courtiers.

great and fashionable, with their vicious guilt. The court of Elizabeth was splendid and gay ; the puritans condemned what they thought injurious, but the queen was exhorted from the poetical press not to regard their objections ;⁶¹ nor had she the power to abolish what they disliked. She did not, like a Charles II. make the manners of her court. She found them as they were ; poets reprimanded them,⁶² but the nobility were too formidable, and her crown too precarious from their cabals, to allow her to alter their state or enjoyments. She had no choice, but to join the festivities they expected and required. Even the prelates continued too much of the ancient pomp and luxury of the Roman priesthood.⁶³ It was the general taste as well as his own, and not peculiarly the queen's inclination, that Leicester

⁶¹ In Puttenham's varied poem of the Partheniades, which he addressed to her, Calliope is made, in answer to these requisitions, to tell the queen, that to take

From holydays, and from weddings,
Minstrels, feasts, and robes and rings ;
Take from king's courts, entertainments ;
From ladies, rich habiliments ;
From courtly girls, gorgeous gear ;
From banquets, mirth and wanton cheer ;
From worldly things, take vanity,
Sleight, semblant course, order and degree—
Princess ! it is as if one take away
Green woods from forests, and sun-shine from the day.

⁶² Her poet and critic, Puttenham, quoted two verses of this nature :
' The courtier's life, full delicate it is ;
But where no wise man will ever set his bliss.'

Art Poetry, p. 180.

⁶³ Beza gives us these traits of England in 1574. After noticing the sound, sans intelligence, of the organs, and the gay music, gringotée, in the churches, he says, ' Besides, the primate, the bishop, and other such officers, are accompanied by pages, lacqueys, estaffiers, and other followers, up to 20, 30, 40 or 100 ; nay, some even to 200 horses.' He then complains of ' la debauché et la vanité de la cour ; *les delices des prelates*, and la superbe des nobles.' Rev. Matin, 2d Dial. p. 10 ; 12. Elizabeth had not the power to change these relaxations.

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sought to gratify by his magnificent festivities at Kenilworth.⁸⁴

Leicester was but one, out of great numbers, who were candidates for her favor. Few lovers could be more copious of poetry and panegyric, than her gentleman pensioner Puttenham;⁸⁵ but with no

⁸⁴ He entertained her and the court for ten days, in July 1575. 'Upon the queen's first entrance, a floating island appeared on the large piece of water there, blazing with torches. In this was the Lady of the Lake, with her two nymphs, in silk dresses, who made a speech in verse to Elizabeth, on the antiquity and history of the castle. A flourish of cornets, and other loud music, closed the address. Within the court a bridge had been erected, 70 feet long and 20 wide, over which she passed; and on each side were the deities of the heathen Olympus, offering her presents. Sylvanus brought a cage of wildfowl; Pomona, various fruits; Ceres, corn; Neptune, sea fish; and Bacchus, wine. Mars appeared with all the habiliments of war, and Phoebus with instruments of music. During every day of her stay, various raree-shows and sports were exercised. The chase, in which was a savage man, with satyrs; bear baitings, fireworks, Italian tumblers, a country bridal; running at the quintain, and morrice dancing. The Coventry men came and acted their ancient play, called Hock Tuesday, representing the destruction of the Danes in Ethelred's time, which pleased the queen so much, that she gave them a brace of bucks, and five marks in money, to bear the charges of a feast.

'On the lake, a Triton emerged to sight, riding on a mermaid *eighteen feet* long. Arion was also there on his dolphin, making *rare* music. The goodly company drank 320 hogsheads of beer, besides their other luxuries.' Sidney Pap. Mem. p. 48.

⁸⁵ This gentleman, whose republication we owe to Mr. Hazlewood, and whom Ames called Webster, devoted his Partheniades as a new-year's gift to her in 1579. It contains several smooth and pleasing lines, and much solid truth in its encomiums, but likewise enough to overwhelm any human being by their quantity and personal adulation. A few specimens shew us what she had to hear, and to keep herself from being spoiled by.

'Her majesty hath all the parts that justly make a most happy creature in this world.

Youthful beauty, in body well disposed;
Lovely favor, that age cannot displace;
A noble heart, where nature has inclosed
The fruitful seeds of all virtue and grace.
Regal estate, couch'd in the treble crown;
Store of treasures, honor and just renown;

Fast

more stain to her virtue than arose from sir Walter Raleigh and his Muse;⁸⁸ or from the impassioned

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⁸⁸ Sir Walter's verses; which in his 'Art of Poetry,' his rival Puttenham cites as written 'of his greatest mistress.'

In vain, mine eyes, in vain you waste your tears;
In vain my sighs, the smokes of my despair:
In vain you search the earth, and heavens above;
In vain ye seek—for Fortune keeps my love. p. 165.

Here is the same idea of Elizabeth's impenetrability expressed. She loved the homage, but abstained from the vice.

[Note 85—continued.]

Fast friends; foes few, or faint, or overthrown;
The stranger's tongue, and the hearts of her own.
Brief, both nature and nouriture have done,
With fortune's help, what in their cunning is,
To yield the earth, a princely paragon. p. 21.

Nature, that seldom works amiss,
In woman's breast, by passing art
Hath harboured safe the lion's heart;
And featly fix'd, with all good grace,
To serpent's head, an angel's face.

I am not rapt in Juno's sphere,
Nor with dame Venus' lovely hue;
But one on earth I serve and fear,
O maid Minerva! thine idol true.

Fair Briton maye! [maid]
Wary and wise in all thy ways;
Never seeking, nor finding peer;
Whens'er thy hap shall be to hear
My mouth be mute in thy praise
But one whole day;
Swear by thy head,
Whiles I admire thy rare beauty,
I am forsook, in spite of thee,
By some disdainful, curst fairy,
Or sick, or dead.—

He makes Euterpe describe her person with all his powers of embellishment:—

I saw march in a meadow green
A fairer white than fairy queen;
And as I would approach her near,
Her head, it shone like crystal clear;
Of silver was her forehead high;
Her brows, two bowes of heneby;
Her tresses truss'd were to behold
Frizzled and fine as fringe of gold.

Her

style of the grave and elderly lord Shrewsbury,⁶⁷ whom she scarcely ever saw, because she had in-

⁶⁷ The grey-headed earl had received from Elizabeth, after her recovery from the small-pox, in 1572, this postscript to a letter: 'My faithful Shrewsbury!—Let no grief touch your heart for fear of my disease; for, I assure you, if my credit were not greater than my show, there is no beholder would believe that ever I had been touched with such a malady. Your faithful, *loving* sovereign, Elizabeth R.' On this, he wrote to Burghley, 'In respect of the words, written with her own hand therein, *far above the order* used to a subject, I do *think myself more happy* thereby than any of my ancestors; and therefore do I mean for a *perpetual memory* to preserve the same safely, as a principal evidence of my great comfort to my posterity.' Lodge Illust. v. 2. p. 80, 1. In July 1577, the earl was so enraptured by the kind style of her epistolary favors, as to write to her: 'The comfortable letters I lately received of *your own blessed* hand writing, made me, *by oft looking at them*, to think my happiness more than any service could merit.' *ib.* 156. Here we see the great political benefit which Elizabeth obtained, by her personal courtesies to her great nobles. It was therefore not at all vice, and probably much less coquetry than prudential sagacity, which led the queen to seem pleased, as well as to be pleased, by the flattering attentions she received; and to treat the aspiring courtiers with her smiles and notice.

[Note 85—continued.]

Her eyes, heaven knows what stuff they are;
I durst be sworn each is a star,
As clear and bright, as to guide
The pilot in his winter tide.
Two lips wrought out of ruby rock,
Like leaves, to shut and to unlock,
As portal doors in prince's chamber,
A golden tongue in mouth of amber.
Her cheek, her chin, her neck, her nose,
This was a lily, that was a rose.
Her hand so white as whale's bone;
A pretty foot, to trip and go,
But of a solemn pace, perdie;
And marching with a majesty,
Her body, shaped as straight as shaft,
Disclosed each limb without a craft.

But so little had she allowed herself to be interested by those who sued for her favor, that the only part of her which he censures is her heart; he saw that to be unimpressible, and his verses may be considered as an indication that she shewed, amid all her gaiety, that she kept much reserve.

- - - - but lo! anon
Methought all like a lump of stone,
The stone that doth the steel enchant,
The dreadful rock of adamant.

trusted Mary to his care, and for eighteen years he rarely ever quitted his important charge.⁸⁸ The

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⁸⁸ In August 1582, he solicited Elizabeth, for leave to make a fortnight's journey 'towards your most royal person, having THESE TEN YEARS been secluded from your most gracious sight and happy presence.' Lodge, p. 279. In 1577, he wrote to Burghley, 'The desire I have to serve my sovereign, *make peril and pain a pleasure to me.*' p. 240. Such feelings in this elderly nobleman shew the absence of all vice in the attachments to Elizabeth, and in her acceptance of their language, emotions and attentions. As an instance that no rank deemed it impossible to obtain her hand, Dodd, the Catholic historian, mentions that even a simple knight, sir William Pickering, sued for it, and 'was not out of hopes of gaining Elizabeth's affections in a matrimonial way.'

[Note 85—continued.]

Her heart was hid, none might it see;
Marble or flint FOLKS WEN IT BE.
Not flint, I trow. I am a liar;
But siderite, THAT FEELS NO FIRE.

The combination of attractive courtesies, with a steady repression of all improprieties, which appears to have been the character she exhibited and maintained, he thus expresses. By 'cheer,' he means countenance.

A cheer, where love and majesty do reign,
Both mild, and stern. Having some secret might,
'Twixt hope and dread in woe, and with delight
Men's heart in hold and eye for to detain;
Feeding the one with sight in sweet desire,
DAUNTING the other by danger to aspire.

Affable grace, speech eloquent and wise,
Stately presence, such as becometh one
Who seems to rule realms by her looks alone.

He again gives his testimony to her reserve, and all the blandishments she received :

A constant mind ; a courage chaste and cold ;
Where *love lodged nor, nor love hath any powers* ;
Not Venus' brands, nor Cupid can take hold ;
Nor speed prevail ; tears, plaint, purple or gold,
Honor n' empire, nor youth in all his flowers.

A specimen of the hyperboles that were used to her, shall close these extracts, from one who expressed in his verse so much of the feeling and language by which she was continually addressed, in some shape or other.

Thus, to prove 'That her majesty is the *only paragon* of princes in this our age,' he exclaims—

Build me of boughs a little bower,
And set it by a stately tower ;
Set me a new robe by an old,
And coarse copper by ducat gold ;

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truth seems to have been, that all ranks pursued her with compliments, vying with each other for the appearance or the expression of strong attachment; some from real admiration, a few from genuine feeling, several from high ambition; but the largest number from policy and interest; and no small portion also from the mere desire of distinguishing themselves, and of being distinguished by her, amid such an universal and eager competition. Her easy,

[Note 85 concluded.]

Set rich ruby to red email,
The raven's plume to peacock's tail;
Lay me the lark's to the lizard's eye,
The dusky cloud to azure sky;
Match camel's hair to sattin silk,
And aloes with almond milk;
There shall no less an odds be seen
In mine, from every other queen.
As falcon's fares to buzzard's flight,
As eagle's eyes to owlett's sight,
As Americ is far from east,
As lion's look fears every beast;
As summer sun exceedeth far
The moon, and every other star;
So far my prince's frame doth pass
The famoust queen that ever was.

Rant or rhetoric need not have aspired to go farther than this; and yet he also contrived to add the absurdity of a poetical deification. But ancient poetry loved often to range in the regions of absurdity, and never more so than the Elizabethian age, altho Shakspeare and Spenser might have inspired a better taste.

Why build we not thy temples high,
Steeple and towers to touch the sky?
Bestrew thine altars with flowers thick;
Scent them with odorous Arabic?
Perfuming all the revestries
With musk, civett, and amberggris?
In thy feast days to sing and dance
With lively steps and countenance;
And twice stoop down at every leap,
To kiss the shadow of thy footstep?
Thy living image to adore,
Yielding thee all earthly honor:
Not earthly; no, all but divine;
Taking for one this hymn of mine!

Such a climax ought to have surfeited Elizabeth of all such verbal nothingness, and to have cured her of the taste of hearing it.

gracious and popular manners, multiplied and rewarded the emulous encomiasts; and it is really surprising that with such a continual breeze of praise and adulation upon her, her mind retained its common sense, and her conduct its majestic propriety. No queen, or theme of the prolusions of Parnassus, seems to have more claims upon us, to separate poetical and rhetorical love and gallantry from all criminal passion and its degradation, both in their panegyrists and their courted paragon, than our illustrious Elizabeth. Her only fault was, that she listened to her votaries with platonic smiles and gratified gaiety; instead of assuming the haughty mien and repelling glance of the disdainful Laura. She loved to see her courtiers emulate the models of the adoring knights-errant, the Amadis and the Cids of the middle ages, and the Don Quixote of the celebrated foreign author of her own; but she always chose to be the unsinning Oriana of the romance, like the Geraldine to Surrey, and the Stella to her admiring Sidney: and as such she was felt and pourtrayed to be by Spenser in his Gloriana, and by Shakspeare in some of his dramatic interlocutions. We have seen this impression in the mind of lord Bacon.⁸⁰ It was also that of the candid and intelligent Thuanus.⁸⁰ Future queens may, however,

⁸⁰ See before, p. 559, note 51.

⁸⁰ De Thou thus states both her foibles, and the absence of all impurity from its indulgence. 'She had the weakness to like to be courted and loved for her beauty; and even when she was no longer young, she yet affected to have lovers. It seemed as if she made it a diversion to herself to renew the remembrance of those fabulous islands, where noblemen and famous knights formerly wandered and piqued themselves on loving—but in a noble and virtuous manner, and into which IL N'ENTROIT BIEN D'IMPUR. If these amusements did some hurt to her reputation, they never injured the majesty of her state.' Hist. l. 129. v. 14, p. 146. Osborne says, 'Whether these amorosities were

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learn from what she has suffered in character from this taste, to avoid its repetition ; however innocent their feelings, and however correct their private conduct may always be.

But altho she indulged this taste and humor for its gratifying effect, or from its political utility ; yet she distinguished herself from all sovereigns, who have had dishonoring paramours, by carefully maintaining her own rectitude, and the dignity of her station. It is agreed that she made no one her minion, amid the preferences which she was partially interested to exhibit.⁹¹ She was always the sovereign, even to Leicester, who obtained most of her condescending favors, and she repeatedly caused him to feel that she was and would be so.⁹² We see

natural, or *merely* POETICAL AND PERSONATED, I leave to conjecture.' p. 89. If any person, from every other part of their conduct, on the most public and scrutinized and surrounded stage of life for 44 years, be entitled to the most liberal construction of such conjecture, few have higher claims for it than Elizabeth. She was always in the public eye, and never secluded herself from it.

⁹¹ Sir Robert Naunton justly remarks this important and clarifying trait : ' Her ministers and instruments of state were many, and those, memorable, but they were only favorites, and *not minions*. Such as acted more by HER OWN princely rules and judgments, than by their own wills and appetites. We find no Gaveston, Vere, or Spenser, to have swayed alone, during forty-four years.' Frag. Reg. 178.

⁹² There are many instances of this. Her royal and commanding letter to him in Holland, printed in our page 419, note 66, is one specimen ; we see another in Naunton : He says, ' I dissent from the common opinion, that my lord of Leicester was absolute, and above all in her grace.' He then mentions, that Bowyer, whose duty was to superintend the admissions into the privy chamber, stopping a friend of Leicester's from entrance, because not a sworn servant of the queen, Leicester called him a knave, threatened him with a dismissal, and turned to go in to the queen to procure it. ' Bowyer stopt before him, and fell at her feet, related the story, and craved her pleasure, and whether my lord Leicester was king, or her majesty queen.' Her immediate remark to the proud nobleman was : ' My lord ! I have wished you well, but my favor is *not so locked up* for you, that others shall not partake thereof. I have many servants, to whom I HAVE, AND WILL at my pleasure bequeath my favor, and likewise resume the same ; and IF YOU THINK TO RULE HERE, I will take a course to see you forthcoming. I will have here *but one mistress, AND NO MASTER* ; and look that no ill happen to him, lest it be severely

many indications in his letters, that he so considered her.⁹³ She drew herself the line which separated her confidential familiarities to him from all tainting impropriety, by representing to the Scotch ambassador, before whom she had shewn the playful gaieties that have been noticed, that she considered him as her brother and her friend.⁹⁴ Such a one we

required at your hands.' This so quelled him, that his feigned humility was long after one of his best virtues.' Naunt. Frag. p. 180. Was this the conduct or language of a woman to her paramour?

⁹³ In 1560, Leicester, at the time of his wife's death, wrote to Cecil, craving his advice and aid at court, but not in the style of a ruling favorite there: 'I pray you let me hear from you, what you think it best for me to do. If you doubt, I pray you ask the question; for the sooner you can advise me thither, the more I shall thank you. I am sorry so sudden a chance should breed me so great a change; for methinks I am here all this while as it were in a dream; and too far, too far from the place I am bound to be. I pray you help him that sues to be at liberty out of so great bondage. Forget me not, tho you see me not; and I will remember you.' Haynes, 362. As the next letter is that of Lever, urging an inquiry on his wife's death, the above seems to imply, that Elizabeth had put him under arrest upon the charge. Her displeasure against him for his conduct in Holland has been noticed before, p. 419. Burghley said, 'She would not hear any speech in defence of him,' Hardw. p. 298; and when Davison went to apologise for him, 'she began in most bitter and hard terms against' the earl. ib. 302. This seems to be inconsistent with the intimacy of a Bothwell; and Leicester's letter upon it implies, that this was not a single instance of such behaviour to him, for he says to Walsingham, 'It is more than death unto me that her majesty should be thus ready to *interpret hardly*, ALWAYS, of my service,' ib. 311. In his letter to the lords of the council, on this occasion, he claims a favorable hearing from her, from the public object and benefit of his attachment to her: 'The very abundance of my faithful hearty love, *borne ever to the PRESERVATION of her sacred person*, and the care of her prosperous reign over our poor endangered country, was the only cause thereof.' ib. p. 315. The conduct of Leicester in urging the parliament, against her knowledge and will, to call upon Elizabeth to name a successor in 1565; her resentment at it, (see before, p. 408;) his joining the combination to marry Mary to Norfolk; the concealment of this from Elizabeth, and her subjecting him to arrest and official interrogations for it,—are also incompatible with the allegations of any amatorial intimacy. I have not seen any document, out of the many letters which have come down to us, which contains any expression, or that gives an evidence, to support the scandalous imputation; so that all the contemporary testimony of authentic facts and writings are in favor of the denial of the accusing imputation.

⁹⁴ Sir James Melville describes Elizabeth to have told him of Leicester, then lord Robert Dudley, 'She should make him a greater earl; for she

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perceive that she needed for her most private hours, to be ready, vigilant, and resolute for her safety, since we find that plots for her assassination began even in her twenty-third year.⁹⁵ This danger, and the natural fears of a female after such an intimation, will sufficiently account for her causing him, or any other nobleman whom she could attach to her personal welfare, or on whom she could securely rely, to sleep near her bedchamber, for her nightly guardianship: as her sister Mary, from far less founded alarms, had thought it necessary to do. These designs against her life appear to have been

esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she should have married herself, if she had ever been minded to have taken a husband; but being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished that the queen [Mary] should marry him.' Melv. 119. While Melville stayed, she then made Dudley earl Leicester, 'with great solemnity,' 'herself helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting upon his knees before her, keeping great gravity and discreet behaviour; but she put her hand in his neck, to kittle him smilingly, the French ambassador and I standing beside her.' p. 120. If any thing could prove the innocence of this playfulness, it would be the occasion and public manner of doing it. It was an unbecoming indecorum, most certainly; but a woman of Elizabeth's sagacity would not have committed it, if she had been pursuing any improper intimacy with him. It was a foolery of conscious innocence presuming on itself to do it. We may also remark, that this is the only instance of the kind he notices—a single indecorum of a moment. No repetitions or similarities of such freedoms, or any indications of greater ones, are mentioned by this observant courtier, who, being most favorable to his own queen Mary, shews no disposition to screen Elizabeth.

⁹⁵ In 1559, the very next year after her accession, lord Mountague sent her minutes of a conference he had with the emperor's ambassador, who said to him, 'I wish the queen be well guarded, both with friends and other sureties, lest perhaps more peril be towards her than she doth know of. I cannot but say unto you, that the queen, and all England, is in no small peril; yea, and the very person of the queen. This I do say unto you as knowing it, and would say more if I might; which by . . . I may not; and therefore require it not of me. For the person of the queen I know it hath been offered, and is, that she shall be slain; which offers I know not how they have been taken, but sure I am they have been made.' Haynes, 234. After such a communication, we shall not wonder that Elizabeth sought to have nightly protectors whom she could confide in, to sleep near her, as Mary had; and by every kind behaviour, short of immorality, to attach them to her.

continuous, for two years afterwards we find lord Burghley suggesting several cautions for her preservation. These machinations were anterior to those which arose from the conspiracy of Pius v.⁶⁶

Peculiarly fond of dancing herself, she was pleased with the graceful movements of sir Christopher Hatton, and noticed him much and favorably, for his general accomplishments.⁶⁷ But we must allow queens, like other ladies, to have their share of the amusements of their surrounding society, and to be also interested by them, for without that interest these things would not be a gratification, and yet feel, that Elizabeth might be fond of 'tripping with fantastic toe,' and with such partners as could best do so, without therefore being charged with unseen crime, beyond the visible and unconcealed enjoyment. Some of our present countrywomen, of stronger frames and more bounding spirits, may now be, even unreasonably, attached to their quadrilles or waltzing, without therefore being charged with scandal as to the associates of their social

⁶⁶ In 1561, Burghley made these minutes: 'We think it very convenient that your majesty's apparel, and especially all things that shall touch your body, be circumspectly looked unto; that no person be permitted to come near it, but such as have the trust thereof; that no manner of perfume be presented by a stranger; that no foreign meat or dishes, dressed out of your court, be brought to your food; that the back doors to your chamberer's chambers be duly attended upon; that the privy chamber be better ordered, with an attendance of an usher, and the gentlemen and grooms.' Haynes, 368.

⁶⁷ Camden thus notices his rise: 'Being of a comely tallness, she took him into her band of fifty gentlemen pensioners; and afterwards, for his modest sweetness of manners, into the number of her privy chamber, made him captain of the guard, vice-chamberlain, and one of her privy council, and, lastly, lord chancellor; a man of a pious nature, great pity toward the poor, and singular bounty to students of learning; for which those of Oxford chose him chancellor of that university.' Camd. Eliz. p. 406, 7. Naunton remarks of him, that 'he had a strong and subtle capacity.' p. 249.

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diversion.⁹⁸ It might be more majestic for majesty not to dance; and, for the avoidance of all sinister interpretations, it may be most prudent to use this forbearance. But we know that Elizabeth never laid aside her personal dignity, nor allowed any one, however favored, to forget it. And if any woman could shew that she had given no one the claims of intimacy over her, she did so to sir Christopher Hatton. She visited him with a kind humanity when he was dangerously ill,⁹⁹ but she was always the sovereign, and never the lover; and his language that has come down to us, fully shews that he had no favored rights to make him otherwise.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Hatton was so attached to this amusement, even after he had the seals, that upon his nephew and heir's marriage with a judge's daughter, he took off his official gown, and placed it on his chair, saying, '*Lie there, Mr. Chancellor!*' and then danced the measures at the nuptial festivity. Capt. Allen's Lett. in Birch, v. 1. p. 56.

⁹⁹ In G. Talbot's lett. to his father, of 11th May 1573, we read,— 'Hatton is sick still. It is thought that he will very hardly recover his disease. The queen goeth almost every day to see how he doth.' Lodge, v. 2. p. 101.

¹⁰⁰ His letter, of 14 Dec. 1578, to lord Burghley, is now before me, and illustrates the sentiment in the text. 'I humbly thank you for your most honorable letters. My poor case has no defence: demissa vultu dicendum, rogo. I ask, because I want. My reward is made less, but I confess my unworthiness. I do my service with diligence, pain and travail, according to God's gift in me: and therefore, in *charitable* goodness, I should not in any reasonable cause be so contemptuously rejected. Evil men are made examples; but I, that made no offence, should not be punished for Grey's fault. I seek a debt which grew to me thro her majesty's reward; but your lordship's direction will lead me to further charge, without any comfort of her majesty's care and goodness in the gift she made to relieve me. Touching my present suit, *I will justify it to be reasonable*, and every way agreeable with my duty and estate. How it is hindered, I hear by her majesty, but by whom I know not; but I know and *feel it is an easy thing to do harm*; and therefore will pray to God to give us grace to do good, each to the other, while we may. I hope your lordship will not hinder me, *because my doings are direct*. In this suit, I offered her majesty what I am able, *to the advancement of her ordinary revenue*. I did acknowledge my gain, thro her goodness for my comfortable relief. I made your lordship privy, and you misliked not; *but now this little is thought too much*; and

She displayed a severity to him which is quite inconsistent with all alleged familiarity.¹⁰¹ He was distinguished by Spenser with a stately sonnet, on presenting him with his undying poem of knights and chivalry.¹⁰²

The same demeanor she exhibited towards Essex. Brought up by the highly moral and religious lord Burghley, he was likely to be the last person whom she would select for an improper intercourse. She was also fifty-four when he was twenty; and there-

so, do content myself with what shall please her I am most bound to. I love you according to your worthiness: and I will serve you for your goodness toward me heretofore, as long as I live. No cause shall lead me to dislike you; for I believe in my heart *you will do nothing but what is good and honorable.*' Murdin, p. 319. This is the letter of a superior man, altho a good dancer. The moral feeling which it displays and appeals to, seems genuine in the writer; and tho he was asking a further pecuniary favor, for which his services would be an equivalent, we see that Elizabeth had hesitated to grant it. There is nothing like a par amour in this letter.

¹⁰¹ 'He died of a diabetes, and grief of mind, for that the queen *had somewhat more bitterly exacted* a great sum of money collected of tenths and first fruits, whereof he had the charge, which he had hoped she would have forgiven him, in regard of the favor he was in with her.' Camd. 406. This evinces that she granted no favors which lessened her strict right of exacting full pecuniary rectitude in those whom she preferred.

¹⁰² 'To the R. H. Sir C. Hatton, lord high chancellor of England :

'Those prudent heads, that with their counsels wise,

Whilom, the pillars of th' earth did sustain;

And taught ambitious Rome to tyrannise,

And in the neck of all the world to reign:

Oft from those grave affairs, were wont t' abstain,

With the sweet lady-muses for to play.

So Ennius, the elder African;

So Maro oft did Cæsar's cares allay.

So you, great lord! that with your counsel sway

The burden of this kingdom mightily;

With like delights sometimes may eke delay

The rugged brow of careful policy;

And to these idle rhymes lend little space,

Which, for *their title's sake*, may find more grace. E.

'This title being *The Faery Queen*, who represented queen Elizabeth.' Todd's Spenser, v. 2. p. 203.

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fore the suspicion perishes of itself, on this comparison of ages, in a woman who never made her passions her governors.¹⁰³ He pleased her, as he pleased all his friends; and it was natural that she should early distinguish, favor, and promote the ward and pupil of her revered state counsellor. But the language in which Essex spoke, in his anguish and most excited moment, did not discover the least intimation that he had any personal or secret claims upon her beyond that of any other nobleman.¹⁰⁴ To him she always acted as the steady and free queen, who had never subjected herself to any thing, which authorized or excused either liberties, disrespect or disobedience.¹⁰⁵ If therefore the popular scandal had been true as to either of these suitors for her favor, it would be with the inconsistent anomaly, of an uniform public conduct continually contrary to the private allegations.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Sir R. Naunton's conclusion is strong, and accordant with all the facts of her authentic history: 'She was absolute and sovereign mistress of her graces. All those to whom she distributed her favors, were never more than tenants at will; and stood on no better ground than her princely pleasure, and *their own* good behaviour.' *Frag. Reg.* 181. 'I believe no prince is living that was so *tender of honor*, and so exactly stood for the preservation of sovereignty.' *ib.* p. 186. And see Speed, p. 907.

¹⁰⁴ See before, p. 538, note 35.

¹⁰⁵ Tho much pleased with him while he acted well, yet every time that he altered his conduct, she always exhibited a sovereign's displeasure; and never forbore either rebuke or some action that was meant and felt to be a punishment.

¹⁰⁶ Her sorrow for his death, which has been so misconstrued, was the natural result of her creditable sensibility. It was because he was so refractory, turbulent and ungovernable, as to be politically dangerous, that she subjected him to his trial and condemnation. As he persisted in this defying spirit, she yielded to the advice of her counsellors, to sanction his execution. She fixed the test of an altered spirit in him, on his soliciting her forgiveness. If he had made this submission, she would have rewarded it with her pardon. She was told that he had not done so; and supposing him to continue in this

But against these unsupported imputations, let us consider the direct opposing evidence. We read, in several contemporary writings, the intimation or expression of a contrary character. Lord Bacon, after her death, affirmed the certainty that she was good and moral.¹⁰⁷ That she did not pursue dishonorable indulgences, is the testimony given by another, some months after she was dead, when all flattery had ceased.¹⁰⁸ She made her chastity a part of her posthumous reputation, and began and ended her reign with a desire that her virginity should be a distinction in her sepulchral inscription—a wish that would have been ridiculous to those who knew her, if the claim to it had been forfeited.¹⁰⁹

insubordinate humor, she signed the warrant on which he was beheaded. But when the countess of Nottingham, on her death-bed, revealed to her that he had sent the submission she required, but that it had been concealed from her, in order that she might not forgive and save him, then, from that moment, she felt that she had been betrayed to consign a nobleman to death, contrary to her own intentions, and after he had shewn the repentance she exacted. Osborne's account, and the similar one by De Maurier, sufficiently establish the treachery: and Elizabeth found that she had been made to shed his blood unnecessarily, and therefore cruelly. Unless she had been void of all human feeling, his execution could not but be a source of bitter regret to her. Nor can we avoid lamenting, that the lord high admiral, who had so gallantly defeated the armada, should have been implicated in such a guilty perfidiousness, for the destruction of an erring, but improveable and talented fellow-creature.

¹⁰⁷ 'Fuit certe ista princeps bona et morata.' Bacon Eliz. Mem. p. 193.

¹⁰⁸ 'For her private pleasures she used them moderately and warily, WITHOUT TOUCH TO HER REPUTATION, or offence to her people.' MSS. in Ellis, v. 3. p. 193.

¹⁰⁹ Lord Bacon has transmitted to us this marking circumstance: 'Very often, many years before her death, she called herself, with great good humor, an old woman, and frequently conversed on what should be the inscription on her tomb. She then said, that glory and splendid titles her heart was not upon. She wished only one or two lines, which in a few words would express her VIRGINITATEM; the period of her reign, her restoration of religion, and her preservation of peace.' Mem. Eliz. p. 187. Thus we learn that her female virtue was made by her one of the three great features of her beau-ideal of her own character.

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That Henry IV. with all his means of information and desire to find her as erring as himself, was unable to discover any FACT to her dishonor, may be decisively inferred from his humorous, but not very commendable observation; because a single fact to the contrary would have turned the scale of his intellectual balance.¹¹⁰ But the grand verdict of acquittal to this calumniated queen is given by the French ambassador, De Castelnau Mauvissiere. He had been so much in England, and was so much in confidential correspondence with Mary, and in diplomatic intercourse with the enemies of Elizabeth; and was so familiar at her court, and with her favorites and nobles; that he must have known all that was to be known on this curiosity-inciting subject; and yet so convinced was he of the untruth of the defaming stories which had gone abroad, that he has left us this honorable and decisive testimony: 'And if some persons have wished to tax her FALSELY with having amorous attachments, I will say, with truth, that THEY ARE INVENTIONS FORGED by the malevolent, and from the cabinets of ambassadors, to avert from an alliance with her, those to whom it would have been useful.'¹¹¹ This was

¹¹⁰ Henry IV. in a jovial humor, told a Scotch marquis, 'That there were three things inscrutable to intelligence: 1. Whether Maurice, then prince of Orange, was valiant in his person? 2. *What religion he himself was of?* 3. Whether queen Elizabeth was a maid or no?' Osborne, p. 75. The just inference from this remark is, that, notwithstanding all the prying of ambassadors and courtiers, and of inveterate enemies; and notwithstanding all their long circulated slanders, not one single fact had been detected to convict her of unchastity; otherwise that point never could have been such a mystery as, to his dishonor, his own religion was, to this too voluptuous and worldly, the clever and active minded king.

¹¹¹ His own words in French are, 'Et si l'on a voulu *taxer fausement* d'avoir de l'amour, JE DIRAI AVEC VERITE que ce sont INVEN-

written by him, in his private memoirs, where there could have been no motive to mistate the truth; and with this acquitting verdict of a foreigner, a Frenchman, and an ambassador, no impartial Englishman can have reason or desire to dissent.¹¹³

If from her venial faults and foibles, and from the hostile slanders which pursued even her death-bed,¹¹⁴ and her grave,¹¹⁵ and ever since her memory, we ascend to the unquestionable qualities of her mind, we perceive, amid a majesty of demeanor which her gait as well as her regal conduct always displayed,¹¹⁶ a tenderness of sensibility for which she has had no credit,¹¹⁶ and a gracious affability and kind fami-

TIONS FORGÉES de ses malveillans, et de cabinets des ambassadeurs pour degouter de son alliance ceux auxquels elle eut été utile.' Memoirs, v. 1. p. 62.

¹¹³ The idea of a physical impossibility, if it did not arise from the actual fact, is evidence that her moral resolution was so steady and unbroken, that some chose to account for it by supposing, that not virtue and reason, but necessity, produced the chastity which they rather wondered at, than commended.

¹¹⁴ One calumny, which is ascribed to Parsons the Jesuit, was, that she drove away from her the bishops who came to her as she was dying, and called them hedge priests, a phrase which he remarked was only applied to beggars and strumpets who had no home. Bayle, voc. Eliz. 1114. Lord Monmouth mentions, 'I know there have been many false lies reported of the end and death of that good lady.' Mem. p. 122. How the English clergy at that time had been led, from their experience, to estimate Parsons, we may infer from bishop Hall's short notice of him: 'That honest politician, father Parsons, who wanted nothing but a gibbet, to have made him a saint.' Strype, 4. p. 503.

¹¹⁵ The same worthy bishop Hall, after remarking of the queen, that pope Clement had called her *miseram fœminam*, 'miserable woman,' adds, 'Those that durst not bring her on the stage living, now being dead, bring her into their processions like a tormented ghost, with fiends and firebrands, to the terror of their ignorant beholders; as I have heard by those that have seen it.' Sermon preached March 24, 1613. Strype, v. 4, p. 502.

¹¹⁶ Puttenham repeatedly mentions the majesty of her deportment—
'Your stately port;

'stately presence, such as becometh one who seems to rule realms by her look alone.' Parthen. 26-9.

¹¹⁸ Her feelings, as to Mary's execution, have been entirely ascribed

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liarity to her personal friends, household and people,¹¹⁷ which are rarely united with so much superior intellect, and determined maintenance of her stately dignity.¹¹⁸ She always repelled what she considered to be disrespect to her regal station. She did so when the Polish ambassador delivered to her unexpectedly, a menacing oration in a peremptory tone.

to dissimulation; and as to Essex, as unjustly, to undue attachment. It is therefore with pleasure that I cite another instance of her sensibility, which cannot be misinterpreted, as it was on the loss of lord Burghley, on 4th August 1598. Sir William Knollys thus mentioned it: 'Her majesty hath been this afternoon made privy of my lord treasurer's death, which she seemeth to take very grievously, SHEDDING OF TEARS, and separating herself from all company.' Birch, Mem. v. 1. p. 390. We may therefore believe that her feelings as to Mary, mentioned in our preceding page 469, were genuine. That she was sincere in these to the Scottish queen, we may infer from the expressions in this letter of lord Leicester. In December 1572, he thus represented, to earl Shrewsbury, his observation of her feelings: 'Touching talk that the Scottish queen hath had of me as her enemy, I have been no aggravater of that queen's cause, neither a hinderer of any favorable inclination, that at any time I have found in the queen's majesty towards her. Neither will I rob her majesty of her due desert, but must confess, that *her own goodness hath had more natural consideration of that queen, THAN ALL THE FRIENDS she hath besides are able to challenge thanks for.*' Lodge, v. 2. p. 85.

¹¹⁷ Puttenham mentions her 'affable grace,' p. 26; and Naunton her 'affable virtues,' which made her so popular. p. 175. One of the strongest indications of this quality in her is the following sentence in T. Wilson's letter, written two months after her death. Speaking of James I. he adds, 'The people, according to the honest English nature, approve all their prince's actions and words, *saving* that they desire *some more of that GRACIOUS AFFABILITY*, which their good old queen did afford them.' Ellis, Second Series, v. 3. p. 201.

¹¹⁸ We have an instance of her kind reception of her people, and yet how carefully, at the same time, she observed and maintained her ceremonial dignity, in the recorder's (Fleetwood's) letter to Burghley. 'This present Sunday my lord mayor was presented, when her majesty most graciously accepted of my lord, and of my foolish speech, to the great comfort of my lord mayor, and of all his brethren the aldermen. Her majesty was wonderfully well pleased in all things, *saving* for that *some young gentlemen*, being more bold than well mannered, *did stand upon the carpet of the cloth of state*, and did almost lean upon the cushions. *Her highness found fault* with my lord chamberlain and Mr. vice chamberlain, and with the gentlemen ushers, *for suffering such disorders.*' Ellis, First Lett. v. 3. p. 31. 'My lord chamberlain made my lord mayor, knight; my lord kissed her highness's hand, and soon departed.' ib.

She closed her Latin rebuke with the emphatic words, 'Farewell, and be quiet.' Then, says our old historian, 'Lion-like, rising up, she daunted the malapert orator, not less with her stately port and majestic departure, than with the tartness of her princely cheeks.'¹¹⁹ To the Danish envoy's application, she expressed, with an immediate greatness of feeling, the intrepidity of her own spirit, and the dignity and self-security of her country: 'I would have the king of Denmark, and all princes, christian and heathen, to know, that England hath no need to crave peace; nor have I myself endured one hour's fear since I attained its crown, guarded as I am by such valiant and faithful subjects.'¹²⁰ Thus she combined two opposing features of her character, high spirit and gracious benignity, into an harmony of effect, which excited in her subjects deep veneration and affectionate popularity.¹²¹ Her frequent progresses among them increased these feelings; and in these journeys she was always affable and condescending.¹²² She sometimes playfully sported with

¹¹⁹ This was in 1597. On leaving him, she turned to the train of her attendants, and said, 'I have been enforced this day to scour my old Latin, that hath lain long in rusting.' Speed, 898.

¹²⁰ Speed, 898.

¹²¹ The Sloane MS. describes her as 'affable to her subjects, but always with due regard of the greatness of her estate, by reason whereof she was both loved and feared.' Ellis, v. 3, p. 191.

¹²² Puttenham thus portrays her:—

'Thou, that beside foreign affairs,
Canst tend to make yearly repairs,
By summer progress, and by sport,
To shire and town, city and port;
To view and compass all thy land,
And take the bills with thine own hand,
Of clown and earle, of knight and swain,
Who list to thee for right complain:
And therein thou dost such justice yield
As in thy sex, folk see but seeld;

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her gravest counsellors,¹²³ and at times amused them with a jocular pen.¹²⁴

If she was occasionally irritable, it was a transient flash, which was followed by increased kindness to

And thus to do art less afraid,
With household train a silly maid,
Than thine ancestors, out of ten,
Durst do with troops of armed men.'—Putten. 37.

¹²³ Thus she named Burghley her 'Spirit,' and Walsingham her 'Moon.' Davison, writing to them, thus notices this sportive appellation: 'Being specially commanded by her majesty to signify to you both, how greatly she doth long to hear how her SPIRIT and MOON do find themselves, after so foul and wearisome a journey.' Nicholas's Life of Dav. p. 47.

¹²⁴ On sending to Burghley a permission to enjoy a temporary relaxation at his country seat, at Theobalds, in 1591, she put it into the shape of an official charter, 'drawn up by the queen herself in a facetious style to cheer the said treasurer, who was rather melancholy. It is therefore a specimen of her good humor and playful wit, sporting with her own title and lauded person.

'ELIZABETHA Anglorum, id est, a nitore Angelorum, regina formosissima et felicissima :

'To the disconsolate and retired Spryte, the hermit of Theobalds, and to all other disaffected souls, claiming by from or under the said hermit, sendeth greeting:—

'Whereas in our high court of chancery it is given to us to understand that you, sir Hermit, the abandonate of nature's fair work, and servant to heaven's wonders, have for the space of two years and two months possessed yourself of fair Tybolt, with her sweet rosary; the recreation of our right trusty and right well-beloved sir William Sitsilt, knight, [Cecil's old family name,] leaving to him the old rude repose, wherein twice five years your contemplative life was relieved :

'Which place and fate inevitable hath brought griefs innumerable; for lovers grief abideth no compare; suffering your solitary eye to bring into her house desolation and mourning, whereby paradise is grown wilderness, and for green grass are come gray hairs: We, upon advised consideration, have commanded you, Hermit! to your old cave; too good for the forsaken, too bad for our worthily beloved counsellor.

'And because we greatly tender your comfort, we have given power to our chancellor to make out such writs as to him shall be thought good, to abjure desolations and mournings, the consumers of sweetness, to the frozen seas and to the deserts of Arabia Petrosa, upon pain of 500 despites to their terror and torments, if they attempt any part of your house again. ENJOINING you to the enjoyment of your own house and of delight, without any mortal accident or wretched adversary.'

This little effusion of her gaiety to make an old and ailing friend smile, was sealed with the great seal, signed by the chancellor, and sent to rouse the spirits of her declining minister. Strype, v. 4. p. 108, 9. Nothing could be more kindly intended.

those whom she had censured.¹²⁵ To such as petitioned for her royal bounties, she was uniformly courteous,¹²⁶ and averse to mortify the suitor by a personal denial.¹²⁷ In her official appointments, she was slow in her selection, but gave them pleasingly when she had decided.¹²⁸ 'Her spirit was great, yet tempered with moderation; in adversity, never dejected; in prosperous events, rather joyful than proud.'¹²⁹ She displayed the instinctive nobleness of her mind, in the pardoning sarcasm which she uttered to the knight, who having behaved insolently to her in her adversity, and expecting to be sent to the Tower when she became queen, bent his knee to intreat her forgiveness. She said to him most mildly, 'Do you not know that we are descended of the lion, whose nature is not to harm the mouse, or any other such small vermin?'¹³⁰ When importuned to make general Vere a baron, she told him, that in his proper sphere, he was in her estimation superior to that rank already. Such an addition, would be but intombing the spirit of a brave soldier, in the corpse of a less sightly courtier. By tempting him from his military duties, it would put to hazard that repute upon a carpet, which his valor had dearly

¹²⁵ 'She was of nature somewhat hasty, but quickly appeased; ready there to shew most kindness, where a little before she had been most sharp in reproving.' MSS. Ellis, p. 193.

¹²⁶ 'She suffered not, *at any time*, any suitor to depart discontented from her; and tho oft times he obtained not what he desired, yet he held himself satisfied with her manner of speech, which gave hope of success in a second attempt.' MS. ib.

¹²⁷ 'And it was noted in her, that she seldom or never denied any suit that was moved to her, how unfit soever to be granted, but the suitor received the answer of denial from some other.' MS. ib.

¹²⁸ MSS. Ellis, p. 193.

¹²⁹ MSS. ib.

¹³⁰ Puttenham, Art Poetry, p. 249.

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purchased for him in the field.¹³¹ And altho she received with pleasure the romantic and Arcadian compliments, the poetic flattery of a Petrarchian admiration, really felt or fancifully and emulously affected; yet she appears to have expressly discouraged all serious adulation.¹³²

It was not pleasing to her for her subjects to accept titles from a foreign prince;¹³³ and she imprisoned the knight, who, without reference to her, had taken the dignity of count of the empire, for his valor in storming a Turkish tower.¹³⁴ When the all-admired sir Philip Sidney was proposed by some of the Polish nobility to be named among the candidates for the kingdom of Poland, she refused to sanction or assist the nomination, that her own country might 'not lose the jewel of her time.'¹³⁵ She disliked that any superfluous expense of her subjects should be bestowed upon her during her progresses;¹³⁶ yet was not averse to receiving splendid

¹³¹ Osborne, p. 81.

¹³² Thus the recorder Fleetwood, describing the presentation of the civic authorities mentioned in note 188, remarked, 'Her Majesty found fault with me FOR GIVING MORE PRAISES unto her highness, as touching the advancement of religion, than, as she said, she deserved. But, my good lord, I said nothing but truly and justly as it was, indeed.' Ellis, First Series, v. 3, p. 31.

¹³³ Osborne, 81.

¹³⁴ This was Thomas Arundel, who became lord Arundel, of Warder. To reward his great exploits against the Ottomans in Hungary, where he had scaled the water-town near Strigunum, and taken their banner, the emperor, Rodolph II., raised him to the German dignity. Rym. Fœdera, v. 11. p. 284. In his apology, Arundel sued for her favor, in that language which fashion had made its habit, and too much her taste, 'I hope, after this purgatory, to enjoy the smiling light of those double sun-beams, in whose gracious acceptance stands the sum total of my earthly happiness. My enlargement would be dear to me, but nought in respect of the blissful favor of the dearest.' Peck Decid. Curiosa, v. 2. p. 280. But this instance shows that such addresses were written and received as compliment, not passion.

¹³⁵ Naunton, p. 221. Osb. 82.

¹³⁶ Putt. Art Poetry, 247.

entertainments at the houses of her great nobility. The expense lessened their power of doing mischief, and her gracious acceptance of their costly festivity, increased their attachment to her.¹³⁷ To moderate their ambitious thirst after popularity, she found a diversion to their restless energies, in giving them foreign employments; where, as ambassadors, or as diplomatic agents, they gratified their passion for distinction, and diminished their superabundant affluence.¹³⁸

Her resentment at times could be highly excited. The first applications of Leicester to be forgiven for taking his Dutch honors, which his messenger, Davison, so faithfully urged, were for some time unavailing;¹³⁹ and when the dying countess of Nottingham confessed her treachery in withholding from her the pledge of Essex's submission and repentance,¹⁴⁰ she shook her, in her indignation at the fatal malice, even on her death bed.¹⁴¹ Yet that she could coerce

¹³⁷ Osb. 70, 1.

¹³⁸ Osb. 71.

¹³⁹ See Davison's descriptive letter in Hardwicke, v. 1. p. 301-9. 'I found her alone, retired into her withdrawing chamber. She began in most bitter and hard terms.—Thus, after long and vehement debate I departed, leaving her much qualified, tho in many points unsatisfied. Next morning she fell into her former invectives. I took occasion to press her to receive your letters, which, the day before, she utterly refused.'—It was not until the third day he could say, 'I find the heat of her majesty's offence towards your lordship to *abate* every day somewhat. Time may work some better effect in her majesty's disposition.' *ib.* 309. All this is very unlike the imputed intimacy.

¹⁴⁰ Maurier's account, as prince Maurice, who had it from sir Dudley Carlton, told his father, was, that Elizabeth had given Essex a ring, to be sent by him to her if at any time he should need her pardon. This was intrusted to the countess, to deliver for this purpose, and she suppressed it. The countess sent for Elizabeth as she was dying, and, owning her fault, delivered the then useless jewel. *Mem. Holl.* p. 280. By giving Essex this ring and promise, the queen seems to have provided a means of resisting that urgency of her council for severity, which had overpowered her in the previous cases of Norfolk and Mary.

¹⁴¹ Osborne, 108. We have a specimen of the mind and character of

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her displeasure at the moment when a strong appeal was made to her reason, we perceive in the instance when a privy counsellor, 'more zealous than discreet,' struck Leicester in her presence. The blow excited her to remark, that the offender had forfeited his hand: the usual legal penalty for such an outrage in the royal palace. His intrepid reply was, that he hoped she would suspend that judgment till the traitor had lost his head, who did better deserve it.¹⁴² The immediate conviction that the assaulting nobleman had, from an indignant loyalty, risked his life, both with Leicester and with herself, for her benefit, prevented all penal consequences.

She displayed the same self-government in that public reception of the Polish ambassador, to which we have already alluded.¹⁴³ She held a stately court

this countess, in her angry letter to the Danish ambassador, on some inculpatory epithet or speech which his sovereign had applied to her: 'Sir! I am very sorry that this occasion should have been offered me by the king your master, which makes me troublesome to you for the present. It is reported to me by men of honor, the great wrong which the king of the Danes has done me, when I was not by to answer for myself, *for if I had been present I would have letten him know* how much I scorn to receive that wrong at his hands. I need not urge the particular of it, for the king himself knows it best. I protest to you, Sir! I did think as honorably of the king your master as I did of my own prince; but now, I persuade myself there is as much baseness in him as can be in any man. For altho he be a prince by birth, it seems not to me that there harbors any princely thought in his breast; for either in prince or subject, IT IS THE BASEST THING THAT CAN BE, TO WRONG ANY WOMAN OF HONOR. I deserve as little *that name* he gave me, as either the mother of himself or of his children. And if ever I came to know *what man* hath informed your master so wrongfully of me, *I should do my best* for putting him from doing the like to any other. *But if it hath come by the tongue of any woman*, I dare say she would be glad to have companions. So, leaving to trouble you any further, I rest your friend, M. NOTTINGHAM.' *Ca-bala*, p. 303, 4. This is in the complete style of an indignant empress, and of the Amazonian breed. What she would have done to the king, or to any male author of the tale, we can only conjecture; but the words sound like menaced battle.

¹⁴² *Osborne*. 88. This is most likely to have been the earl of Sussex.

¹⁴³ See before, p. 588, note 110.

to do him honor,¹⁴⁴ and he came before her in his best costume,¹⁴⁵ but made a Latin oration to her, which she felt to be inconsistent with the honor of her people, by its dictatorial spirit, and with her own rightness of intention, by charging her with injustice. It highly affronted her.¹⁴⁶ Yet she coerced herself to give him in the same language an extempore answer,¹⁴⁷ which her state secretary, perceiving how much she was moved, admired for its self-restraint.¹⁴⁸ She had some power of instantaneous smartness of allusion, without ill-nature.

¹⁴⁴ Sir Robert Cecil described his audience to earl Essex, on 26 July 1587: 'There arrived, three days since, in the city, an ambassador out of Poland, a gentleman of excellent fashion, wit, discourse, and person. Her majesty, as his father the duke of Finland had so much honored her, did resolve to receive him publicly in her chamber of presence, where most of the earls and noblemen about the court attended, and made it a great day.' Ellis, First Series, v. 3, p. 43.

¹⁴⁵ 'He was brought in, attired in a long robe of black velvet, well jewelled and buttoned, and came to kiss her majesty's hand, where she stood under the state; from whence he straight retired ten yards off, and then begun his oration aloud in Latin, with such a gallant countenance as in my life I never beheld.' ib. 43.

¹⁴⁶ Sir Robert, after stating his speech, adds, 'To this, I swear by the living God, her majesty made one of the best answers *extempore*, in Latin, that ever I heard, being much moved to be so challenged in public, especially so much against her expectations.' ib. p. 44.

¹⁴⁷ Sir Robert thus gives us her sudden speech. 'I expected an embassy, and you have brought me a complaint. Is this the business on which your king has sent you? Surely, I can hardly believe, that if the king himself were present, he would have used such language; for if he had, I must have thought that, being a king not of many years, and not by right of blood, but by election, he had been left uninformed of that course which his father and ancestors had taken with us. As for you, altho I perceive you have read many books to fortify your arguments, yet you have not lighted upon that chapter which prescribes the form to be used between kings and princes. Were it not for the place you hold, for throwing so publicly an imputation upon our justice, which has yet never failed, we should answer this audacity of yours in another style.' Ellis, p. 45.

¹⁴⁸ Sir Robert thus expressed his sense of her self-government: 'I assure your lordship, tho I am not apt to wonder, I must confess that I never heard her, when *I knew her spirits were in a passion*, speak with better moderation, in my life.' ib. 45.

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For when Dr. Humphreys, who with a strong puritanical feeling had opposed the ecclesiastical habits, approached in his turn to kiss her hand, she said to him with a smile, 'Mr. Doctor! that *loose gown* becomes you mighty well; I wonder your notions should be so *narrow*.'¹⁴⁰

'Hospitality, charity and splendor,' were the characteristics of her household, and upon the most liberal and comprehensive plan; embracing the inferior as well as the superior orders of society.¹⁴⁰ In the latter part of her reign she was thought to be 'over-sparing of expense.'¹⁵¹ The armaments she was obliged to prepare and send out, compelled her to require subsidies, and impose taxations on her people, which some complained of;¹⁵² but on one occasion she declined the money which the Commons had voted her, because she found that it was not wanted.¹⁵³ She gratified her subjects by calling frequent parliaments;¹⁵⁴ and had the pleasure of always witnessing their affectionate loyalty.¹⁵⁵ Some thought that she too much courted popularity;¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁰ Peck Decid. Curiosa, v. 2. p. 276. There is one instance, however, in which she let her resentment deviate into scurrility. In the MS. Titus, B. 2, there are two of her letters, in which she calls lord Mountjoy, 'Mistress Kitchenmaid.' p. 70. An expression halfspleen and halfjocoseness.

¹⁵⁰ 'Upon the least acquaintance, all strangers, from the nobleman to the peasant, were invited to one table or other, of which she kept abundance, wherever she removed from one standing house to another.' Osborne, 69.

¹⁵¹ MS. Ellis, 191.

¹⁵² MS. ib. 196.

¹⁵³ Castelnau, Mem. p. 62.

¹⁵⁴ Osborne, 91.

¹⁵⁵ 'The queen and her parliaments had ever the good fortune to part in love, and on reciprocal terms.' Naunton, 184.

¹⁵⁶ She 'rested for the security of her person on the love and fidelity of her people, which she politically affected, as it hath been thought, somewhat beneath the height of her spirit and natural magnanimity.' Naunt. 190.

but it was one of her real enjoyments. It was her feeling, to like to be loved by all, whether high or low; and she had so little of personal pride, and such a desire to promote the public good, that 'she would not refuse the informations of mean persons, if they were given with purposes of improvement.'¹⁵⁷

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Of the four queens with whom she had been contemporary, her sister Mary, Jane Grey, the queen of Scots, and Catherine de Medicis, the fairly-earned pre-eminence can be refused to her by no one. She united all the real merits of each; and drew a just distinction between herself and the latter, when some one wished to express that 'in the management of affairs, and in the arts and power of governing, nothing less was to be expected from them than from the greatest men.' She could not endure to be compared to the ambiguous and objectionable French queen. 'I govern by very different measures, and upon principles very unlike her's,' was her correct observation.¹⁵⁸ The legal severities which she sanctioned against the Jesuits and seminary priests were contrary to her disposition and principles, but were forced upon her adoption, by the inveterate hostilities and treasonable conduct of those deluding and deluded men; as harsh laws were also made against the Catholics, because they allowed the papal agents and instigators to stimulate them to disaffection, collusion and conspiracy.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Naunt. 190.

¹⁵⁸ Lord Bacon, p. 194.

¹⁵⁹ Lord Bacon, in his observations on Elizabeth, states their cause and necessity at some length, 187-192. He truly states, that 'It is most certain, (certissimum est) that the animi sensum, the opinion and principle of this sovereign was, that no force should be used to the

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It was thought an admirable specimen of her sagacious government, that, tho a woman, ruling a nation peculiarly turbulent and warlike, desirous of battle, and impatient of peace, she kept all in a state of internal tranquillity, due subordination, and contented loyalty.¹⁶⁰

‘ Her piety appeared in all her transactions and conduct. It governed the habits of her life, and her ordinary manners. She was seldom absent from the public prayers and divine services, either in her chapel or in her private chamber. She passed much time in reading the Scriptures, and the Fathers, especially St. Austin. She often composed prayers, when occasion required. She seldom mentioned the Deity, even in conversation, without adding to His name the epithet of ‘ The Creator:’ and always, as she repeated it, shewed, by her eyes and face, a manifest humility and veneration. This,’ adds lord Bacon, from whom this paragraph is taken, ‘ I have myself often remarked.’¹⁶¹

conscience; but she would not permit the welfare of her kingdom to be brought into hazard under *the pretext* of conscience and religion.’ ib. p. 187. After they had excommunicated her, and devoted her to perdition, he says, ‘ By their arts and poisons they depraved the very mass itself, which had been before so sweet and innoxious, (*magis dulcem et innoxiam*) and stained it, as it were, with a new leaven, and with a pernicious malignity.’ ib. 190. Yet he says she was so desirous to be lenient, ‘ that she blunted the sword of the laws, in manifestation of her real nature, so that *few* priests, compared with their number, were capitally punished.’ Bacon’s Mem. Eliz. p. 191.

¹⁶⁰ Bacon, p. 180. ‘ *Natio ferocissima, et bellicosissima, belli cupida et pacem ægre tolerans.*’ ib.

¹⁶¹ Bacon, p. 186, 7. ‘ *Quod et ipse sæpe notavi.*’ ib. 187. ‘ Every day she set apart some hours, either to read, or to hear her learned readers; one of whom, sir Henry Saville, professed, that her instructors, as oft as they came to her presence about such employments, received such admirable comments from her, that they seemed rather to learn of her, than to bring learning to her.’ Speed, p. 907. Plato is mentioned as one of those which were thus read to her, and on whom she made her remarks.

The intellectual endowments of Elizabeth were superior not only to the usual level of kingly talent, but even to the attainments of many, who rank deservedly as respected scholars. 'The Latin, French, and Italian, she could speak elegantly; and she was able in these languages to answer ambassadors on the sudden.'¹⁶² The studies and proficiency of her youth have been the subject of a preceding page.¹⁶³ She did not cultivate her Greek so much as her Latin; but in her sixty-fifth year she translated Plutarch de Curiositate.¹⁶⁴ 'She took pleasure in reading the best and wisest histories; and turned herself into English some part of the Annals of Tacitus, for her private exercise.'¹⁶⁵ When she was fifty-nine, she found a pleasure in imitating Alfred and Chaucer, by a similar version of the celebrated work of Boetius.¹⁶⁶ She gave Sallust also afterwards the same vernacular dress; and at a later period translated the Horatian Epistle on the poetic art, as if she had been studying to improve her critical judgment by its correct taste and guiding rules.¹⁶⁷ She wrote much in prose; in letters, public papers, and devotional exercises. Generally, her style was free, animated and forcible; but at times,

¹⁶² MSS. Ellis, 193.

¹⁶³ See before, vol. 3. p. 506, 6.

¹⁶⁴ Camd. 500.

¹⁶⁵ MSS. Ellis, 193.

¹⁶⁶ Camd. 422. She went twice to Oxford, and once to Cambridge, and delivered orations there; 'doubling, almost, the yearly revenues of all their noble foundations.' Speed, 907.

¹⁶⁷ Camd. 500. De Thou mentions, that she read Ronsard's verses with pleasure, and conversed with him as he returned from Scotland to England, in his way to France. He wrote an interesting poem in her praise; but making a plaisanterie un peu trop libre on her marriage, she said, 'It did not become a man well born, like Ronsard, to collect the slanders which ran about the streets, to attack the reputation of a queen, his friend.' Ronsard, sorry to have vexed her, struck out the passage; which others, after his death, maliciously restored. v. 14. p. 145.

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especially when it aimed ambitiously at metaphors and similes, it became too elaborate. Its more prevailing character however is strength, dignity, and fulness of meaning.¹⁶⁸

This industrious queen aspired also to be a poet. Her gentleman pensioner might amuse himself, and gratify her, by hailing her as an English Sappho.¹⁶⁹ But flattery is neither criticism nor truth. There are very few remains of her Parnassian exercises, and she, like thousands who have touched the Heliconian lyre, has only shewn, that gifted hands can alone 'make it discourse eloquent music,' and that her admired fingers were not those of Apollo or of his sister Muses. She shone more in her vocal and instrumental melody, and in the gay and measured movements of Terpsichore, tho without being particularly distinguished in either.¹⁷⁰ Her curiosity seems to have been universal; for we also find her listening

¹⁶⁸ Its occasional defect is remarked in the Sloane MSS. 'Her manner of writing was somewhat obscure, and the style not vulgar: as being either learned by imitation of some author, whom she delighted to read, or else affected for difference sake, that she might not write such phrases as were commonly used.' Ellis, p. 193.

¹⁶⁹ Puttenham dashes boldly into this high panegyric:

And oft yourself, with *lady Sappho's* pen,
In sweet measures of poetry t'indite,
The rare affecter of your heavenly sprite.

And his prose is still more extravagantly hyperbolic. See his 'Art of Poetry,' 50. His versified summary of her endowments, in his *Partheniades*, p. 37, is much nearer the truth.

¹⁷⁰ 'In matters of recreation, as singing, dancing, and playing upon instruments, she was not ignorant, nor excellent; a measure, which in things indifferent *best beseems a prince*.' MSS. Ellis, 193. In her second year, one Treasurer had 'devised and given to the queen a *new musical instrument*, sending forth the sound of flutes and records.' For this she granted him a renewal for twelve years of her sister's patent. And what was this patent for? Liberty to buy 100,000 lasts of ashes, and 400,000 dozens of *old worn-out shoes*, and to export them to foreign parts!!! Ellis, Second, v. 3. p. 202. *Risum teneatis!*

to an adept's discourses on the philosopher's stone,¹⁷¹ and permitting a work on it to be dedicated to her,¹⁷² which exhibits the passage of the enthusiastic investigators, from alchemy to sound chemistry.¹⁷³ Amid the bustle and alarm of the impending armada, she regulated the dress of the students at Cambridge:¹⁷⁴ she also patronized and promoted dramatic representations.¹⁷⁵ We admire the moral aspect and

¹⁷¹ In 1598, sir John Stanhope wrote to Cecil: 'I was all the afternoon with her majesty, at my book. She was pleased with the *Philosopher's Stone*, and hath been all this day reasonably quiet.' *D'Israeli Curios.* v. 1. p. 463.

¹⁷² In 1566 Charnock presented her with his book, richly gilt; which he describes in his dedication to her to be, 'As to the true and perfect making of the philosopher's stone; a most precious pearl for princes; a jewel above all the jewels of the world.' *Strype*, v. 4. p. 508.

¹⁷³ We see this transition in Charnock's distinguishing to her, that there were 'two sciences, a false and a true. *The false* is named *alchemy*, written in liquid and delicious words, which common practitioners do follow, thinking thereby to make both silver and gold, working with sulphur, arsenic, quicksilver, sal ammoniac, and other salts and bodies combined; merging them together, dissolving them, vapouring them, congealing them, and other operations manifold.' He tells her, that '*a number*, not only in this, your highness's realm, but also throughout all Europe, desire to put in practice this *false science of alchemy*, for lucre sake, whereby they be deceived, and, yearly, great riches consumed.' But he aspires to teach her '*the true science*.' This, he says, was revealed unto him in the reign of her sister, by a friar, under a most sacred and dreadful oath. He assures her, 'that *the science of natural philosophy* is a science most true;' and that by it 'may be wrought, in length of time, that rich jewel, named the *Philosopher's Stone*.' *Strype*, 510, 511. He styles himself 'Student in the science of astronomy, physick, and natural philosophy.' *ib.* 508.

¹⁷⁴ Lord Burghley's letter, from his house in the *Strand*, to the chancellor of Cambridge, was written on 7 May 1588, amid all the bustle of preparing against the armada, to signify her command, that no graduate or scholar within the university should wear a hat, except on a journey, but a square cap of cloth; and that all others who have taken no degree as scholars, wear a round cloth cap. The sons of noblemen and knights might wear round caps of velvet, but no hat. The D.D.'s and masters were to use scarlet tippets or tippets of velvet. All were to wear a gown and hood of cloth, according to his degree, 'which gown, tippet, and square cap, the said doctors and heads shall be bound to wear when they shall resort to the court or to London.' Velvet, satin, and silk were forbidden, and all long locks of hair. Every scholar's head was to be polled and rounded. *Ellis*, First Series, v. 3. p. 24-8.

¹⁷⁵ Lord Burghley wrote, in 1580, to Cambridge, recommending to its

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bearing of Shakspeare's instructive and soul-commanding Muse; and we see in this quality an immortal superiority in his works, over all his buskined competitors, whom curiosity may rescue from their shrouds for our transient inspection: but to whom no praise can now give the virtue they want; nor, from that deficiency, can it make them popular in human society, where, altho vice may be written or practised, it is never honored, and will not long be remembered. Shakspeare, shunning the infected regions, in which they chose to sport, has escaped their consuming disease, and lives still in vigorous and venerated health; producing and teaching a new intellectual progeny in every age, who feel their greatest merit to be an emulous resemblance of their undying prototype. But it is probable that no small portion of this merit, which will make his dramas interesting and serviceable to every age of the human race, arose from the moral taste and feeling of his illustrious queen whom he aspired to please; and of those statesmen and noblemen of congenial spirit, in whom her selecting confidence and friendship were principally placed. Born in 1564, he composed twenty-three of his thirty-five dramas, before she died.¹⁷⁶

heads lord Oxford's players, 'that they might shew their cunning in several plays, already practised by them *before the queen's majesty*.' Lord Leicester had also his dramatic servants. And in January 1594, the heads and fellows of Trinity College wrote to the minister, 'We intend, for the exercise of young gentlemen and scholars in our college, to set forth certain comedies and one tragedy;' and 'there being in that tragedy sundry personages of greatest state to be represented in *antient princely attire*, which is *no where* to be had but in the office of *robes in the Tower*,' they request to be furnished with the 'meet necessities upon sufficient security.' Ellis, *ib.* p. 32, 3.

¹⁷⁶ Our old Speed remarks of her court: 'It was not only a frequent academy of as honorable counsellors, illustrious peers, gallant

If we pass from her personal habits and character, to her public conduct, we find a princess who was esteemed by her continental contemporaries, to be one of the greatest sovereigns that had filled the English throne. Abstracting from our consideration their military talents, no king, from the time of Alfred the Great, appears to have reigned in England with more royal qualities, with more intellectual endowments, or with greater public utilities, than Elizabeth.¹⁷⁷ She made those two great patriotic objects the principles of her regal policy and conduct, which she desired to be engraved on her monumental tablet—The maintenance of the Protestant Reformation, and the preservation of national peace with all other states and kingdoms.¹⁷⁸ And she is an expressive instance of the admirable arrangement of the supreme government of human affairs, by which the fittest agents to produce the grand improvements which human nature requires, and which are ordained to create them, are always made to arise, elevated to power, and urged into appropriate action, at the necessary and most congruous times, and in the places where they will be most effective. A Luther

courtiers, learned professors, intelligent *statists*, as ever attended any Christian prince; but also a nursery, where young nobles and others might be trained up to the managing of greatest affairs; and a sanctuary where the meanest might find relief against the mightiest. The greatest were drawn to practice equity, both by her example and command.' Chron. p. 907.

¹⁷⁷ This was the impression of Perefex, the Historian of Henry le Grand, without any limitation: 'L'une des plus illustres, et des plus heroïques princesses, qui ayent jamais regné: et laquelle regit son état, avec plus de conduite, et plus de vigueur, qu'aucun roy de ses predecesseurs n'avoit jamais fait.' Hist. p. 320.

¹⁷⁸ 'Religionis instaurationem et pacis conservationem.' Lord Bacon, p. 187.

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was excited in Saxony to begin the mighty change that was wanted in the intellectual mind of Europe, when the exertions of such a man and spirit were requisite, and would be efficacious. He having successfully begun the wonderful mutation, passed away when he could no further advance it; and Elizabeth was conducted to the English throne as soon as she had attained the proper age and qualifications, when the arm and head of a wise, firm, upright, enlightened, moral and religious sovereign, were wanted to discomfit its fierce opponents, and to uphold what all the popes, royalties, and hierarchies of Europe, south of the Baltic, at that precise juncture were confederated and resolute to destroy. They put in vehement action against her, individually, and against the Reformation every where, all the means of ruin and evil, by which power and skill, wickedness and activity could overwhelm what they detested or resolved to abolish. But altho they repeatedly forced into perilous operation against her, the most formidable agents and instruments of mischief, which agitated her wisest counsellors with gloomy apprehensions; yet, strong, unshaken, and never subverted, like the rocky cliffs of the island she governed, Elizabeth endured and confronted the ever-recurring hostilities with magnanimous imperturbability. Calm, mild, serene, undaunted, and moving by grander laws, and under the most exalted guidance, she relied on that Protector who never forsook her: and every plot being defeated and dispersed by her quiet and steadfast counteraction, continually disappointed the malevolence and enmity of its authors, and only augmented the attachment of her subjects,

and her own reputation. But if these opponents had not so inveterately assailed her, and so pertinaciously applied themselves to exterminate the Reformation and its professors, the chief wish of her heart, and the grand rules of her policy, would have been fulfilled. England would have been in fraternal peace with all its neighbors during the whole of her reign; and the sacred and indestructible rights of conscience would have been every where preserved, without that profusion of bloodshed and human misery, which the papacy and its adherents so wilfully and systematically occasioned. All that she could do to avoid warfare she fearlessly did, against the plans and urgencies of many of her statesmen. They wished larger wars, and mighty armies and operations; but she, seeking only peace, tho compelled to resist military violences by arms, always limited her warlike aids and exertions to the smallest amount, extent and duration, that were not incompatible with their efficacious result. The peace of England and of Europe was still her favorite purpose and desire in every armament she sent out, and in every enterprise which she permitted others to execute in her name. She even listened to the prince of Parma's insidious talk of pacification, when the armada was on the seas. Ambition, and the lust of power, never stained her conduct. She reigned like the kind and guardian angel of Protestant Europe, assisting and superintending it with beneficent care; acting only for the sake of doing good, and always producing it in some shape or other. Hence no sovereign ever ruled with more of the thanks and blessings of mankind while she lived, and none to

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whose reign they have been more deeply indebted.¹⁷⁹ The unceasing conspiracies and implacable hostilities which she endured and surmounted, are ample testimonies of the momentous importance of her life and sovereignty. If they had succeeded, dark and evil would have been the fate and history both of England and of Europe, from the day of their dismal triumph to our present period, which has become so much happier only from their providential disappointment. Benefiting thus others so extensively, it is a pleasure to find that she lived and ruled, respected and attended to by the most distant powers. Even the sultan Amurath III. sought her friendship;¹⁸⁰ and his sultana paid her the unusual compliment of addressing to her a letter of personal kindness.¹⁸¹ Her peace-making spirit extended even to harmonize the Turkish emperor, and Poland.¹⁸² The sophi of Persia expressed likewise his admiration of her, and granted a port in the Gulf of Persia for the reception

¹⁷⁹ 'In her lifetime she was styled by the foreign churches, and at her death generally lamented by them, as the nursing mother of the French, Dutch, and Italian exiles for Christ's name; and the UNCONQUERED DEFENDERESS of the whole Christian religion.' *Beza*, cited by Speed, p. 908. King James I. justly distinguished her in his Epitaph as, 'Patriæ parenti; religionis et bonarum artium altrici.'

¹⁸⁰ In the MSS. of the British Museum, is a letter from Amurath III. to Elizabeth, dated from Constantinople, 15 March 1579, desiring to be on friendly terms with her, and signifying that he had given licences to Englishmen to traffic in his dominions. On 25 October 1599, is a copy of her letter to the grand Turk, in favor of some merchants. MSS. Nero, B. 8. p. 45; 41. The same MS. contains a list of the Turkey merchants, and their request to the queen of a loan.

¹⁸¹ The same MS. contains the letter of this sultana to Elizabeth, p. 57.

¹⁸² Her letter in 1590 to Barton, approving of his proceedings to avert a war between Turkey and Poland, is in the same MS. p. 50. Of these eastern powers, Speed remarks: 'In most of their dominions, to the great enriching of her kingdom, she settled commerce for increase of merchandise, and got large privileges for encouragement of her merchants, whom she cherished as a most necessary and important part of her weal public.' p. 907.

of English vessels;¹⁸³ and Alamuman Abdel Melech, the emperor of Morocco and Fez, also corresponded in amity with her.¹⁸⁴ But the simple expressions of the humble Jewess from the Ottoman capital, inserted in the note, are perhaps not the least interesting.¹⁸⁵ Elizabeth had sent a present to the Turkish sultana mother, who now, 'to prove the love she bore to the English queen,' returned her 'a robe and a girdle, and two kerchiefs wrought in gold, and three in silk, after the Mussulman fashion; a necklace of pearls and rubies, with a wreath of pearls and diamonds, from the sultana's own jewels.'¹⁸⁶ The daughter of Israel communicates to her, the delivery of these rich civilities to the English ambassador for her use, and adds from the sultana, 'which your majesty will be pleased to wear for the love of her.'¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ In this MS. of Nero, B. 8 is J. Cartwright's relation of the sophi of Persia's great admiration of Elizabeth; his desire that she may make peace with Spain, and of his making this grant. p. 68.

¹⁸⁴ It was on 10th July 1577, that this Moorish king sent the answer in MS. Nero, B. 8. p. 64, to the letters which Elizabeth had, in the preceding July, addressed to him on commercial subjects. Her instructions to her envoy on these are in p. 62.

¹⁸⁵ They seem to have been written with the sultana's approbation; 'As the sun with his rays shines upon the earth, so the virtue and greatness of your majesty extend over the whole universe; so much so, that those who are of different nations and laws desire to serve your majesty. This I can say for myself, that being a Hebrew, of laws and of a nation different from yours, yet from the first hour that it pleased the Most High to put into the heart of our most serene queen to use my services, I have been always very desirous that an opportunity should occur to me in which I might shew these my wishes to your majesty.' The letter is in Italian, dated from Constantinople, 16th November 1599. Her name was Esperanza Malchi. Mr. Ellis has printed it, v. 3. p. 53.

¹⁸⁶ Ellis, p. 54.

¹⁸⁷ The Jewess then requests for her Turkish mistress some female embellishers of beauty from Elizabeth: 'Your majesty being a lady full of condescension, I venture to prefer the following request; that since there are to be met with in your kingdom distilled waters of every description for the face, and odoriferous oils for the hands, your majesty

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The memory of Elizabeth has been advantageously accompanied with the tributary applauses of intelligent foreigners, her contemporaries : of whom De Thou, who has commended her with his superior pen ;¹⁸⁸ and Castelnau, who personally observed and felt her merit, will be read with pleasure by every liberal minded Englishman.¹⁸⁹ She avowed that the

will favor me, by transmitting some by my hand for this most serene queen. Likewise, if there are to be had in your kingdom cloths of silk or wool fit for so high a queen, to send some, as these will be more valued by her than any thing your majesty can give her. I have only to pray Heaven to give you victory over your enemies, and that your majesty may be ever prosperous and happy.' Ellis, *ib.* p. 54, 5.

¹⁸⁸ ' Elizabeth had a masculine and elevated courage, and displayed from the beginning of her reign, a refined mind, instructed by adversity. The equality of soul which appeared in all her conduct, to the end of her life, produced that regular and constant happiness which accompanied her to her death. Magnificent in the distribution of her favors, yet always giving more to merit than from her inclination ; she governed her liberalities with a prudential care, lest her finances being exhausted by her bounty, she should be forced to press upon her people to supply them. Always foreseeing, never avaricious, she enjoyed her fortune in all its exalting height, not with that security which abandons itself to its pleasures, but with that wise inquietude which becomes a prince, who is always on guard against evils that may supervene.' De Thou, *Hist.* l. 129. v. 14. p. 144.

¹⁸⁹ ' She has prospered in all her affairs, and continues to do so, and not from any great superfluities or immense donations which she has made ; for she has always been a great economist, yet without exacting from her subjects, as preceding sovereigns had done. Her greatest desire has been the repose of her people, who have become surprisingly enriched during her reign. She had all the great qualities which are requisite for a long reign ; yet, however excellent her talents, she never would decide or undertake any thing on her own opinion, but she always referred it to her council. Preserving herself free from all wars, she rather threw them upon her neighbours, than drew them on herself, and thus was like Augustus, when he closed the temple of Janus, by the universal peace which he established around him. She has been taxed with avarice, but unjustly, because she would not make large donations. She discharged all the debts of her predecessors, put her own finances into good order, and amassed great riches without imposing any new tax on her people. She has reigned eight years together without asking for any subsidy, tho her predecessors required one every three years ; and in 1570, when her subjects offered her the money, she thanked them, but declined it, and assured them, that she would never levy any, unless the necessity of the state required it.' Castel. *Mem.* v. 1. p. 61, 2.

fame of future times was a boon which she desired ;¹⁰⁰ and as she has so fairly and so fully deserved it, she ought not to be unjustly deprived of it. The desire of this is so universal, and seems to be so instinctive in our nature, and operates so powerfully to do good when it seeks its object thro laudable pursuits, that it is not a chimerical possibility, that it may be something more to us than a voice which we cannot hear, or than a breath which evaporates as it is uttered. The reputation which we attain during this life, may follow our being wherever that may be situated hereafter, with all its momentous consequences ; creating benefit and pleasure to us there, whenever it has arisen from what piety and virtue sanction and perpetuate here ; but causing to us personal and sentient evil and disgrace in our future abode, if it has sprung from actions, writings or character, which have been repugnant to moral reason, to human welfare, or to religious truth. It is the soundest inference to believe that all Fame will be an unceasing companion to its possessor, for good or for evil, as long as the spirit shall exist any where in conscious sensitivity. In the meantime, in this world, the truest panegyrist of Elizabeth, will be, as lord Bacon has remarked, revolving and impartial TIME, which had produced nothing like her, among her own sex, in the administration of civil affairs.¹⁰¹ The longer England

¹⁰⁰ We learn this from lord Bacon: 'She was much pleased when told, that in a private or middling life, she might have surpassed her ancestors ; but that now she would not live without the distinction of excellence among all mankind.' Bacon, p. 194.

¹⁰¹ 'Revera descendum est non alium verum hujus feminæ laudatorem inveniri posse, quam TEMPUS ; quod cum tamdiu jam volvetur nihil simile, in hoc sexu, quoad rerum civilium administrationem peperit.' Eliz. Mem. p. 194. Since this sheet was in the press, Mr. Bray

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subsists, the more justly it will be able to appreciate the utilities derived from her reign, and to award the honor which she ought to receive for their intentional production.¹⁹²

has obliged me with a letter of lady Wolley's to her father, which exhibits the queen as using towards him similar words of kindness, taking the form of playful allusions to courtship, with which she endeavored to please her nobility and gentry, without any other object—'Since my coming to the court, I have had many gracious words of her majesty, and who many times bade me welcome with all her heart, every time since I have waited. Yesterday, she wore the gown *you gave her*, and took thereby occasion to *speak of you*; saying that ere long I should find a *mother-in-law*, which was *herself*; but she was afraid of the two widows, which are there with you, that they would be angry with her for it; and that *she would give 10,000 l. you were twenty years younger*; for she has but few such servants as you are. With many gracious speeches, both of yourself and my brother.' MS. Bray. Lady Wolley was one of Elizabeth's ladies of the bed-chamber, and her father was sir William More, who died, like the queen, in 1603.

¹⁹² It may be desirable to many to know the view of this queen's character which LORD BOLINGBROKE has taken; as he had himself been a statesman and a leading cabinet minister, and therefore more capable than most of judging of her with a practical and discriminating intelligence. In his letters on the History of England, published in 1731, in the Craftsman, under the name of sir John Oldcastle, he thus states his sentiments:

'The most dangerous attacks on liberty are those which surprise or undermine; which are owing to powers given under pretence of some urgent necessity. QUEEN ELIZABETH shewed her moderation in desiring no suspicious powers, as well as in the exercise of her prerogative. This moderation was the more remarkable, because no prince ever had the pretence of necessity to urge on stronger appearances. Her whole reign may be almost called a state of defensive and offensive war; in England, as well as in Ireland; in the Indies, as well as in Europe. She ventured to go thro this state, if it was a venture, without a standing army—she esteemed the affection of her people to be the greatest security of her person, and the greatest strength of her government. Whenever she wanted troops, her subjects flocked to her standard. In many places, and on many occasions, her forces fought and conquered the best disciplined, veteran troops of Europe. She was careful to avoid every thing which might give the least umbrage to her people.

'The conduct which she held with respect to PARTIES deserves to be remarked, because the moderation, the wisdom and the equity which she shewed in it, contributed very much to cool the ferment in the beginning of her reign. By this, she had time to captivate the good will of her people; to settle her government; to establish her authority; and even to change the national religion, with little contradiction and without any disturbance.

‘Notwithstanding all the indignities she had suffered, and all the dangers she had run before her accession, several persons were restored, and not a man was attainted in her first parliament. This clemency once shewn, she could more safely, and with greater reason, exercise severity, when the preservation of the public peace made it necessary.

‘The peace of the kingdom was the standard to which she proportioned her conduct. She was far from casting herself, with precipitation and violence, even into that party which she favored, and on which alone she resolved to depend. She was far from inflaming their spirit against the adverse party, and farther still from pushing any sort of men, puritans, or even papists, into despair; or provoking them to deserve punishment, that she might have a pretence to inflict it. She pursued her own scheme steadily, but she pursued it gradually, and accompanied it with all the artful circumstances which could soften the minds of men; and induce those who were the most averse to her measures to bear them, at least, patiently. On these principles she proceeded in the whole course of her reign.

‘To the Papists she used great lenity, till the bull of Pius Quintus and the rebellion, and other attempts consequent upon it, obliged her to procure new laws and execute more rigor. Yet even then, she distinguished Papists *in conscience*, from Papists *in faction*. (Walsingham’s Letter.) She made the same distinction with regard to the Puritans. Their zeal was not condemned; only their violence was sometimes censured, till they attempted to set up their own discipline, in opposition to that which had been established by the National Authority; until their motives appeared to be ‘no more zeal, no more conscience,’ says Secretary Walsingham, ‘but mere faction and division.’

‘Queen Elizabeth was accused of avarice by her enemies, and perhaps she was so by some of her friends. Among that hungry crew, which attends all Courts for the loaves and fishes, she could not escape this charge. But surely, the nation had reason to applaud her frugality. Her grandfather hoarded up riches; her father dissipated them. But she neither hoarded up, nor lavished away: and it is justly to be questioned, whether any example of a prudent economy in private life can be produced equal to that, which she practised in the whole management of her affairs.

‘As immense as the expenses were which she found herself obliged to make from the moment she ascended the throne, she received nothing in taxes from her people, till the sixth year of her reign. The prince in the world, who deserved to be trusted the most, desired to be so, the least. The aids which she had from her people were not so properly grants, as reimbursement of money advanced for national services. And what services? For establishing the Protestant religion; for defending England; for rescuing Scotland; for carrying on a successful war against an opulent and potent enemy; for assisting the subjects, and even the kings of France; for supporting the people of the Netherlands; for refining the debased coin; for paying all the debts, and restoring the credit of the crown; for providing ammunition at home, which before this time we had been always obliged to purchase abroad; for improving both home and foreign Trade; for rebuilding and augmenting the Navy; and for DOING ALL THIS without any

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burthensome imposition on the people, as the Parliament more than once acknowledged.

‘ It was so much a maxim of Queen Elizabeth, to save for the public, not for herself; and to measure her riches, by the riches of the nation, not by the treasures she had in her coffers, that she refused the supplies offered, and remitted payment of supplies granted, when she perceived that she was able to carry on the public service without them. What could be done by wisdom and courage, she never attempted by money; nor expected that her subjects should buy her out of difficulties.

‘ Strong at home, she affected little to lean on foreign help, as her alliance was often courted, and she seldom courted that of others. It was in her power to engage in no expense, but such as the interest of her kingdom rendered immediately necessary. To this interest alone she proportioned her expenses. This was the sole rule of her conduct.

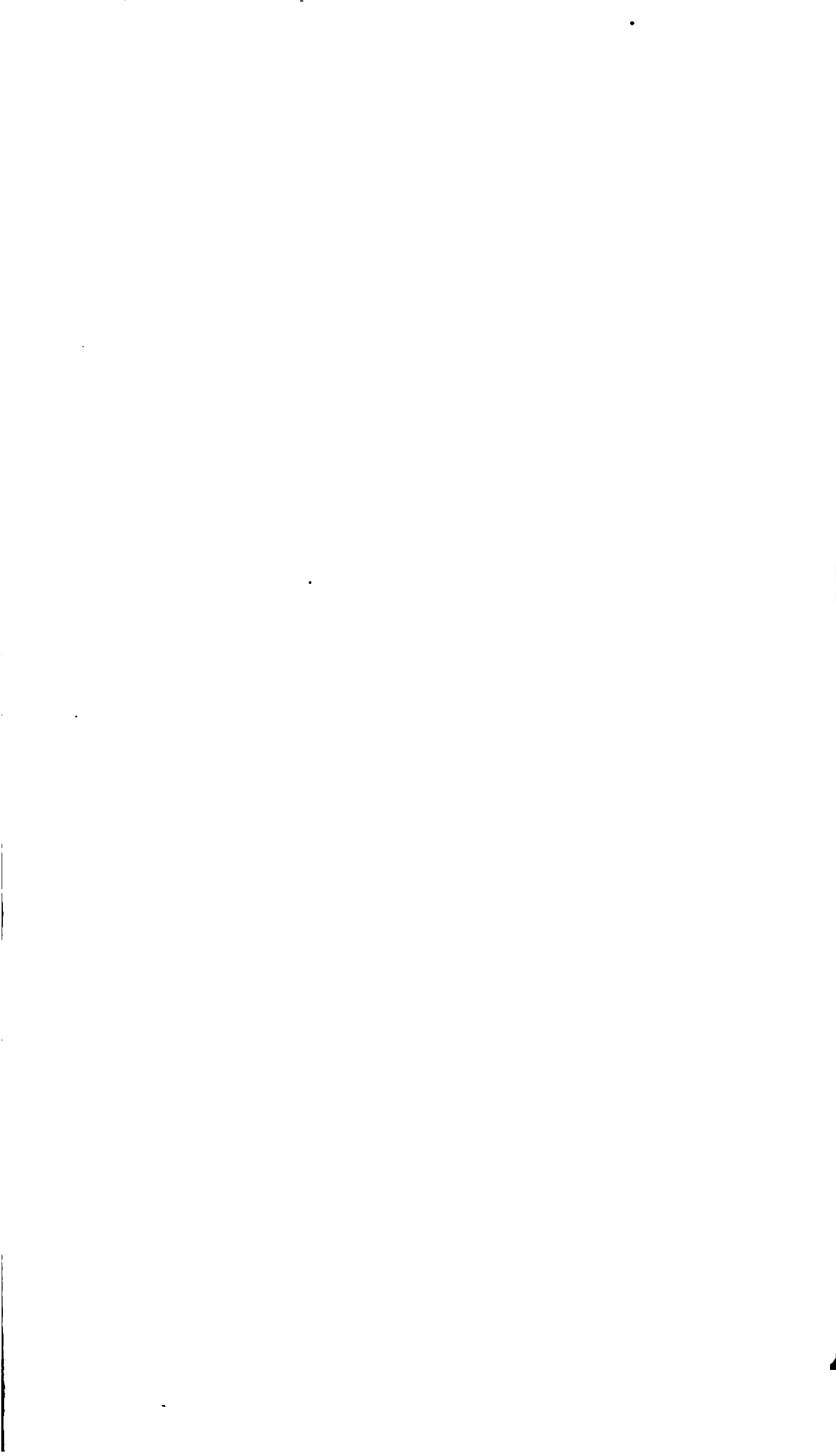
‘ She was not only thus frugal for her people, but perpetually attentive to the enriching of them. In the very first Parliament, amid the most important affairs, regulations for the improvement of trade and increase of shipping were not forgotten. In numberless instances she rose to the highest and descended even to the lowest circumstances, which in any degree affected the trade and navigation of her subjects. Besides the spirit of industry, which exercised itself at home, she raised and pushed to the highest degree, a spirit of discovering new countries, making new settlements, and opening new veins of trade. The force of this impression has lasted long amongst us. Commerce has thrived under neglect and discouragements. It has subsisted under oppressions and obstructions.

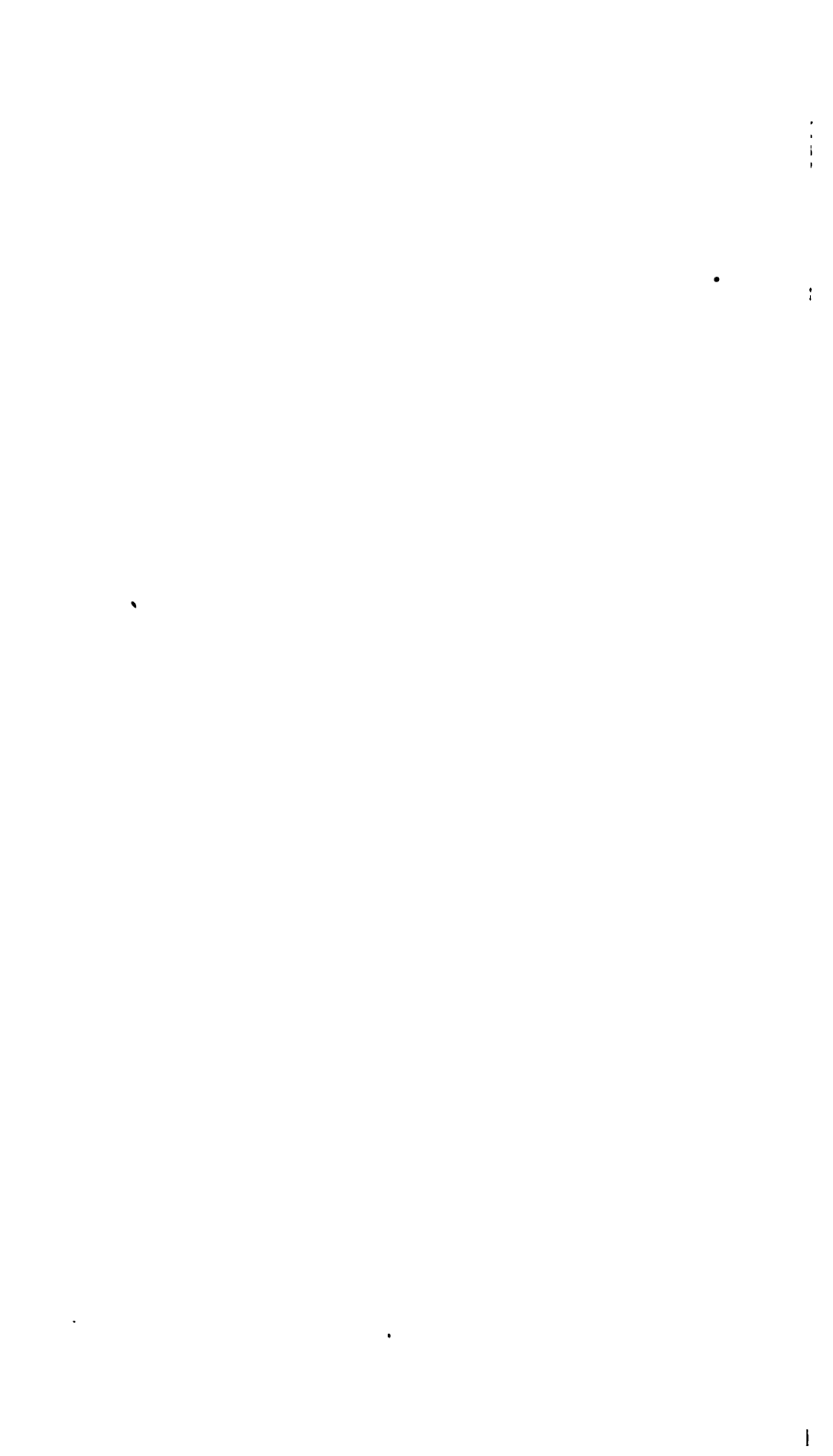
‘ Before Queen Elizabeth’s reign the *commerce* of England was confined and poor. In *HER REIGN* it extended itself over all the known, and even into the unknown parts of the world. We traded to the north, and opened our passage into Muscovy. We carried our merchandise up the Dwina, down the Volga, and across the Caspian Sea into Persia.

‘ Our merchants visited the Coast of Africa; all the countries of the Grand Seignior, and following the tracks of the Venetians into the East Indies, they soon followed the Portuguese thither, by the Cape of Good Hope. They went thither thro the South Sea, and sailed round the world. In the West Indies, they not only traded, but established themselves, in spite of all the power of Spain.

‘ Before her reign the *FLEET* of England was so inconsiderable, that even in the days of her father, if I mistake not, we were forced to borrow or hire ships of Hamburgh, Lubeck, Dantzic, and other places. In her reign it soon grew to such a number and strength, that it became terrible to the greatest maritime powers of Europe.

‘ On such foundations were the riches and power of this kingdom laid by Queen Elizabeth. These were some of the means she employed to gain the affections of her subjects. Can we be surprised if she succeeded?’ Craftsman, No. 237.









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